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**GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.**

February 4th, 1880.

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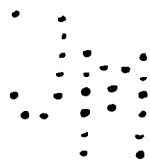


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VOLUME X.



1871—1874.

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JOURNAL  
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No. XXVIII. Vol. X.

Pt. I.—*Notes on the Shrine of Mahábales'vara.* BY RA'O  
SA'HED VISHVANA'TH NA'RA'YAN MANDLIK.

[Read 12th January 1871.]

MAHA'BALES'VARA is the shrine after which the chief sanitarium in Western India is named. It is a shrine at which the *linga* symbol is worshipped. There is no actual representation of the *linga* in the temple; but a rock from which water oozes out in some places is reckoned as a *linga*, and encircled by the usual accompaniments, which have been artificially supplied. In my last paper I have mentioned the seven sacred rivers said to take their rise at this spot. The temple is a common building, without any architectural pretensions. There is a *nandi* (or the sacred bull) seated at a distance and opposite to the *linga*. There is nothing peculiar about the worship offered to this shrine; but as a place laying claim to extraordinary sanctity in this part of India, it may be interesting to enquire and record what can be obtained with regard to its history as now received by its worshippers.

Like most other Hindu shrines, Mahábales'vara has a *Puránika* history of its own, of which annexed is a copy. It consists of two *Adhyáyas* or chapters, containing in all 163 *ślokas* (or verses). As a

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literary performance, it is very poor ; and in some places it is quite incorrect. The copy as now presented to the Society has been made and compared by myself with the original manuscript obtained from one of the priests at the shrine. This tract gives a description of the village, and the sacred places there, as now pointed out by the priests, and is evidently a modern composition. I content myself with a brief abstract of the poem, as there is nothing important to justify my placing the whole translation before the Society.

The poem states that on the top of the *Sahyádrí* mountain are five *Gangús* or rivers, and these take their rise in the locks of hair on the head of the God Mahábales'vara. They are (1) Krishná, (2) Veni [or Venṇá], (3) Kakudmatí [or Koyaná], (4) Gáyatrí, and (5) Sávitrí. The first is accounted equal in sanctity to Vishṇu, the second to S'iva, and the third to Brahmá ; the two last are the wives of the god Brahmá. The first three flow towards the East, and enter the Eastern sea (the Bay of Bengal); and the Sávitrí, combining with the Gáyatrí, flows into the Western (or Arabian) sea.<sup>1</sup> There are eight *Tírthas* (i.e. places for man's salvation) ; 1 Brahmá, 2 Rudra, 3 Vishṇu, <sup>2</sup> 4 Chakra, 5 Hansa, 6 A'raṇya, 7 Malápaha, and 8 Pitrimuktida. There are three *lingas* of S'iva :—1 *Mahábala*, 2 *Atibala*,<sup>3</sup> and 3 *Kotís'vara*. A portion of this village, covered with jungle, is called *Brahmáráṇya* (or the forest of the god Brahmá, the creative principle of the Hindu triad). It is said that when Brahmá formerly performed sacrifices in this forest, the two rivers Gáyatrí and Sávitrí were produced. When Jupiter enters the sign of *Virgo*, once in twelve years, there is said to be a greater sanctity in bathing at this spot in that season. And this I have already mentioned in my previous paper. This place is also called Brahmá-Kshetra (see chapter ii., verse 73), and the places fit for devotion at this spot are termed *vedí-śramas*. In the Krishṇámáhátmya

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<sup>1</sup> Where the river Sávitrí discharges its waters into the Western sea, it is said there is a *tírtha* named *Sukla*, the sanctity of which is reckoned equal to that of 350 crores of *tírthas*.

<sup>2</sup> It is stated that before the creation of the world Brahmá, Rudra, and Vishṇu were performing penances, &c., at these places ; hence the names of these three *tírthas*.

<sup>3</sup> There were two giants named Mahábala and Atibala, who propitiated Brahmá and other gods, and at their desire the gods granted that these two *lingas* should be named after the two giants.

(i.e. greatness of Krishṇá), also described as a portion of the *Skanda-purāṇa*, the story of Mahábales'vara is also mentioned, and it likewise occurs in Kártika-máhátmya from the *Padma-purāṇa*; but there are some important variations. I have said above that this tract appears to me to be a modern compilation. This I conclude from its language and style as compared with those of what I may call the genuine old *Purāṇas*. The *Skanda-purāṇa*, of which it is said to form a part, is one of the lost *Purāṇas*. A few detached chapters occur here and there in the shape of *Sthala-mahátmyas* (i.e., descriptions of the greatness or sanctity of particular localities). A portion named the *Bramhottara Khaṇḍa*<sup>4</sup> has been thus rescued from the ravages of time; and if other fragments could be collected and published, it would assist the student of Indian history and philosophy, and prevent the concoction of modern poems under ancient colours. This useful work is being done to a limited extent in Madras,<sup>5</sup> though not so exhaustively as I should wish. How far the Bombay Manuals or Gazetteer would work to this end I do not know; but more can be done by private individuals to help this object than by the public authorities, to whom the inner strata of our social structure are not, as a rule, yet accessible. Besides the objects above stated, the *Mahátmyas* would subserve another useful purpose, and that is to place within our reach some information about things which are gradually passing away, and which must be gathered by personal enquiries by those who search for the MSS. As an example, I may mention that at a place near Basseen (Vasai is the correct spelling) called *Nirmaḷa*, a tomb of the great *S'ankarúchárya*<sup>6</sup> is shown to the pilgrims to this day. As the author of several *Vedántika* works of undisputed authority, and the apostle of the system of higher doctrines of Bráhmaṇism as they obtain to this day, the great *S'ankarúchárya* has been no ordinary individual. That his place of interment is *Nirmaḷi*, in our own neighbourhood, is a statement for which there seems to be no authority, beyond local tradition. At all events the point has yet to be determined; and it is a question which may well be discussed when the *Nirmaḷa-mahátmya* comes under review. But the Society will be perhaps surprised to hear that there

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<sup>4</sup> See printed edition of *S'ake* year 1788 (A. C. 1866): Bombay.

<sup>5</sup> See Part III. of the Madras Manual, by J. H. Nelson, M.A., Madras Civil Service. Madras: 1868.

<sup>6</sup> The expounder of the Vedánta philosophy.

is a large published poem in Maráthí, which assumes the sanction of the *S'ankarácharya*<sup>7</sup> to a Maráthí *Nirmala-máhātmya* (i. e., the greatness or sanctity of *Nirmala*), and which professes to derive its inspiration from the *Padmapurāṇa*. Now the hollowness of these pretensions is apparent. Our oldest Maráthí authors now extant are Mukundarája and Dnyānes'vara ; and they come long after *S'ankarácharya*.<sup>8</sup> They wrote in Maráthí, which is different in grammar, and style, from the Maráthí as we now speak and write it, and in which this poem has been written. The author's name does not appear ; but it is published under the high sanction of the name of *S'ankarácharya*, and as such no doubt may impose on many an unsuspecting devotee. I give this as one of the many instances wherein the course of contemporary history and morals is thus corrupted because of the clouds of uncertainty and obscurity which still enshroud our *Purāṇika* literature. I have already pronounced my opinion on the *Mahábales'vara-mahātmya* presented to the Society to-day.

I shall now return to the shrine again, and state what I conceive to be its place in Indian history. *Mahábales'vara* is mentioned in the poem above alluded to, and in the poem on the *Krishná* ; and its importance dates from the time of the Maráthá<sup>9</sup> kings of Sátará. S'ivájí and his successors endowed it ; and it is now one of the recognized Hindu places of pilgrimage in Western India. It has no pretensions to the antiquity of Gokarṇa Mahábales'vara in *Kánadá*, which is noticed in many of our oldest works, and above all in the *Skanda-Purāṇa*. This Mahábales'vara is therefore a modern establishment, after the older shrine in the South. It is nowhere mentioned in the enumeration of the *Jyotirlingas* (i.e., the 12 luminous symbols), the names of which are pronounced by all *S'aiva* (*Smárta*) and Bhágavata Hindus every morning either in Sanskrit or Prákrit prayers.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> शंकराचार्यसम्मत निर्मलमाहात्म्य. Bombay : S'ake year 1785 (A. C. 1863-64.)

<sup>8</sup> Lived in the 8th century of the Christian era.

<sup>9</sup> See "Life of Rámdás," in Maráthí. Bombay : S'ake 1792 (A.C. 1870-71).

<sup>10</sup> The following are prayers repeated in *Kánadá* :—

“ सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथं च श्रीशैले मल्लिकार्जुनं  
उज्जयिन्या महाकालं डाकिण्या भीमशंकरं.

Nor have I met with it in the *Kedāra Khanda*, a portion of the *Brahmaivarta Purāṇa*, nor in the *Linga Purāṇa*. It is on this account

परळ्या वैद्यनाथं च ओंकारं विमलेश्वरं  
 सेतुबंधे तु रामेशं नागेशं दारुकावने.  
 वाराणस्यां तु विश्वेशं ल्यंबकं गौतमीतटे  
 हिमालये तु केदारं घृणेशं तु शिवालये.  
 एतानि ज्योतिर्लिंगानि प्रातरुत्थाय यः पठेत्  
 जन्मांतरकृतं पापं स्मरणेन विनश्यति.”  
 “सौराष्ट्रदेशे विशदेतिरम्यं ज्योतिर्मयं चंद्रकलावतंसं ॥  
 भक्तिप्रदानाय कृपावतीर्णं तं सोमनाथं शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥ १ ॥  
 श्रीशैलशृंगे विबुधातिसंगे तुलाद्रिगुंगेपि मुदा वसंतं.  
 तमर्जुनं मल्लिकपूरमेकं नमामि संसारसमुद्रसेतुम् ॥ २ ॥  
 अवंतिकायां विहितावतारं भक्तिप्रदानाय च सज्जनानाम्.  
 भकालमृत्योः परिरक्षणार्थं वंदे महाकालमहं सुरेशं ॥ ३ ॥  
 कावेरिकानर्मदयोः पवित्रे समागमे सज्जनतारणाय ॥  
 सदैव मां धातृपुरे वसंतमोकारमीशं शिवमेकमीडे ॥ ४ ॥  
 पूर्वोत्तरे प्रज्वालिकानिधाने सदा वसंतं गिरिजासमेतम् ॥  
 सुरासुराराधितपादपद्मं श्रीवैद्यनाथं तमहं नमामि ॥ ५ ॥  
 आमंदसंगे नगरेतिरम्ये विभूषितांगं विविधैश्च भोगैः ॥  
 सद्भक्तिमुक्तिप्रदमीशमेकं श्रीनागनाथं शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥ ६ ॥  
 हिमाद्रिपार्श्वे चटुले रमंतं संपूज्यमानं सततं मुनींद्रैः ॥  
 सुरासुरैर्यक्षमहोरगाद्यैः केदारमीशं शिवमेकमीडे ॥ ७ ॥  
 सद्याद्रिशीर्षे विमले रमंतं गोदावरीतीरपवित्रदेशे ॥  
 यदृशनात्पातकमाशुनाशं प्रयाति तं ल्यंबकमीशमीडे ॥ ८ ॥  
 सुताम्रपर्णीजलराशियोगे विबद्धं च सेतुं विशिखैरसंख्यैः ॥  
 श्रीरामचंद्रेण समर्चितं तं रामेश्वराख्यं नियतं नमामि ॥ ९ ॥  
 योडाकिनीशाकिनिकासमाजैर्निषेव्यमाणः पिशिताशनैश्च ॥  
 सदैवभीमाद्यपदप्रसिद्धं तं शंकरं भक्तिहितं नमामि ॥ १० ॥  
 सानंदमानंदवने वसंतमानंदकंदं हतपापवृद्धं ॥  
 वाराणसीनाथमनाथनाथं श्रीविश्वनाथं शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥ ११ ॥

that I place this shrine amongst modern establishments, and its *Purāṇika* history, as now current, I certainly class, for the present at least, among poems of very doubtful antiquity.

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इलापुरोरम्यशिवालयेस्मिन् समुल्लसंतं च जगद्वरेण्यं ॥  
 वंदे महोदारतरस्वभावं घृष्णेश्वराख्यं शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥ १२ ॥  
 ज्योतिर्मयं द्वादशलिंगकानां शिवात्मनां प्रोक्तमिदं प्रियेण ॥  
 स्तोत्रं पठित्वा मनुजोतिभक्त्या फलं तदालोचनजं भजेत १३ ॥  
 इति श्रीद्वादशलिंगात्मकं स्तोत्रं संपूर्णम् ॥ ० ॥”

## ॥ महाबलेश्वरमाहात्म्यम्. ॥

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्री विष्णवे नमः ॥

मिलिता नैमिषारण्ये सूतं शास्त्रविशारदं ॥  
 मुनयः सुकथां दिव्यां पप्रच्छुः पापनाशिनीं ॥ १ ॥  
 सद्वाद्रिमस्तके गंगाः पंच ज्ञाताः सुपुण्यदाः ॥  
 तद्वत्तास्मिन् ब्रह्मतीर्थं विष्णुतीर्थं तदग्रतः ॥ २ ॥  
 तदग्रे रुद्रतीर्थं च चक्रतीर्थं तदग्रतः ॥  
 तदग्रे हंसतीर्थं च तीर्थं चारण्यसंज्ञकं ॥ ३ ॥  
 मलापहं तस्य वामे चाष्टमं पितृमुक्तिदं ॥  
 तथा महाबलः शंभुर्द्वितीयोतिबलेश्वरः ॥ ४ ॥  
 कोटीश्वरः क्षेत्रपालस्तथा धूर्जटिरीश्वरः ॥  
 अरण्येष्वपि लिंगानि दिव्यदेवमयानि च ॥ ५ ॥  
 वेदाश्रमाः संति यत्र सर्वे देवास्तथैव च ॥  
 ब्रह्माविष्णुमहेशाद्या यत्र तिष्ठन्ति सर्वदा ॥ ६ ॥  
 अश्वत्थवृक्षस्तत्रास्ति सुवर्णदलमंडितः ॥  
 सर्वे ग्रहाः सानुकूलाः परं पुण्यप्रदं नृणां ॥ ७ ॥  
 एतादृशं महाक्षेत्रं माहात्म्यं ब्रूहि तस्य च ॥  
 सर्वकामप्रदं चैव भक्तिभुक्तिप्रदायकं ॥ ८ ॥  
 सूतउवाच ॥ शृण्वंतु ऋषयः सर्वे क्षेत्रमाहात्म्यमुत्तमं ॥  
 यच्च श्रवणमात्रेण सर्वकामप्रदं नृणां ॥ ९ ॥  
 भूमिलोकं विना ब्रह्मा चकार सृष्टिमुत्तमां ॥  
 पश्चाद् ब्रह्मा ब्रह्मलोके ध्यानयोगपरो भवत् ॥ १० ॥  
 बहुकालं तपश्चक्रे तदा विष्णुं तुतोष यत् ॥  
 परमात्मा ततस्तुष्टः प्रोवाच कमलासनं ॥ ११ ॥  
 भूमिलोके नृणां सृष्टिः कर्तव्या जीवसौख्यदा ॥  
 इत्याज्ञां हि समालभ्य आरेभे सृष्टिमुत्तमां ॥ १२ ॥



निर्मानुषीं महीं कृत्वा सशैलवनकाननां ॥  
 हरिं शिवं गृहीत्वादौ प्राप सद्याद्रिमस्तके ॥ १३ ॥  
 सरस्वतीं तथा श्रेष्ठां गंगां भागीरथीमपि ॥  
 कश्यपादिऋषीन् वेदान् समानीय तपोतपत् ॥ १४ ॥  
 ब्रह्मा चक्रे ब्रह्मतीर्थे विष्णुतीर्थे हरिर्हरः ॥  
 रुद्रतीर्थे तपश्चक्रुः सर्वे देवर्षयस्तथा ॥ १५ ॥  
 तपःसिद्धिस्तदा जाता सृष्टेरुत्पत्तिकारिणी ॥  
 तपस्थलानि तीर्थानि जातानि स्नानहेतवे ॥ १६ ॥  
 तदा ब्रह्महरीशाद्या यज्ञारंभं प्रचक्रमुः ॥  
 महाबलेश्वर इति तथा चातिबलेश्वरः ॥ १७ ॥  
 कोटीश्वरस्ततः पश्चाद्देवं ब्रह्मा प्रपूजयत् ॥ १८ ॥  
 ऋषय ऊचुः ॥ श्रुतानि लिंगनामानि ब्रह्मणा कल्पितानि च ॥  
 लिंगानां नामविख्यातिः कथं जाता भुवस्थले ॥ १९ ॥  
 एतद्विस्तरतोस्माकं कृपया ब्रूहि तत्त्वतः ॥  
 यस्य श्रवणमात्रेण पातकस्य क्षयो भवेत् ॥ २० ॥  
 सूतउवाच ॥ लिंगानां भूमिलोकेस्मिन्नानाविख्यातिरुत्तमा ॥  
 कारणं तस्य वक्ष्यामि शृणुध्वमृषिपुंगवाः ॥ २१ ॥  
 कुंभयोनिः पुरा काश्यां बहुकालं स्त्रिया सह ॥  
 मोक्षकामाय वसतिं चकार द्विजसत्तमः ॥ २२ ॥  
 तदा विंध्याद्रिमागत्य नारदः स्वेच्छया क्वचित् ॥  
 तमुवाच गिरं सूक्ष्मां मेरुस्त्वत्तोधिकः कथं ॥ २३ ॥  
 इति विंध्याचलः श्रुत्वा परां वृद्धिं गतस्तदा ॥  
 गतिं सूर्यस्य रुरुधे अंधकारो बभूवह ॥ २४ ॥  
 अनेन कारणेनैव सर्वे देवर्षयस्तदा ॥  
 काशीक्षेत्रं समागत्य कुंभयोनिं प्रतोष्य तु ॥ २५ ॥  
 विंध्याद्रिवृत्तं सकलं प्रोचुर्देवर्षयस्तदा ॥  
 विंध्योन्नतिं मुने ऋत्वा कुरु त्वं शिष्यशिक्षया ॥ २६ ॥

कुंभयोनिस्तदा काशीं त्यक्त्वा गत्वाथ दक्षिणां ॥  
 नम्रीकृत्य च विंध्याद्रिं प्रययौ लोहपर्वतं ॥ २७ ॥  
 लोषामुद्रा महाभागा भर्तृदेवा सहाध्वनि ॥  
 चरन्ती तेन धर्माणां निर्णयं विदधे गिरा ॥ २८ ॥  
 एवं चरन्ती कालेन लोहाद्रौ षण्मुखः पुरः ॥  
 दृष्ट्वा विश्रामयित्वा तौ स्वाश्रमे विदधेर्हणं ॥ २९ ॥  
 एतस्मिन् समयेमस्त्यः काशीविरहदुःखितः ॥  
 पंपच्छ षण्मुखं क्षेत्रं दक्षिणे काशिकासमं ॥ ३० ॥  
 अगस्त्यउवाच ॥ अहो गौरीहृदानंद स्वामिन् सर्वार्थदर्शन ॥  
 भवता भगवान् रुद्रः संपृष्टो गुह्यमप्युत ॥ ३१ ॥  
 भगवान् भूतभव्येशः सर्वज्ञः सकलार्थदः ॥  
 सर्वं तुभ्यमतिप्रीत्या जगाद गुणशालिने ॥ ३२ ॥  
 काशीरहस्यं भवता सम्यङ् मे प्रतिपादितं ॥  
 सद्द्याद्रौ मुख्यतीर्थानि श्रुतानि भवतो मया ॥ ३३ ॥  
 महाबलजटोद्भूताः पंच गंगाः कथं प्रभो ॥  
 तथैव लिंगनामानि विख्यातानि कथं भुवि ॥ ३४ ॥  
 कृष्णा वेणी तथैवान्या विख्याता या ककुभ्रती ॥  
 त्रयः पूर्वाण्वं याताः कस्मात्कार्यवशात्प्रभो ॥ ३५ ॥  
 कृष्णया सह सावित्री पश्चिमायां कथं गता ॥  
 एतद्विस्तरतो ब्रूहि सर्वशास्त्रविशारद ॥ ३६ ॥  
 षण्मुखउवाच ॥ किमर्थं पृच्छसेगस्त्य रहस्यं सर्वदेहिनां ॥  
 देवानामपि दुष्प्रापं कारणं वद मानसं ॥ ३७ ॥  
 अगस्त्यउवाच ॥ काशीविरहदुःखेन दुःखितोहं न संशयः ॥  
 तत्समं चाधिकं क्षेत्रं निवासाय ममास्तु तत् ॥ ३८ ॥  
 एतदर्थं तपः स्थानं मोक्षसाधनकारणं ॥  
 उत्तमं क्षेत्रमाहात्म्यं ब्रूहि षण्मुख तत्त्वतः ॥ ३९ ॥  
 सूतउवाच ॥ श्रुत्वा प्रज्ञं कुंभयोनेः स्मरन् शिवपदांबुजं ॥  
 षण्मुखो विस्तरादाह कथां पौराणिकीमिमां ॥ ४० ॥

आसीत्पाद्मे पुरा कल्पे दैत्यो नाम महाबलः ॥  
 तस्यानुजो प्यतिबलो महाबलपराक्रमः ॥ ४१ ॥  
 ताभ्यां विश्वमिदं कृत्स्नं परिपूर्णमुपप्लुतं ॥  
 तदा ब्रह्महरीशाना योद्धुं ताभ्यां समाययुः ॥ ४२ ॥  
 ततोतिबलमायातं दृष्ट्वा देवाः सवासवाः ॥  
 भयेन वेपमानांगा दैत्यदर्पपराजिताः ॥ ४३ ॥  
 ततः शस्त्रैर्महास्त्रैर्घैर्विष्णुनातिबलो रणे ॥  
 पातितोरिभिरन्यैश्च पुष्पवृष्टिस्तदाऽभवत् ॥ ४४ ॥  
 ततो हाहाकृतं वीक्ष्य स्वस्य सैन्यं महाबलः ॥  
 भ्रातुर्हतस्यापचितिं समिच्छन् रोषदुर्धरः ॥ ४५ ॥  
 तस्यानुगच्छतः शंभु विष्णुर्वा चतुराननः ॥  
 अनीशाः संमुखे स्थातुं ततो मायां प्रसस्मरुः ॥ ४६ ॥  
 देवाञ्जुः ॥ नमामस्त्वामादिभूतां जगद्धीजां परां सतीं ॥  
 महामायां गुणवतीं ब्रह्मेशानहरिस्तुतां ॥ ४७ ॥  
 यया सर्वं भेदरूपं कृतं चैतस्वभावतः ॥  
 त्वमीशानब्रह्मविष्णुस्वरूपा योगसिद्धिदा ॥ ४८ ॥  
 यया विश्वस्य बीजानि देवाः सर्वे विनिर्मिताः ॥  
 दत्तं देवान् परं रूपं सामर्थ्यं तैजसं वरं ॥ ४९ ॥  
 परां वाचं शास्त्रवतीं स्मृतिर्यस्यातिसिद्धिदा ॥  
 यस्मादस्मान्प्रसन्नासि दैत्यदर्पे विनाशय ॥ ५० ॥  
 इति स्तुतिमतिस्फीतां श्रुत्वा माया विमोहिनी ॥  
 सद्यो दैत्यं मोहयित्वा वारयामास संगरात् ॥ ५१ ॥  
 तदा महाबलो दैत्यः प्रतापानलदुर्धरः ॥  
 रणे प्रसादसुमुखः प्रोवाचेशाजमाधवान् ॥ ५२ ॥  
 वरान् वृणुत भद्रं वः प्रसन्नोस्मि सुरोत्तमाः ॥  
 करोमि यदभीष्टं वो मा संदेहः पदे मम ॥ ५३ ॥  
 ब्रह्मादयञ्जुः ॥ भवान्प्रसन्नो यदि नः संदेहो वचने न ते ॥  
 तर्हि वध्यस्त्वमस्माभिरेवं नोभीष्टदो वरः ॥ ५४ ॥

महाबलउवाच ॥ धन्योस्मि कृतकृत्योस्मि जन्म मे सफलं भवेत् ॥

यन्मे वचनसंकल्पात् वधमिच्छन्ति वै सुराः ॥ ५५ ॥

तस्मात्पुरुषवर्येण जीवितव्यं महात्मना ॥

यथा मे श्लाघ्ययशसो रिपवोऽपि वरार्थिनः ॥ ५६ ॥

कताहतांबुजदलप्रोच्छलद्भिन्दुवञ्चलं ॥

आयुस्तत्रापि यशसा यो जीवेत स धन्यभूः ॥ ५७ ॥

भारो धरण्यां न नगैर्नाब्धिभिर्न वनैर्धनैः ॥

निरस्तयशसां भारो धरण्यां जायते भृशं ॥ ५८ ॥

वरं बालस्य मरणं मातुर्वा गर्भपातनं ॥

तिर्यक्षु जननं वापि नायशोलिप्तजीवनं ॥ ५९ ॥

अहो भुवननाथस्य मम सेंद्रामरा नताः ॥

भोगा लोकस्य दुष्प्रापा मया भुक्तोऽक्षिता वराः ॥ ६० ॥

ज्वलत्काष्ठानलालोलप्रतापेन महीयसां ॥

यशोगृहाणि सहसा भस्मसात्कारितान्यलं ॥ ६१ ॥

देवाः सेवारताः सर्वे नराः किंकरतां गताः ॥

विषाशिनो हतश्वासा आशावासा द्विजाः कृताः ॥ ६२ ॥

सुरांगनाकरालोलोशीरव्यजनचालने ॥

कंकणध्वनयोमंदाः सांद्रान् कुर्वन्ति बर्हिणः ॥ ६३ ॥

कलानिधिकला मुक्ताः सुरतांतकृपावहाः ॥

मद्राष्ट्रे जनकांताभिः पौर्णिमास्विव नित्यशः ॥ ६४ ॥

लोकेशाशासनस्थानसहभुक्तमिदं जगत् ॥

तस्य वागीशलक्ष्मीशगौरीशाद्या वरार्थिनः ॥ ६५ ॥

अधुना भुक्तभोबोहं देहपाताद्यशोवहं ॥

सुरेशैरपि संश्लाघ्यं पुण्यं विस्तारयेद्दरः ॥ ६६ ॥

स्कंदउवाच ॥ एवं विमृश्य मतिमास्तानुवाच मनस्विराट् ॥

देहोयं भवतामग्रे कृतो वेगेन पात्यतां ॥ ६७ ॥

तदा ब्रह्मा पदद्वंद्वे आगलं विष्णुरास्थितः ॥

मूर्ध्नि रुद्रस्त्रयोदेवाः वरैस्तं ववुरुत्सुकाः ॥ ६८ ॥

ब्रह्मादय ऊचुः ॥ भोभो असुरवर्य त्वं वरयोग्योसि नोर्धक ॥

वृणुष्व वरमिष्टं ते दास्यामो भुवनेश्वराः ॥ ६९ ॥

महाबल उवाच ॥ नमामि देवान् सकलानभीष्टान् ब्रह्मेशविष्णून्  
जगतामधीशान् ॥

जगत्त्रयादींस्त्रिगुणोद्भवादीन् मायामयान् सृष्टिलयस्थितिक्ष-  
मान् ॥ ७० ॥

एकः पुमान् शक्तिगुणस्वभावैः सिद्धो विभिन्नो जगदादिसिद्धयै ॥

ते ब्रह्मविष्णुप्रमथाधिनाथा नामानि कर्मानुगुणानि भेषुः ॥ ७१ ॥

नमोस्तु शक्तित्रयभावरूपिणे नमोस्तु रूपत्रयभेददर्शिने ॥

नमोस्तु विश्वादितितिग्महारिणे नमोस्तु विद्याहतभेदमूर्तये ॥ ७२ ॥

नमो गुणव्याहतभेदचक्षुषे नमो गुणाकारविकारदर्शिने ॥

नमो गुणाराममृगांबुदर्शिने नमो गुणैराहतरूपदर्शिने ॥ ७३ ॥

अनंतपारं भवसागरं भवत्पदं प्रयाताः प्रतरन्ति निर्भयाः ॥

भवत्पदस्पर्शहृत्तैनसो मम श्रमो गतोत्राद्भुतमत्र किं पुनः ॥ ७४ ॥

यदीक्षणस्पर्शहताघपुंजा यदर्चनोपात्तसुभद्रभद्रपाः ॥

तेषां पुरो मेर्षितमंगमेतत्ततोत्र सर्वं खलु याचनीयं ॥ ७५ ॥

ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेशाना दातारश्चेद्वरं मम ॥

वाञ्छितं मम सर्वस्वं दातव्यं सुरसत्तमैः ॥ ७६ ॥

मनुष्याणां यदा सृष्टिं कर्तुमिच्छति चेद्विधिः ॥

विष्णुस्तु पालनं तद्वच्छिवस्तत्क्षयकारकः ॥ ७७ ॥

तदेदं वाञ्छितं देयं मुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदायकं ॥

एतद्वरस्य दानेन सौख्यं यातु जनेष्वपि ॥ ७८ ॥

प्रसन्नोसि यदा शंभो तदास्मिन् सद्यमस्तके ॥

मन्नाम्ना लिंगरूपस्त्वं सृष्ट्यादौ भव शंकर ॥ ७९ ॥

मस्तके पंचगंगानामुत्पत्तिश्चास्तु संततं ॥

मद्भ्रातृनाम्ना विष्णुस्त्वं दिव्यलिंगं भव प्रभो ॥ ८० ॥

सैन्यस्य मम कोटीनां कोटीशो भव पद्मज ॥

मन्नाम्ना ख्यातिमागत्य क्षेत्रं चास्तु भुवि प्रभो ॥ ८१ ॥

सर्वे देवास्तथा क्षेत्रे सर्वे वेदास्तथैव च ॥

तिष्ठंतु सर्वदा लोकभोगमोक्षप्रदायकाः ॥ ८२ ॥

गुरौ कन्यागते जाते यात्रां कुर्वति ये जनाः ॥

तेषां दारिद्र्यदुःखं च नाशमायातु नित्यशः ॥ ८३ ॥

अस्मिन् क्षेत्रे तु यात्रार्थमागच्छन्ति च ये जनाः ॥

तेषां स्नानेन दानेन पूजनेनापसंक्षयः ॥ ८४ ॥

एवं चरित्रं त्वितिहासरूपं परं पवित्रं पठतां हि शृण्वतां ॥

चतुर्विधास्मत्पुरुषार्थसिद्धिदं श्रीभोगलाभोस्तु परत्र लोके ॥ ८५ ॥

महाबलेश्वरः सैष तथाचातिबलेश्वरः ॥

कोटीश्वरोपि हि तदा विख्यातोभुवि चाद्भुतः ॥ ८६ ॥

एवं परं हि माहात्म्यं सर्वपापप्रणाशनं ॥

पठतां शृण्वतां मोक्षं भूमौ सौख्यं प्रप्नुयते ॥ ८७ ॥

इति श्रीस्कंदपुराणे सद्याद्री महाबलेश्वरक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यवर्णनं नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

ऋषयश्चुः ॥ श्रुतो लिंगत्रयस्थैवमुद्भवो भवतोमुखात् ॥

तत्र गंगाः कथं जातास्तद्वद शृण्वतां पुनः ॥ १ ॥

सूतउवाच ॥ एवं लिंगत्रयं क्षेत्रे श्रेष्ठं सृष्टेः परंतपाः ॥

तन्मस्तके पंच गंगाः कथं भूता वदामि वः ॥ २ ॥

ब्रह्मा यज्ञस्य चारंभे निर्विघ्नकरणाय च ॥

लिंगानि त्रीणि संपूज्य चारंभे यज्ञमंडपं ॥ ३ ॥

ब्रह्मारण्ये महाघोरे चकार यज्ञमंडपं ॥

विस्तीर्णं भूषितं स्वर्णमुक्ताभिर्विद्रुमैरपि ॥ ४ ॥

चकार यज्ञसामग्रीं समग्रां दृष्टिगोचरां ॥

ऋषीन्देवास्तथा साध्यान्सिद्धान्यक्षान्मुनीन् विधिः ॥ ५ ॥

सुमुहूर्तेतिसंप्राप्ते भूषिते वेदिकांगणे ॥

ऋषिभिः परितो रेजे ग्रहैरिव निशाकरः ॥ ६ ॥

देवा विष्णुमहेशाद्याः सभ्यास्तत्र महाक्रतौ ॥

लोकपाला वेत्रधरा वेदावै परिचारकाः ॥ ७ ॥

सिद्धाः साध्याः सयक्षाद्या नागाः किंपुरुषांगनाः ॥  
 सर्वे प्रमुदितास्तत्र यज्ञभरिरुपाययुः ॥ ८ ॥  
 ब्रह्मा प्रजापरिवृतो मुहूर्ते वेदिकामुखे ॥  
 स्थितः पुरोहितेनार्या सावित्रीं समुपाव्हयत् ॥ ९ ॥  
 सावित्री यज्ञसंपत्तिमद्भुतां वीक्ष्य संभ्रमात् ॥  
 शृंगारान् रूपलावण्यानुरूपान् कर्तुमैच्छत् ॥ १० ॥  
 पुरोहितस्य वचनं न कापि शृणुते यदा ॥  
 तदा मुहूर्तक्रमणे भीतः प्रोचे सभासदः ॥ ११ ॥  
 सावित्री संभ्रमेणार्या त्वरया नागमिष्यति ॥  
 मुहूर्तमतिशेते हि यज्ञारंभो भवेत्कथं ॥ १२ ॥  
 गायत्री चेत्समानेया सावित्री रोषमेष्यति ॥  
 अतोविचार्य सभ्येशैर्वक्तव्यं धर्मतो वचः ॥ १३ ॥  
 स्कंदउवाच ॥ इत्थं पुरोधसोवाक्यं श्रुत्वा सभ्या विनिर्णयं ॥  
 यदा कर्तुं समर्था न प्रोवाच श्रीपतिस्तदा ॥ १४ ॥  
 विष्णुरुवाच ॥ ज्येष्ठा कनिष्ठा द्वे भार्ये सुखार्थं धर्मगुप्तये ॥  
 संकटे ज्येष्ठभार्यायाः कनिष्ठापि प्रशस्यते ॥ १५ ॥  
 मुहूर्तातिक्रमो माभूद्रायत्री यातु सत्वरं ॥  
 सावित्रीचेद्भवेद्गुष्टा शास्यतेस्माभिरीश्वरैः ॥ १६ ॥  
 स्कंदउवाच ॥ विष्णोर्वचो धर्मपरं श्रुत्वा सर्वे सभासदः ॥  
 तथेत्यूचुः साधुसाधु गायत्री धर्मभागिति ॥ १७ ॥  
 तदा पुरोधास्त्वरया गायत्रीं समुपाव्हयत् ॥  
 अर्द्धासनेन पत्युः सा रेजे भूरिव शार्ङ्गिणः ॥ १८ ॥  
 विप्रा दृष्टाः स्वस्त्ययनं चक्रुः सभ्या महास्वनैः ॥  
 वाद्यानि ववदुस्तूर्णं पणवाद्यानि जग्धिरे ॥ १९ ॥  
 वेदघोषैर्द्विजाञ्चुर्बेदिनस्तुतिमंगलैः ॥  
 गायकागायनैः सिद्धाः साध्याश्च जयनिस्वनैः ॥ २० ॥  
 तेन घोषेण महता दिक्कर्णाः पूरितास्तदा ॥  
 ब्रह्मांडमदृष्ट्वासेन स्फुटेत्प्रतिरवैरिव ॥ २१ ॥

अप्सरानर्तनं चक्रुर्मण्डपे सुमहोत्सवैः ॥  
 तावद् घोषेण महता सावित्री चकितापतत् ॥ २२ ॥  
 उत्थाय किमिदं चित्रमिति व्याकुलमानसा ॥  
 पुरोधसः परावृत्तिं प्रतीक्षन्ती व्यतिष्ठत ॥ २३ ॥  
 तावता मंगलाभ्यक्ताः सुवासिन्यः सुमंगलाः ॥  
 नीराजनान् ग्राहयित्वा यज्ञादौ गृहमाविशन् ॥ २४ ॥  
 स्वलंकृताभिस्ताभिस्तु कथितो यज्ञविस्तरः ॥  
 कुपिता वेगतः प्रायाद्रक्ताक्षी यज्ञमण्डपं ॥ २५ ॥  
 तावद्ब्रह्मा च गायत्री प्रतिष्ठाप्य हुताशनं ॥  
 सुस्थिरौ यज्ञदीक्षायां दृष्ट्वा प्रोवाच सा वचः ॥ २६ ॥  
 सावित्र्युवाच ॥ अहो पश्यत सभ्यानां धर्मज्ञानमधर्मधीः ॥  
 या धर्मपत्नी यज्ञांगं तां विहाय कृतोमखः ॥ २७ ॥  
 यएते बडबुद्धित्वान्मामुलंघ्य यशस्विनीं ॥  
 धर्मातिक्रममारेभुरतः संतु जडात्मकाः ॥ २८ ॥  
 सावित्र्याः शापमाकर्ण्य सुरा विष्णुपुरोगमाः ॥  
 शापमुक्तिकरं वाक्यं प्रोचुः सात्विकभाषणैः ॥ २९ ॥  
 ब्रह्मादय ऊचुः ॥ त्वमेव यज्ञरूपासि यज्ञमूलं त्वमेव हि ॥  
 यज्ञारंभो न कर्तव्यः सर्वेभ्यश्चांतरं पतत् ॥ ३० ॥  
 क्षमां कुरु जगद्धात्रि पवित्रे सृष्टिरूपिणि ॥  
 शापमुक्तिः प्रकर्तव्या श्रेष्ठया कृपया त्वया ॥ ३१ ॥  
 सर्वे देवाश्च ऋषयस्त्वत्तः सृष्टिमयाभवन् ॥  
 अतः सर्वानुद्धर त्वं यदि त्वं जननी मता ॥ ३२ ॥  
 इति श्रुत्वा सुवचनं ब्रह्मादीनां परंतपा ॥  
 सावित्री शापनिर्मुक्तिं चकार करुणान्विता ॥ ३३ ॥  
 ब्रह्माविष्णुमहेशाश्च मामुलंघ्य यशस्विनीं ॥  
 धर्मातिक्रममारेभुरतः संतु बलात्मकाः ॥ ३४ ॥  
 स्त्रियोनाम्ना प्रथां यातु गायत्र्याः पक्षपाततः ॥  
 गायत्र्यपि नदी भूयात्केनापीयं नलक्षिता ॥ ३५ ॥



यावत्सभ्याः सुराः सर्वे नदीरूपाभविष्यथ ॥  
 विष्णुरेष महासभ्यो यथावादि तथास्त्वयं ॥ ३६ ॥  
 विष्णुरुवाच ॥ या भर्तुराज्ञामुलंघ्य स्वयं मानं समीहवे ॥  
 सा कथं धर्मपत्नी त्वं लोके प्रख्यां गमिष्यसि ॥ ३७ ॥  
 भर्तरि धर्मसेतूनां पालनाय व्रते स्थिते ॥  
 मुहूर्तसंकटे भूषासंभ्रमः क तवार्भकि ॥ ३८ ॥  
 यज्ञभारस्तु सिद्धोयं मुहूर्तोपि समीपगः ॥  
 इतिसंकटमाज्ञाय गायत्री सा मयोदिता ॥ ३९ ॥  
 आरंभेन तवार्याया गतं किंच करस्थितं ॥  
 पुरोयज्ञांगमापूर्णं भवत्या संभविष्यति ॥ ४० ॥  
 तावद्विचारमुत्सृज्य शापं प्रादादकारणं ॥  
 गच्छ त्वं जलरूपेण नदी प्रत्यक् पयोनिधिं ॥ ४१ ॥  
 एवमन्योन्यशापाभ्यां संकटं ह्युभयोरपि ॥  
 तदंशेन भवध्वं भोइति बाला जगौ वचः ॥ ४२ ॥  
 एवंच ता महानद्यः प्रभूताः सह्यमस्तके ॥  
 तदा महाबलेशस्य मूर्द्धतः सहसोद्वताः ॥ ४३ ॥  
 गच्छंतः पश्चिमाब्धिं ता याता अश्वत्थसन्निधौ ॥  
 पंच गंगाः समुत्तेरुः स्मृतिमात्राखिलार्थदाः ॥ ४४ ॥  
 ततोवेदाः पुरस्तस्थुर्विष्णोः स्तुतिभिरादृताः ॥  
 स्वामिन्पूर्वाणवं याहीत्यादृतोलोकपावनः ॥ ४५ ॥  
 इतिवेदस्तुतिं विष्णोः श्रुत्वा देवाः सवासवाः ॥  
 सावित्रीप्रार्थनां चक्रुः शापमोक्षस्य कारणं ॥ ४६ ॥  
 सावित्री प्रददौ सर्वान् शापमोक्षं हि कृष्णया ॥  
 संगमो यस्य देवस्य स देवः पूर्ववद्भवेत् ॥ ४७ ॥  
 स्कंदउवाच ॥ तथाचाश्वत्थमूलान्ताः पंच गंगाः पराः शुभाः ॥  
 ब्रह्मतीर्थसमीपस्थाः प्रकटागोमुखे ववुः ॥ ४८ ॥  
 कृष्णा कृष्णः शिवोवैष्णो ब्रह्मा चैव ककुद्गती ॥  
 सावित्री सा तु सावित्री गायत्री चापि तादृशी ॥ ४९ ॥

परस्परं संगमोभूत्सरिता पापमुक्तिदः ॥  
 संगमे पंच गंगानां स्नानान्मोक्षोभिजायते ॥ ५० ॥  
 अथवा ब्रह्मतीर्थे ये मज्जन्ति जलधारया ॥  
 ते यांति परमं स्थानं यावच्चंद्रदिवाकरौ ॥ ५१ ॥  
 एवं पूर्वोदितान्यष्टौ तीर्थानि सह्यपर्वते ॥  
 तत्र स्नानेन संपत्तिः संततिर्जायते ध्रुवं ॥ ५२ ॥  
 एवं क्षेत्रं समुत्पन्नं महापुण्यकरं शुभं ॥  
 इति ज्ञात्वा सुराः सर्वे ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवः सह ॥ ५३ ॥  
 सावित्रीं तु सुसंधाय सृष्टेरुत्पत्तिकारिणीं ॥  
 यज्ञं सांगं महारण्ये ब्रह्माद्याश्चक्रुस्तमं ॥ ५४ ॥  
 पूर्णाहुतिं ततः कृत्वा यज्ञाग्निं तुष्टुवुः परं ॥  
 ततश्चावभृथस्नानं सर्वे देवाः सवासवाः ॥ ५५ ॥  
 कर्तव्यं कीति चक्रुस्ते विचारं सुरसत्तमाः ॥  
 मिलित्वा यज्ञभूमौ च ब्रह्मेशानजनार्दनाः ॥ ५६ ॥  
 पूर्वाण्वं तु कृष्णाद्याः प्रस्थिताः प्राक्पयोनिधिं ॥  
 तदा शापस्य निर्मुक्त्यै रुद्राद्याः सहगाययुः ॥ ५७ ॥  
 सावित्री शापमोक्षाय प्रार्थयामास माधवं ॥  
 तदोमिति हरिः सार्द्धं तया प्रत्यङ्मुखोययौ ॥ ५८ ॥  
 एवं कृष्णोभयमुखी सावित्री वेदसंस्तुता ॥  
 पूर्वपश्चिमपाथोधी मिलिते जनपावनी ॥ ५९ ॥  
 ते तत्रावभृताख्यंहि स्नानं चक्रुः सुपुण्यदं ॥  
 तत्र जातानि तीर्थानि पापहानिकराणि च ॥ ६० ॥  
 पश्चिमाब्धौ शुक्लतीर्थं सावित्रीसिधुसंगमे ॥  
 सार्धत्रिकोटितीर्थानां फलं दास्यति सर्वदा ॥ ६१ ॥  
 एवं पूर्वाण्वे कृष्णा जाता संगमरूपिणी ॥  
 तत्र तीर्थान्यनेकानि बभूवुः पापमुक्तये ॥ ६२ ॥  
 यत्र यत्र भवेत्संगः कृष्णया सरितां पदे ॥  
 तत्र तत्र महापुण्यं मुक्तिश्चैव न संशयः ॥ ६३ ॥  
 कृष्णावेण्योः समायोगं ककुद्गत्या च कृष्णया ॥  
 सावित्र्याः कृष्णया योगं पश्यन्तोमुक्तिभागिनः ॥ ६४ ॥

॥ १ ॥ कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ २ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ ३ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ ४ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ ५ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ ६ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ ७ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ ८ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ ९ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ १० ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ ११ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ १२ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ १३ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ १४ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ १५ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ १६ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ १७ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ १८ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ १९ ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥  
 कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं कृष्णं ॥ २० ॥

इति श्रीमहादेवगुणेश्वरसंज्ञादिपर्वणे श्रीमहाबलेश्वरक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यवर्णनं नाम  
 द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

कृष्णं विदधाति वाङ्मनःकुलं वेणा रिपोःसंक्षयं दद्यादत्र ककुपती कुल-  
 धनीन गुणान् शतं शर्मणं ॥ मावित्री श्रियमातनोति सुमुदा ज्ञानं च गायत्रिका  
 वागाधः मन्त्रं महाबलशिव कृष्णादिगंगाधरः ॥ १ ॥ श्रीपंचगंगाधरार्पणमस्तु ॥

ART. II.—*Transcript and Translation of a Copper-plate Grant of the Fifth Century of the Christian Era, found in Gujerat by Manekji Aderji, Esq., G.G.M.C., with Remarks.* By Prof. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A.

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Read 13th April 1871.

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THE Tāmra-patra, a transcript and translation of which I have the pleasure of submitting to the Society to-day, consists of two rectangular plates, each  $11\frac{1}{4}$  inches long and  $6\frac{3}{4}$  wide, originally joined together by two thick rings passing through two holes in one of the longer sides of each. One of the rings is lost, but the other is in a good state of preservation, and has a conical ball of copper attached to it, on which the seal is impressed. The lines of engraved letters are parallel to the longer sides. The copper-plate was found in a village in the Surat Collectorate by Mr. Manekji Aderji, G.G.M.C., and sent to me to be deciphered and translated.

The characters are a variety of the Deva-nāgarî, resembling that given in the fourth line of Prinsep's table, which was used in Gujerat in the early centuries of the Christian era. There is, however, some difference in the formation of several letters. The ञ differs from Prinsep's in having the uppermost horizontal stroke turned up and twisted, and the ञ looks like the Roman B with the perpendicular stroke placed horizontally. There are two varieties of ञ, one resembling that given by Prinsep, and occurring also in the Girnar inscriptions, which consists of two perpendicular strokes on a horizontal one, that to the left being twisted at the upper end; and the other looks like the Greek ρ. The ञ and the mâtṛâ look exactly like those in the modern Deva-nāgarî. The writing is incorrect in many places, which circumstance increased the difficulty of deciphering.

The language of the copper-plate is Sanskrit. It purports to be a grant of a village named Râchhchhavam, in the district of Ankules'vara, in Gujerat, to one Nârâyana, the son of Govinda, a Rigvedi Brahman of the Kas'yapa Gotra, residing in Abhichchhatra. The king who granted it belonged to the Gurjjara dynasty, and was named

Dadda.\* His father's name was Jayabhata, and his grandfather's Dada. From the sign-manual it appears that Dadda had another name, which was Pras'anta-râga, and Jayabhata was also called Vîta-râga. But these sound like euphonious epithets or titles, and could hardly have been proper names, for the first means 'one whose passions are cooled,' and the other, 'one whose passions have disappeared or ceased to exist,' expressions which persons who are religious, or affect to be so, delight in. The writer or engraver was a minister of the name of Reva, the son of Mâdhava. From the opening benediction, the seat of the dynasty appears to have been Broach. The date is Jyeshtha, amâvâsyâ or new-moon-day, 417 of S'aka Nripa, i.e., of the era now known as S'alivâhana's, corresponding to the 9th of June, 495 A.C. The seal bears the name of Dada, grandfather of the reigning sovereign.

The grant is in the usual style of such documents, but bears what I should consider a family likeness to the Valabhî or other Gujerat copper-plates. Several expressions may be quoted in support of this view. The reading, for instance, of some of the verses from the Mahâbhârata, is the same in all these plates, while in the Southern grants it is different.

In the seventh volume of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* is published a transcript of a grant made by a king of the Gurjjara dynasty, along with some observations on it. A fresh transcript of it has been given by Prof. Dowson in the 1st volume of the *Journal*, new series, of the Royal Asiatic Society. In this a few of the mistakes of the first have been corrected. Prof. Dowson has collated with it another grant of the same king, similar to it in most respects, and given *facsimiles* of both. The copper-plates were discovered at Kaira by Dr. Burns. These we will distinguish by the Nos. 2 and 3, as the Professor has done. The present grant is by the same king as these two, the reasons for the statement being decisive. The king in Dr. Burns' plates belongs to the Gurjjara dynasty, as in the present grant. His name is Pras'anta-râga, as given in the sign-manual, which,

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\* The word is S'rimaddadda. If S'ri only were taken to be the honorific prefix, as it always is, the name would be Maddadda; if S'rimad, it would be Dadda. Prof. Dowson's facsimiles favour the latter supposition, though S'rimad, I must say, I have never found used as a prefix to the names of kings; and even in the present plate, the prefix is S'ri in the case of Jayabhata, the second king. The same remark holds good in the case of the name Dada.

however, the editors of the Bengal Society's Journal read Pras'ânga-râga; and his father's name is Jayabhata and also Vîta-râga. The writer's name is, as in the present copper-plate, Reva, and six lines of the eulogy of one of the kings correspond, word for word, in all the three. Ankules'vara and Broach are also mentioned there, though the occasion is different. But the grandfather's name is Dada in the present copper-plate, and Sâmantadatta in both of Dr. Burns', and the second name of the reigning sovereign given in the body of these latter is, according to Prof. Dowson, S'rîdatta-Kus'alî, while it is Dadda in the former. Now, there can be no question that the Professor has misread the name of this king; for the word *Kus'alî* means "enjoying health," and is used in most of the grants I have seen, where it is only thus to be interpreted. The usage of the country, to this day, also requires that this word, or an expression equivalent to it, should be used by the writer of a letter with reference to himself, before speaking of the matter in hand. Besides, in the present copper-plate and in No. 2, the word preceding *Kus'alî* has the nominative termination (*visarga*) attached to it, which shows that *Kus'alî* is an independent word, and forms no part of the one that precedes. Again, the word *S'rî* is a mere honorific prefix used before the names of kings; so that the real name is reduced to Datta. Now, referring to the *facsimile*, I find that the letters the Professor reads as two *t*'s are exactly similar to the first, which he takes to be a *d*, and are clearly two *d*'s. The name, therefore, is Dadda. Again, in the *facsimile* of No. 3, the king's name looks like Daddam. But the letter which resembles *m*, and is so read by Prof. Dowson, is in reality the symbol\* for the *Jihvâ-mûlîya*, which, according to Pan. VIII. 3—37, is an optional substitute for *visarga* before a hard guttural. The name therefore may be taken to be the same in all the three plates. Now, as to Sâmantadatta, I am inclined to doubt the faithfulness of the *facsimiles* in this case. For, as the name stands there, it is without the almost indispensable prefix of *S'rî* which we find in the case of both the other names and in almost all other copper-plates. This *S'rî* has perhaps been misread by the decipherer as *Sâ*. And the *Datta* being in this case also *Dadda*, the name is very likely the same, or nearly the same, as in the present plate. Or perhaps the word *Sâmantâ*, signifying as it does "a subordinate prince or chief," may have been used in Nos. 2 and 3 as a title. The dates also of Dr. Burns' plates are perfectly consistent with the

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\* I have since seen this symbol before ऌ in several Valabhi plates.

supposition of their common origin. That of No. 2 is 380, and of No. 3, 385, i.e., the first grant was made 37 and the second 32 years before the present one. And 37 years are not too long a period for a single reign. Prof. Dowson and the editors of the Bengal Society's Journal consider the dates 380 and 385 to refer to the era of Vikramâditya, but the only reason is the use of the word *Samvatsara*. This word, however, means simply a year, and does not indicate any reference to a particular era. And this is confirmed by its use in the present grant, with the expression S'aka-Nripa-Kâla before it. The common origin of the three grants, therefore, would necessitate the dates 380 and 385 being taken to refer to the S'aka era. For if they were not so taken, the interval between this and the other two grants would be about 171 and 166 years.

But as some antiquarians think that the S'aka-Nripa-Kâla is often confounded with the Samvat era "even by indigenous writers,"\* it may be said that notwithstanding the use of that expression in the present copper-plate, its date 417, as well as those of Dr. Burns', may refer to the era of Vikramâditya. This point can, however, be easily determined. In the present grant, mention has been made of the occurrence of a solar eclipse on the day on which it was executed. I wrote to my respected friend Professor Keru Lakshman, a few days ago, to ascertain if there was such an eclipse on the Amâvasyâ or conjunction day of Jyeshtha in the year 417 of S'âlivâhana, and also whether there was a possibility of an eclipse on the same day of the same year of the Samvat era. His answer is that, on a rough calculation, he finds that on that day, which, supposing the era to be S'âlivâhana's, corresponds to the 9th of June, 495 A. C., the distance of the sun from the moon's ascending node was about  $12^{\circ} 14'$ . He therefore thinks that there was a solar eclipse on that day; but it must have been a partial one, and have begun in the afternoon, a short time before sunset. But on that day of that year of the Samvat era, there was, he says, no possibility of an eclipse, since the sun's distance from the node was about 8 signs and  $9^{\circ}$ . This, therefore, proves that the date of the present copper-plate, and hence those of Dr. Burns' No. 2 and No. 3, refer to the S'aka era, and that the use of the word *Samvatsara* does not by any means show the era to be Vikrama's. And, by the way, it would also

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\* See Dr. Bhau Daji on Merutunga's Theravali, *Journal B. B. R. A. S.*, vol. IX., page 156.

appear that it is more reasonable to regard the era used in other Gujerat copper-plates, such as those of the Valabhî dynasty, to be that of the S'aka king, than to assume it as the Samvat, since the three plates of the Gurjjara dynasty I have been considering may well be taken to indicate the prevalent usage. And this supposition thoroughly agrees with the Valabhî era discovered by Colonel Tod from a Somnath inscription, which began in 319 A.C. One would naturally take this era to commence from the date of Bhatârka, the founder of the family, and not from that of any of his successors, as Mr. Wathen has done without any good reason, though one of these may have brought it for the first time into use. The date of the copper-plate grant of Dhruva Sena, the sixth in descent from Bhatârka, published in the seventh volume of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, is 365,\* which if taken to refer to the Samvat would correspond to 309 A.C., i.e., ten years before the foundation of the dynasty. But if, however, the era were assumed to be that of S'âlivâhana, the date would correspond to 443 A.C., that is, the interval between the first king of the family and the person sixth in descent from him would be 124 years, which, I think, is a reasonable period. The editors of the Journal, simply from the occurrence of the word *Samvatsara*, take the era used to be Vikrama's, and give up Colonel Tod's discovery of the Valabhî era, from its inconsistency with their supposition. But we see that the two dates are perfectly reconcilable if we take the era of the S'aka king instead of the *Samvat*.

Mr. Thomas has reprinted, in his edition of Prinsep's Essays, the two papers in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal* which I have noticed, with the remark "that the dates of all these documents require accurate re-examination and revision, and that the geographical questions involved demand even in a greater degree an exact and formal definition."

The present copper-plate grant throws, I think, much light on these questions. We have seen that the era used in this and the other grants of the Gurjjara dynasty is that of the S'aka king; that the word *Samvatsara* does not by any means denote the Samvat era, and that if the usage indicated by these grants were understood to be

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\* I have shown in a paper since read at a meeting of the Society that this date must be read as 356, and that the most probable starting-point for the Valabhî era is the coronation of Dronasinha, the second son of Bhatârka, and in another, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, No. 1, that the grantor in the plate referred to in the text is S'ilâditya II., the eighth in descent from Bhatârka.



applicable to the Valabhî plates, their dates would be consistent with the discovery of Colonel Tod. The seat of the Gurjjara dynasty was Broach. But this appears to have been the name of the city, as well as of the country around it. In the Narmadâ-mâhâtmya, Bhrîgu-Kachchha is mentioned as a holy place on the northern bank of the river, about two miles long from east to west,\* and the descriptions of many other similar places farther down the river wind up with the remark, "Thus ends the description of *such and such* a place in Bhrîgu-Kachchha." Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, also speaks of a kingdom of Broach. Ankules'vara, mentioned in the plate, has preserved its name unaltered.

About four miles to the North-east of Elao, in the vicinity of which the copper-plate was found, is the village of Walner, which seems to correspond to the Varnera of the grant. It is eight miles to the South-west of Ankules'vara. The river Varandâ appears to be the modern Wand Kharee; and about a mile and a half from Walner is the village of Surtham, answering to the Sarathuam [or Arathuam] of our plate. Sunthavadaka, which is mentioned as the eastern boundary of Râchhchhavam, I have not been able to discover on the map, though there is such a place as Koṭhadara there. But from the other places I have found, Râchhchhavam, the village conveyed by the grant, appears to be the modern Racheed.

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\* रेवाया उत्तरे तीरे गभोरंचाभिचारिणि । प्रागुदक्प्रवणे देशे तीर्थकौटिबिभूषितम् ॥ क्लेशप्रमाणं तत्क्षेत्रं प्रासादशतसंकुलं . . . . . चकार मुदितो भृगुः ॥

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- १ ॐ स्वस्ति विजयविक्षेपात् भरुकच्छ\* प्रहारनास[श]कात् सकलघनष्टलविनिर्गतरजनीकरकरावबोधितकुमुद-
- २ धवलयश[ः]प्रतापस्थगितनभोमण्डलेनैकसमरसङ्कटप्रमुखगतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधूप्रभातसम-
- ३ यरुदितफ[च्छ]लोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिशप्रतापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणामोद्दुष्टवज्रमणिकोटिरुचिरदी-
- ४ धितिविराजितमुकुटोद्भासितशिराः दीनानाथातुर[रा]भ्यागतार्थजन[ना]क्लिष्टपरिपूरितविभवमनोरथोपचीयमानत्रिविष्ट-
- ५ पैकसहायधर्मसञ्चयः प्रणयपरिकुपितमानिर्नीजनप्रणामपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशकृतविदग्धना-
- ६ गरकस्वभावो विमलगुणपञ्जरक्षिप्तबहुलकलितिमिरनिचयः श्रीमद्ददस्तस्य सूनु[ः]समदप्रतिद्विगजघटा-
- ७ भेदिनिस्त्रिशविक्रमप्रकटितमृगपतिकिसो[शो]रवीर्य[यो]वलेपः पयोनिधिकृतउभयतटप्ररूढध[व]नैलेख[खा]विहतिनि-

रंकुशदानप्रवा.

- ८ हप्रवृत्तदिग्दन्तिविभ्रमगुणसमूहः स्फटिककर्पूरपिण्डपाण्डुरयशश्चन्दनचञ्चितसमुन्नतगगनलक्ष्मपियाध.
- ९ रोत्सङ्गः श्रीजयभटस्तस्यात्मजः प्रतिहतसकलजगद्वयापिदोषाधिकारविजृम्भितसन्ततितमोवृत्ति[र्त्त]रधिकगुरुस्नेह-
- १० संपन्नविमलदिशोद्भासितजीवलोकः परमबोधसमानुगतो विपुलगुर्ज्जरनृपान्म[न्व]यप्रदीपतामुपगतः
- ११ समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्ददः कुशली सर्वानेव राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्राभकूटयु.
- १२ त्तकानियुक्ताधिकमहत्तरार्दीत्समाज्ञापयति अस्तु वो विदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैवाम्भिकपुण्ययशो-

\* This may, I think, be also read as भरु कच्छ पूर्वर; though the letters here look exactly like the प्र I find in other places in the copper-plate.

- १३ भिवृद्धये अभिच्छत्रवास्तव्यत [?] चातुर्विद्यसा [सं] मान्यकश्यपश (स) गोत्रबहुचसब्रह्मचारिभट्टगोविन्दस्त-  
 १४ स्य सूनुभट्टनर[नारा] यण[णा] यबलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपण्य [ञ्च] महाज [य] ज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्पण [णा] र्थ अङ्कुलेश्वरविषय-  
 कु

[या] न्तःपातिराह्यु.

- १५ वं ग्रामोस्याघ [घा] टस्थ [।] नानि पूर्वतः वारणेरग्रामः दक्षिणतः वरंदनदीः [दी] पश्चिमतः शृंठवडकग्रामः उत्तरत-  
 १६ अ[स?] रठुअंग्रामः एवमयं स्वचतुराघाटनविशुद्धो ग्रामः सोद्रङ्गसपरिकरसधान्यहिरण्यदेयसोत्पद्यमानविष्टिक-  
 १७ समस्तराजकीयन[याना] मप्रवेश्यम [मा] चंद्रर्को [द्रार्को] णवक्षितिसारित्पर्वतसमानकालीनपुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यपूर्वप्रत्तदेव.  
 १८ ब्रह्मदायवर्जमभ्यांतरसिद्धय [माभ्यन्तरासिद्धया] शकनृपकालातीतसंवच्छ [त्स] रशतचतुष्टये सप्तदशाधिक्रयेष्ट [ज्येष्ठा] मा-  
 वास्यासूर्यग्रा.

- १९ हे उदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितं [तः] यतोस्योचितय [या] ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या कृषतः कर्षयतो भुञ्जतो भोजयतः प्रतिदिश-  
 २० तो वा न व्यासेधः प्रवर्तितव्य [ः] तथागामिभिरपि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यभूमिदानफलमवेत्य बिन्दूल्लोलान्य-  
 नित्यान्यैश्वर्या.

- २१ णि तृणाग्रलमजलबिन्दुचण्य [ञ्च] लन्व [ञ्च] जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदायनिर्विसे [शे] षोयमस्मद [दा] योनुमन्तव्यः पालयि-  
 तव्यश्च तथाचोक्तं.

- २२ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्त (क्ता) राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ यश्च [श्चा] ज्ञानति-  
 मिरावृतमतिरा-

चिन्त्यादाच्छिद्यमानमनुमोदेत वा सपण्व [ञ्च] भिर्महापातैकरूपपातैश्च संयुक्त [ः] स्यादिति उक्तं च भगवता

व्याघ्रे [से] णष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं वसेत् ॥ यानीह

स [श] स्कराणि निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनरादर्शित । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा य-  
महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं । लिखितमिदं संधिविग्रह [हा] धिकृतरेवेण म(मा)धवसु-

मम

*Translation.*

Security [freedom] from interruption in the race of victory calculated to violate the gate of the city of Bharukachchhâ ! There was S'rîmad Dada, whose fame and glory, as purely bright as the lotus blown open by the rays of the moon darting forth from an envelope of clouds, filled the cavity of the sky,—the bright achievements of whose sword the wives of the inimical chiefs slain by him in innumerable battles sang as it were in the morning by means of their cries of lamentation,—whose person was adorned by a crown shining with the refulgent rays of a crore of diamonds polished by being rubbed against the lotus-like feet of gods, Brahmans, and preceptors,—whose stock of religious desert, which is the only thing that enables one to go to Heaven, was always increasing in consequence of his liberally fulfilling the desire for wealth of the begging poor, the helpless, the distressed, and of the belated wayfarer,—and who, propitiating proud damsels angry on account of love quarrels by addressing sweet words to them, showed himself to be a skilful *gallant*,—and who dispersed by his many bright virtues the thick darkness of *Kalî*. His son was Jaya-bhata, who showed the valour of a young lion, by achieving with his sword the destruction of the herds of elephants belonging to his enemies,—and who by his diversions on both sides of the sea, and the unstinted flow of his bounty,\* realized in himself the qualities of the guardian elephants of the quarters, and who, on the high cloud-breasts† of the sky—Lakshmî, rubbed sandal-wood ointment in the shape of his glory as pure as a crystal or a ball of camphor. His son S'rîmad Dada, who has dispelled the darkness that grew thick and intense through the power of evil, and overspread the whole earth,—who has purified all the quarters by his very great kindness,‡ and embellished the world of the living,—who possesses true knowledge, and has become the luminary of the Gurj-

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\* There is a play on the word *dâna* here, which means 'giving' as well as the 'humour flowing from the temples of an elephant.' The other words in the compound may also be interpreted in two ways.

† A play on the word *payodhara*, which means 'a cloud' as well as the 'female breast.'

‡ A play on the word *sneha*, meaning 'oiliness' as well as 'kindness.'

jara dynasty,—who has obtained the five great sounds, and is the great king of kings,—enjoying good health, commands

All governors of districts and sub-divisions ; all villagers ; those in office or unemployed ; great men, chief men, &c. :—

Be it known to you, that for the increase of my father's, mother's, and my own holiness and goodness, as regards the next world, I have granted, by pouring water, on the new-moon day of Jyeshtha, in the year of the S'aka king four hundred and seventeen, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, to Bhaṭṭa Nârâyana, the son of Bhaṭṭa Govinda, residing in Abhichchhatra, respected amongst persons conversant with the four Vedas, of the Kas'yapa Gotra, and student of Bahvricha (Rigveda), for the proper execution of the rites of Bali, Charu, Vais'vadeva, Agnihotra, the five great sacrifices, &c., the village of Râchhchhavam, situated in the district of Ankules'vara, the boundaries of which are the village of Vâranera to the east, the river Varandâ to the south, the village of Sunṭhavaḍaka to the west, and Sarathuam to the north,—this village, with these boundaries specified, along with the hamlets and whatever pertains to it ; along with the revenue in grain or gold, and with whatever may be raised on the land by labour, except what in the village may have been granted to gods and Brahmans before—the said grant not to be interfered with by the delegates of the king ; to last as long as the moon, the sun, the sea, the earth, rivers and mountains shall endure, and to be enjoyed from father to son (*lit.* son to grandson). Therefore no obstruction should be made to him, who, in virtue of the rights conferred by this Brahman grant, ploughs the land or causes it to be ploughed, enjoys it or makes another enjoy it, or assigns it to another person. So also should future kings, whether of our race or others, knowing the fruits ordinarily arising from grants of land, and bearing in mind that prosperity is unsteady like a drop [of water] and transitory, and life as fleeting as a drop of water at the end of a blade of grass, confirm and continue this our grant, as if it were their own. For it is said :—“Many kings, such as Sagara and others, have enjoyed the earth, but the fruit to each lasts only so long as he is in possession.” And he who, with his good sense enveloped in the darkness of ignorance, should take away this land, or approve another person's doing so, would be as sinful as if he had committed the five great sins and the five minor sins. For it is said by the Rev. Vyâsa, the editor of the Vedas :—“He who grants land lives in Heaven for sixty thousand years, while he who takes it away, or approves of its being so taken away, passes

so many years in hell. The grants made in past times with the view that they might conduce to raise a man's moral desert, wealth, or fame, are like flowers worn and withered. What good man would resume them? O king, O thou the best of the lords of the earth, do maintain with care a grant of land made whether by thyself or anybody else; to maintain a grant is a greater virtue than to make one."

This is written by Reva, the son of Mâdhava, counsellor in peace and war. This is the sign-manual of myself, Pras'ântarâga, the son of S'rî Vîtarâga.

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ART. III.—*On the Age of the Naishadha-Charita of S'riharsha.*  
By DR. J. G. BÜHLER.

Read 9th November 1871.

AMONG the Jaina works which I have been collecting of late for the Government of Bombay, there is one which, besides other interesting information, gives an account of the life and times of S'riharsha, the author of the Naishadha-charita. This work is the Prabhandha-kosha of Rájas'ekharasúri, which contains in 4,300 s'lokas\* biographical notices of twenty-four famous men ; viz. :—

I. Of ten Jaina Súris :

1. Bhhadrabáhu-Varáha. 2. A'ryanandila. 3. Jivadeva-súri.
4. A'ryakhapata A'charya. 5. Pádaliptaprabhu. 6. Vṛiddha-vádi-Siddhasena. 7. Mallavádi. 8. Haribhadrásúri. 9. Bap-pabhaṭṭisúri. 10. Hemasúri.

II. Of four poets :

1. S'riharsha. 2. Harihara. 3. Amarachandra. 4. Madanakírti.

III. Of seven kings :

1. Sátaváhana. 2. Vankachúla. 3. Vikramáditya. 4. Nágárjuna.
5. Udayana. 6. Lakshanasena. 7. Madanavarman.

IV. Of three Jaina courtiers :

1. Ratna. 2. A'bhaḍa. 3. Vástupála.

Rájas'ekhara composed this work, which is written in barbarous Sanskrit prose, according to information† obtained from his teacher, Tilakasúri, in Samvat 1405, or A. D. 1348, whilst living at Dilhi, under the protection of one Madanasimha, whose father, Jayasimha, had been honoured by S'ri Mahamád Sháhi, ‡ probably Mahamád Toghlak (1325).

\* On 50 folios.

† Folio 1 a, line 9 :—

इदानीं वयं गुरुमुखश्रुतानां विस्तोर्णानां रसाद्यानां चतुर्विंशतेः प्रबन्धानां संग्रहं कुर्वाणाः  
स्मः ॥ .

‡ Folio 50 a, line 16 :—

श्रीप्रभवाहनकुले कोटिनामनि गणे जगद्विदिते श्रीमध्यशास्त्रायां हर्षपुरीयाभिधे गच्छे



I pass over the notices of the Jaina worthies, which have no general interest, and proceed at once to give an abstract of the account of S'riharsha, which runs as follows :—

In Banâras there ruled formerly a king, called *Govindachandra*. He had a son and successor, named *Jayantachandra*, who was exceedingly powerful and conquered the whole earth. His army was so large that, when he marched, his soldiers could not find water enough except by using the two rivers Gangâ and Yamunâ. This Rájâ is known in the world by the nickname 'Pangula,' the lame one, because he used the two rivers as crutches to help him on.\* He had a son called *Meghachandra*. At Jayantachandra's court lived a Brahman, called Híra, whose son was 'the prince of clever men' ' (prájña-chakravarti)' S'ríharsha. One day Híra was conquered and silenced by one of his rivals in a disputation before the king. He took his defeat so much to heart, that he died shortly afterwards. But before his death he exhorted S'ríharsha to avenge him on his enemy. In order to fulfil his father's wish, S'ríharsha went into foreign countries and studied under various masters, Nyáya, rhetoric, music, arithmetic, astronomy, and other sciences. He also propitiated the goddess Bháratí by mantras, and obtained, from her the gift of unsurpassable eloquence. He then composed the *Khaṇḍana†* and other works, to more than one hundred. After these feats he returned to Banâras. There he was honourably received by Jayantachandra. His father's enemy recognised his superiority and was reconciled to him. He then continued to live under the king's protection and the

मलधारिविरुद्विदितश्चाभयोपपदसूरिसंताने श्रोतिलकसूरिशिष्यः सूरिः श्रीराजशेखरो जयति । तेनायं मृदुगद्यैर्मुग्धो मुग्धावबोधकामेन विरचितः प्रबन्धकोषो जयताब्जिनपतिमत्तं यावत् । तथा कद्यस्त्रीरदुस्साधवंशमुकुटो नृरोधगीतगुणः । वञ्चुलीपुरकारितजिनपतिसद्रनोछलत्कीर्तिः ॥ ४ ॥ (?) बप्यकसाधोस्तनयो गणदेवोजनि सपादलक्षभुवि । तद्वर्तनकनामा तत्पुत्रः साटको दृढधीः ॥ ५ ॥ तत्सूनुः सामन्तस्तत्कुलतिलकोभूजयसिंहः । दुर्भिक्षदुःखदलनः ॥ ॥ श्रीमन्महमहसाहिगौरवितः ॥ ६ ॥ तब्जो जयति सिरिभवः षड्दर्शनपोषणो मदनसिंहः । दिल्ल्या स्वदत्तवसतौ ग्रन्थमिमं कारयामास शरगगनमनुमिताब्दे ॥ ॥

\* तस्य राजश्वलतः सैन्यं गङ्गायमुने विना नाभ्यसां नृप्यतीति नदीद्वययष्टिग्रहणान्कुल्ले राजेति लोके श्रूयते ॥

† खण्डनादिग्रन्थान्परशताब्जग्रन्थ ॥

latter once asked him to compose “a jewel of a story.” S’ríharsha agreed and wrote the *Naishadhacharita*.\* He showed it to the king, who said : “This is certainly very beautiful. But go to Kás’mír, show it to the Pandits there, and place it in the hands of the goddess Bháratí. Bháratí sits there visibly on a throne. She flings a bad composition far from her like refuse, but a good book she accepts, nodding her head, and declares it to be good. Flowers are then showered on the book.”†

After this S’ríharsha received money from the King and set out for Kás’mír. Arriving there he placed his book in the hands of Sarasvatí. The goddess contemptuously flung it away. S’ríharsha expostulated with her on this treatment of his production, and was told by the goddess that he had offended her by describing her in the 64th verse of the eleventh Sarga as Vishṇu’s wife, and by thus denying her virginity, for which she was famous in the world. When S’ríharsha thereupon replied, that, in that passage, he had stated nothing else but what was contained also in the Purāṇas, the goddess allowed herself to be pacified, took his book up with her own hands and praised it before the assembled Pandits. S’ríharsha then requested the Pandits to introduce him to Mádhavadeva,‡ the king of the country, and to give him a letter for Jayantachandra, certifying that his composition was faultless. The Pandits, however, fulfilled neither of these requests. S’ríharsha was, therefore, forced to stay many months in Kás’mír. He expended all his money and had at last even to sell his oxen and utensils. One day, whilst he was reciting the Rudrajapa near a well, two maid-servants came to fetch water. They began to quarrel about the precedence, and from words they came at last to blows, so that their dispute gave rise to a case before the king. The latter asked for witnesses of the quarrel, and S’ríharsha was brought up in order to give evidence.

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\* एकदा मुदा नृपेणोक्तः कवीशः । वादीन्द्र किञ्चित्प्रबन्धरत्नं कुरु । ततो नैषधं महा-  
काव्यं बद्धं दिव्यरसमहागुदं व्यङ्ग्यभारसारं राज्ञे दर्शितम् ॥

† The custom to submit a new book to the Pandits of Kás’mír, and to place it in the hands of the goddess Sarasvatí, is more than once mentioned in the Jaina Prabandhas. Perhaps it is a reminiscence of the times when Kás’mír was one of the chief seats of learning and literature.

‡ श्रीहर्षेण पण्डिता उक्ता : तत्कालाय राज्ञे माधवदेवाय मां दर्शयत ॥ I am not able to identify Mádhavadeva. The name of the king who must have been the contemporary of our hero is Kshúksha.

On coming before the king he declared himself ignorant of the language of the country, but ready to repeat the *sounds* which he had heard. He then rendered the whole conversation of the two women word for word. The king, astonished at his marvellous memory, asked *S'rîharsha* about himself. When he heard how the poet had been treated by the Pandits, he blamed them for their jealousy and sent *S'rîharsha* home, loaded with presents. On his arrival in *Banâras* the poet informed *Jayantachandra* of his adventures ; the king was pleased and the *Naishadhîya* became famous.

In the meantime\* one of *Jayantachandra's* chief ministers (*pradhânatara*), called *Padmâkara*, whilst on a pilgrimage to *Somnâth Pâthan* in *Sorath*, came to *Anahillapattan* or *Anhilvâd* in *Gujarat*. There he discovered a *Padminî*, named *Sûhavadevi*, whom he took away with him to *Banâras*, with or without the consent—this is not clear—of king *Kumârâpâla* of *Anhilvâd*. *Sûhavadevi* became the mistress of *Jayantachandra*, and acquired, on account of her various accomplishments, the surname ' *Kalûbhârâtî*.' *S'rîharsha*, who was commonly called ' *Narabhârâtî*,' was hated by her. Once she ordered him to come to see her, and asked him contemptuously who he was. *S'rîharsha* replied that he was omniscient in ' *Kalâs*, fine arts or trades.' Thereupon, in order to put him on the horns of a dilemma, the royal favourite ordered him to make for her and put on her feet a pair of shoes. As shoemaking was undoubtedly a *Kalâ*, *S'rîharsha* had either, if he refused the task on the plea of ignorance, to acknowledge that he was not omniscient, or to make the shoes and to lose his caste. He chose the latter alternative, made a pair of shoes of the inner bark of a tree and put them on the queen's feet after the manner of the *Chamârs*. But, unable to bear the affront which had been put on him, he became an ascetic soon after.

After thus narrating the life of *S'rîharsha*, the *Prabandha* gives a short account of the end of his patron *Jayantachandra*. It informs us

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\* अत्रान्तरे जयन्तचन्द्रस्य पद्माकरनामा प्रधानतरः श्रीअणहिल्लपत्तनं गतः । तत्र शर-  
स्तटे रजकक्षालितायां शाटिकायां केतक्यामिव मधुकरकुलं निलीयमानं दृष्ट्वा विस्मितोप्राक्षी-  
द्रजकम् । यस्या युक्तेरियं शाटी तां दर्शय । तस्य मन्त्रिणस्तत्पद्मिनीति निर्णयस्थं मनः । रजके-  
न सायं तस्मै तद्रुहं नीत्वा तामर्पयित्वा तत्स्वामिनीं सृहवदेविनाम्नीं शालापतिपत्नीं विधवा  
यौवनस्थां सुरूपां दर्शिता । श्रीकुमारपालराजपार्श्वदुपरोध (?) तद्रुहार्जित्वा सोमनाथयात्रां  
कृत्वा काशीं गतस्तां पद्मिनीं जयन्तचन्द्रभोगिनीमकरोत् ॥

that Sûhavadevi had a son whom she wished to have declared heir to the throne, instead of Jayantachandra's legitimate son, Meghachandra. Her schemes were frustrated by the minister, 'the illustrious Vidyâdhara,' who had the surname 'Laghuyudhishthira.' Sûhavadevi then conspired against her royal lover and sent a large subsidy to the *Sûratrâna* of *Takshas'ilâ*, engaging him to make war against Kâs'î and its lord. Vidyâdhara discovered this plot and denounced Sûhava to the king. But the latter would not believe the accusation. The minister thereupon drowned himself in the Ganges. The *Sûratrâna* advanced shortly afterwards towards Banâras, and defeated the king. The latter disappeared without a trace, and it was not known whether he had been killed or fled. The Yavanas took the town.

The account of S'rîharsha, which our Prabandha gives, is in many details obviously fanciful. But it seems to me that the main facts told regarding him, namely, that he was a native of Banâras, and that he lived under the protection of a king of that city, who was a contemporary of Kumârapâla of An̄hivâḍ, are strictly historical. For firstly it might be expected that Râjas'ekhara, who wrote in the middle of the 14th century, could obtain trustworthy information regarding a person who lived only about 150 years before him. Secondly, Râjas'ekhara's narration agrees in some important details with the statements which S'rîharsha makes regarding himself in his own works.

S'rîharsha says at the end of the Naishadhîya that his father's name was Hîra, and that he wrote the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhûḍya* and other works—not indeed one hundred, but eight—before he composed the Naishadhîya. He further states that he used to be honoured by a king of Kânyâkubja, who gave him at the audience a seat and a double portion of betel.\* The last point, that S'rîharsha used to visit the court of a king of Kânyâkubja, is most important. For it can be easily shown that Râjas'ekhara's *Jayantachandra*, who is said to have protected S'rîharsha, is no other than *Jayachandra*, the last of the Râsh-drakûṭa princes, who reigned over Kânyâkubja as well as over Banâras.

Jayachandra, the son of Vijayachandra and grandson of Govindachandra, is known from his inscriptions,† as well as through Jaina and Mahomedan writers. He must have ascended the throne between A.D.

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\* Compare also Hall, *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 8.

† Land-grants, which have been published in the 9th and 15th Vols. of the Asiatic Researches, and in the 10th Vol. of the Journal Bengal Br. R. As. Soc.

1163 and 1177, as the last inscription of his father is dated in the former year, and the first of his own grants in the latter year.\* According to all accounts he was the last and the most powerful monarch of his race. The *Ayîn Akbarî*, II. 119, calls him the ruler of all Hindostan; the chronicles, quoted by Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, II. 7, describe his great power and victories over Hindus and Mahommedans, and state that he was called '*Dalpangla*,' '*he whose host is lame*,' "because, in marching, the van of his enormous army reached its halting-ground before the rear had moved from its position." He is also stated to have been the cause of the destruction of Prithvîrâja, the last Tomâra of Delhi, by allying himself with the Musalmans against him. The details of the events leading to his enmity with Prithvîrâja are variously given. Most of his historians assert that he lost his throne and his life fighting against the army of Shâhabuddîn Ghorî. The place where his last battle occurred is said to have been *Etarva*.† According to Ferishta, Jayachandra had his eye pierced by an arrow, shot by the commander of the hostile army. According to Tod, *Annals of Râj.* II. 10, he was drowned in the Ganges.

These accounts differ little from the story told by Râjas'ekhara, of Jayantachandra, and it is easy to prove that the two names designate one and the same person. The names themselves are nearly identical and synonymous. Jayantachandra is said to have been the ruler of Banâras in the time of Kumârapâla, A. D. 1143-1174, and Jayachandra certainly ruled over that town some time between A. D. 1163 and 1194. Jayachandra was called *Dalpangla* on account of the enormous size of his army, and to Jayantachandra the surname *pangula* is given for the same reason. The *Suratrâna*‡ of the Yavanas who reigned at Takshas'ilâ can be nobody but Sultan Shâhabuddîn Ghorî who held court at Lahore. Jayanta's minister Vidyâdhara finds his counterpart in the 'most illustrious Thakkura Vidyâdhara,' to whose son Jayachandra made grants of land in 1177. The name of Jayachandra's father differs from that which Râjas'ekhara assigns to Jayantachandra's parent. But, if it is borne in mind that Jayachandra's grandfather's name was Govindachandra, it becomes not improbable that Râjas'ekhara or his teacher Tilakasûri left

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\* Lassen, J. A., III. 813, tries to prove that Vijayachandra still reigned A. D. 1172. But that appears doubtful.

† As. Res. XV. 456.

‡ This is the regular Jaina form of the word Sultan.

out one person in the genealogy of the Rāṭhore princes, deceived by the resemblance of the names *Vijayachandra* and *Jayachandra*. Colebrooke has fallen into the same error.

But if our identification of Jayachandra and Jayantachandra is correct, the Naishadhîya must have been written between A. D. 1163 and 1174, i. e. between the earliest date on which Jayachandra's accession to the throne may be placed, and Kumârapâla's death.

It may be objected against this date, that the *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa*, a work ascribed to Bhoja of Dhâr, who lived in the eleventh century, quotes the Naishadhîya.\* But I do not consider this point important enough to cause Râjas'ekhara's story to be rejected. For even if the *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa* really has Bhoja for its author, the quotation from the Naishadhîya may be a later interpolation. It seems to me that the fact that Śrîharsha himself states that he was honoured by a king of Kanoj, and that Râjas'ekhara makes him the court poet of Jayachandra, who ruled over that town, establishes the poet's date as firmly as, in the absence of real historical works, we can hope to fix the date of any Sanskrit poet.

In conclusion I may add that Râjas'ekhara tells us in the *Harihara prabandha*, and other portions of his Kosha, that Harihara belonged to the family of Śrîharsha, and brought the first copy of the Naishadhîya with him to Gujarat, where Vâstupâla, the minister of Râṇa Vîradhavalâ of Dholkâ (in A. D. 1235), obtained a copy of it. This story is at all events consistent with that of the Śrîharsha prabandha, and strengthens the credibility of the former.

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\* Hall, *Vāsavâdatta*, p. 18.

ART. IV.—*Discovery of complete Manuscript Copies of Bána's Harsha Charita, with an Analysis of the more important portions.* By BHA'U DA'JI, Esq., Hon. Mem. R. A. Society.

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Read 10th August 1871.

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*The Harsha Charita of Bána.*

A copy of the Harsha Charita of Bána, complete and accurate, with a Commentary, was discovered in Káshmir by a learned Paṇḍit who was formerly in my service.

He has, at my special request, been examining many valuable libraries in that ancient seat of Sanskrit learning, and has sent me copies of many valuable manuscripts not procurable or even heard of in other parts of India. Beautiful copies of the original text and commentary of the Harsha Charita were made for me, and they reached me on the 30th July 1869.

The copyist of the original has the two following verses at the end:—

“In the year 955, month Chaitra, 14th lunar day of bright demilunation, Monday, I have copied the most wonderful and instructive account of Mahárájá Harsha, composed by the ingenious and learned Bána.”

Neither the era nor the name of the copyist is given.

The copy now in my possession is far more correct than those hitherto procurable, and also has the merit of being a complete one.

The copies procured by my friend Dr. FitzEdward Hall were all incomplete, as was also one which was procured for me by my Paṇḍit, Páṇḍurang Gopál Pádhyé, twelve years ago, and of which I sent a copy to the learned Bábu Rájendralál Mitra in 1861.

The work is divided into eight parts (*ucchvāsas*). The eighth part has not hitherto been found complete; and the discovery of the Káshmir manuscript, containing as it does all the parts in full, thus renders the work complete throughout, and at the same time removes

an impression which naturally arose, that, from some unknown cause, the author did not live to complete his work, and that it was thus brought to an abrupt termination.

The commentary is styled "Harsha Charita Sanketa." Its author is a Paṇḍit named S'ankara, the son of Punyákara. His age and country are not given, but, as the commentary has only been found in Káshmir I feel justified in supposing him to have been a native of Káshmir. He quotes the Amara Kosha, Raghu Kávyā, Medical Nighantas, and other comparatively ancient works. The commentary is brief, but ably written, and is composed of a little more than two thousand verses. The copy sent is unusually free from mistakes. From the expressions "ityeké," "ityannyé," ("others explain it thus"), which frequently occur, it appears that there were other glosses preceding this one of S'ankara Paṇḍit. With the assistance of this commentary, doubtful readings have been corrected, and I hope to publish soon an excellent edition of Bána's Harsha Charita, with the commentary of S'ankara. The names of the poets Kálidása, Rájas'ekhara, and Bhámaha are referred to. Although I have ventured to suggest that the commentator was a native of Káshmir, yet he betrays extreme ignorance of the history of that country. In commenting on the following verse of Bána in the introduction, he proceeds to explain that "Pravarasena was a certain poet," the real fact being that Pravarasena was a distinguished king of Káshmir, who, in my opinion, was a contemporary of Hiouen Thsang. The commentary is rare even in Káshmir. The Paṇḍit in whose library it was found was not himself aware of its existence. It has now been brought to the notice of many Káshmir Paṇḍits by the eulogies of my Paṇḍit, and many copies are being made by them.

An excellent abstract of the manuscript is given by Dr. Hall in his notes on his learned Preface to the Vāsavadatta of Subandhu, published in Calcutta in 1859 in the Bibliotheca Indica. I shall commence nearly where Dr. Hall concludes (p. 53) :—

"Rájá Harsha, having entered the wilds of the Vindhya mountains, travelled in all directions for many days for the discovery of his sister, Rájya S'rí. He met a Chief named Vyághraketu, son of S'arabhaketu. He introduced to the King, Nirgháta, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bhúkampa S'abaras. The King made inquiries of the S'abara Chief regarding Rájya S'rí; he replied that no woman answering to the descrip-



tion given by the King was known to have been seen in his jungles, but promised to make vigorous efforts for her discovery. He remarked that at the distance of two miles, on a hill with a thick wood at its base, there resided, with a number of disciples, a Bauddha Bhikshu, a mendicant (Pindapáti)\* named Divákaramitra, who might possibly have heard of Rájya S'rí. Hearing this, the King thought that Maitráyaníya† (Bráhmaṇa) Divákaramitra, the friend of Grahavarma, having abandoned the "way of the Vedas," in his youth put on brown clothes and embraced the Saugata creed. King Harsha, taking the S'abara Chief with him, proceeded to the abode of Divákaramitra. He admired the mountain scenery on the way, and got down from his conveyance on approaching the hermit's residence. Having placed his hand on Mádhavagupta's shoulder, he with a few Chiefs walked on. He found there followers of various schools, viz., Vítarágas, A'rhatas, Maskarins, Svetapatas, Pátarabhikshus (commentator), (in the text, Páṇḍuri-bhikshu), Bhágavatas, Varnins, Kes'alunchakas, Kápilas, Káná-das, Aupanishadas, Ais'varas, Karanins, Kárandhamins, Dharmas'astrins, Pauránikas, Saptatantavas, S'abdas, Páncharátrikas, and others. He also met Divákaramitra Bhikshu, and made him obeisance. Divákaramitra, seeing the King, said, "To-day our austerities have, even in this life, borne us good fruit by giving us a sight of the beloved of the gods; at the expense of my own body, I am ready to do the King's business." The King made inquiries regarding Rájya S'rí. It so happened that Rájya S'rí was at this time making preparations for self-cremation. An old female companion of Rájya S'rí went to a

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\* Pindapáti is the name to be found in this work of Bána for Bauddha mendicants. They went from house to house, begging for rice pindas or balls. See also Málátí-Mádhava, Act I., in which the commentator Jagaddhara explains the word Pindapáta, as "Bhikshábhramana," "the begging-round" of a Bauddha Bhikshu.

† This Maitráyaníya Bráhmaṇa appears to have lived at the foot of the Vindhya. At the present day at Bhadgáon and other conterminous villages near the Sátpuḍa mountain, which is included in the Vindhya, there are Bráhmaṇas of the Maitráyaníya school. They are rarely found in other places, and when they are, they may generally be traced to Bhadgáon. This is stated by me on the authority of several Bráhmaṇas of this school. It is remarkable to trace the residence of this class of Bráhmaṇas from the time of Harsha Vardhana to the present day. Other classes of Bráhmaṇas do not eat with them, and the reason may have been the early Buddhist tendencies of many of them.

disciple of Divákaramitra and said, "O mendicant! Pravrajyá (the vow to abandon all worldly enjoyments) is generally full of mercy to all beings, and Saugatas (Buddhists) are ever intent on fulfilling the vow, to suffer themselves for the relief of the sufferings of others. The teaching of the Lord S'ákya Muni is the family abode of mercy. The goodness of Jina is ever ready for the benefit of the whole world, and the religious law (*dharma*) of the Munis is a way of securing future bliss. There is no meritorious action more praised in the world than that of saving life. Pray, therefore, prevent my companion from destroying herself by fire." "My Guru (master)," said the disciple, "is verily a second Sugata (Buddha); when I relate to him this account, he is sure to come. He is full of pity. By the good words of Sugata, calculated to pierce the dark veil of sorrow, and by his own discourses, with illustrations culled and rendered weightier from the various A'gamas (scriptures), he would lead the good-natured lady to the path of knowledge."

Accordingly a Bhikshu (mendicant) came and said, "A woman in sorrow is ready to destroy herself by fire, not far from this abode." Hearing this, the King, with Divákaramitra, proceeded quickly, followed by the King's retinue, to the place of the fire. With great difficulty she was persuaded to abandon her purpose, and they having succeeded in consoling her and soothing her sorrows, treated her to a dinner. The Rája heard all that had happened from the time she was put in confinement in Kányakubja, and from which she was released by a descendant of the Gupta kings. She then heard of the death of Rájya Vardhana, her eldest brother, on which she left off food and drink, and wandered through the woods of the Vindhya. Overcome with sorrow, she made preparations to burn herself. All this the King heard from her attendants.

The King and his sister were sitting under a tree, and, seeing the attendants at a distance, Divákaramitra approached the King and said, 'O King, Chandra took by violence Tára, the wife of Brihaspati. Still he used to suffer pangs from her separation. On one occasion he saw his own image reflected in the sea, and, being overwhelmed with passion and the thought of Tára, his tears fell fast, and being swallowed by the shells in the sea were converted into pearls. These came into the possession of Vásuki (the king of Nágas). He strung them together. They possessed the power of destroying poison and producing

a cooling sensation, and Vásuki wore them for that purpose. To procure some, the Nágás brought Nágárjuna Bhikshu to Pátála (the lower regions). Nágárjuna having asked for them, Vásuki presented them to him. Afterwards Nágárjuna presented them to Sátaváhana Narendra, the lord of the three seas, and his personal friend. In time, handed from master to disciple, they have at length come to my hands; accept them that they may protect you from poison (evil).” Having thus said, he unloosed the ‘*ekávali*’ tied in a knot in a Bhikshu’s cloth (‘*chívara*’) and attached it to the King’s shoulders. After a time, a maid of Rájya S’rí (whose duty it was to present the betel-leaf for chewing) approached the King and spoke lowly as follows:—“Mahárája, through me Rájya S’rí begs to say to you that to women a husband or child is a support. To those who have neither, life is full of sorrows. Give therefore your permission for me, Rájya S’rí, to put on the brown garments (the sign of devotion to the mendicant order).” The Rájá made no answer, but Divákara Bhikshu said, “This your elder brother Harsha is to you like your father, and it is proper that you should live under his commands.” Rájá Harsha addressed Divákaramitra, “You are like a pillar of support to people in sorrow. I therefore say that this my sister in her youth has been afflicted with sorrow, and I have resolved to slay the family of the enemy who killed my brother. Until this resolution of mine is carried into effect, I am anxious she should be with me, and so should you, that with religious consolation you may comfort her till my wishes are fulfilled. She and I shall accept the brown garments at the same time.” The Bhadanta agreed to the King’s request. The Rájá, with the Bhadanta and others, went to his army. The sun set, and the moon rose and shone beautifully.”

The following is a careful translation of a passage which is of importance as containing a number of historical data. It has been translated in the preface to the *Vásavadatta* by Dr. Hall as follows:—

“Skandagupta, while counselling Harsha to avenge the murder of his brother, consoles him by recapitulating historical instances of untimely death. The learned commandant had heard of numerous mischances of this kind, which are now known only by his retail of them. Nágasena, of the Nága family, was destroyed at Padmávatí; perfidy abridged the days of S’rutavarman at Srávastí, and of Swarnachúda the Yavana. Mártikávanta lost his life from talking in his sleep. Agnimitrá’s son Sumitra was slain by Múladeva; Bṛihadratha, the Maurya, by his own general, Pushpamitra; Kákavarna, lord of Chandí, by a descend-

ant of S'is'upála ; Devabhúti, the S'aunga, through the instrumentality of his own minister, Vásudeva ; Mágadha, by the counsellor of the governor of Mekhalá ; Jaghanyaja, son of Pradyota, by Tálajangha ; a Gajapati king of Videha, by Kumárasena, in the guise of a leech ; Bhadrasena, king of Kalinga, by Vírasena, his brother ; Vajraprabháva, ruler of Karúsha, by his younger son ; a prince of the S'akas at Nalinapura, by Chandragupta, habited as a woman ; Chandraketu, prince of the city of Chakora, by an emissary of King S'údraka ; Mahásena, prince of Kás'í, by Suprabhá ; a duke of Ayodhya by Ratnavatí ; Rantideva, by Rangavatí, one of his wives ; Vidúratha by Bindumatí ; Vírasena, of Sanvira, by Hansavatí ; and Soma, a monarch of the Púrus, by a woman of his own race. Devasena, of Sumha, was poisoned by Devakí ; and Bharata, who reigned over A'smaka, was also cut off before his time, as were Pushkara, prince of Chámundí ; Kshetravarman, the Maukhari ; Bṛihadratha, of Mathura ; Vatsapati ; King Varnatála ; and S'ais'unáli, who committed suicide."

My translation of the same from my more perfect copy is as follows :—

Nágasena, of the Nága family, was destroyed at Padmávati, from his secrets having oozed out. Perfidy abridged the days of S'rutarvarman at S'rávasti, and at Mṛittikávati, Svarnachúda lost his life from talking in his sleep. A Yavana king was destroyed by his female chouri-bearer from her reading a letter reflected in his head-ornament. Bṛihadratha, king of Mathura, was led by his avarice to dig for buried treasure, and killed by his troops. Vatsapati (*i.e.*, I suppose, Udayana, king of Vatsa ; see Kathá Sarit Ságara), who was fond of sporting in the elephant jungle, was made prisoner by soldiers of Mahásena (Chanda Pradyota of Ujjayini) concealed in an artificially constructed elephant. Mitradeva, having joined a company of actors, cut off the head of Sumitra, the son of Agnimitra (who was very fond of dancing), just as a lotus should be sliced off. A king of As'maka, fond of music, had his head cut off by enemies who presented themselves as students of music anxious to learn the science from him, and who had concealed a sharp sword in a *víná* (musical instrument). Bṛihadratha, the Maurya, a fool, was crushed at a grand review by his own general, the treacherous (*anárya*, low) Pushpamitra.\* S'aisúnági † (S'aisúnári in the text) was carried by force, in a machine moving in the air (was this a balloon?), which was constructed by Yavanas (Greeks), and had his throat cut near the

city. The S'unga, full of lust and addicted to women, was killed by his minister Vasudeva, through the instrumentality of the daughter of a female servant of Vasubhúti, dressed and introduced as a queen. A king of Magadha, fond of excavations in the earth, was carried off through a tunnel (full of the jingling noise of the feet-ornaments of many women) in the Godhanagiri (a mountain named Surpa, ‡ according to the annotator) to their own country by the ministers of the king of Mekala) (the Vindhya, according to the commentator). At a festival of Mahákála (in Ujjayini), Tálajangha Vetála (Chief of Evil Spirits) killed Kumárasena, a Paunaki (born in the Punnaka family), the youngest son of Pradyota (Pratodya in the text), whilst foolish enough to go and offer to sell "Mahámánasa." § Gaṇapati, the son of the king of Videha, addicted to alchemy and medical preparations, after hearing how many persons had benefited by their medicines, was induced by quacks to submit to their treatment, which caused him to be affected with consumption. Bhadrāsena of Kalinga, who trusted entirely to women, was destroyed by his eldest queen's brother, who concealed himself in a secret place in a wall. Dadhna, son of the king of the Karushas, who was trying to place another son on his throne, was killed by his own son, Vírasena, who was sitting on his mother's bed. S'údraka killed Chandraketu, the lord of Chakora, with his ministers, coming to hear of his intention to remove him (S'údraka) from office (of chief minister, I presume). Pushkara, king of Chámundi (city, Chámundá according to the commentator), who was fond of killing rhinoceroses, was killed by the soldiers of the king of Champá, who concealed themselves in a jungle amongst reeds and shrubs. Kshatravarmá, of the Maukhari family, a fool and fond of praise-singers, was rooted out by Mankhas (praise-singers), who were ever crying out "success," but were in reality employed as assassins (by his enemies). In Aripuri, a S'akapati (king of S'akas, S'akáchárya, according to the commentator), an adulterer was punished (killed) by Chandragupta, who presented himself in the dress of a woman.

The misfortunes which have befallen the careless through the treachery of women are well known to the king; such as Mahásena,

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\* Mentioned by Patanjali, and apparently his contemporary.

† One of the ten Sis'unágas. See Vishnu-purána.

‡ There is a hill near Kannada in Khándesh called Surpala.

§ See Málátí-Mádhava. Mádhava went to the great burning-ground at midnight and offered to the spirits his own flesh. He there found Málátí.

prince of the Kás'ís, was killed with food mixed with poisoned honey, by Suprabhá, that her son might succeed to the throne. Járúthya, a king of Ayodhyá, a source of irritation to his enemies, was killed by his wife, Ratnavati, by throwing a sharp-edged circular mirror at him, pretending only to play and joke with him. A king of Saumha, named Devasena, was killed by his queen Devaki (who had illicit intercourse with his brother) by mixing poison with the blue lotus adorning her ears. Rantideva, prince of Vairanti (city), was killed by his wife Vallabhá, with her ankle-ornament, on account of jealousy of his other wife. Vidúratha, the Vṛishni, was killed by Vindumati by an instrument concealed in the folds of her hair. Vírasena of Sauvira by his wife Hansavati, by means of a poisoned stone in her waistband. Somaka, of the Púrus, by his wife Paurav, by taking a mouthful of poisoned liquor and inducing her husband to drink it from her mouth.

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ART. V.—*Transcript and Translation of King Rudradeva's Inscription at Anamkonda.* By BHA'U DA'JI', Esquire, Hon. Mem. R. A. Society.

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Read 10th August 1871.

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1. Svasti ! May there be prosperity, success, and perpetual increase !

Peace ! May the successful reign of King (Rajúla) Rudradeva, of the Kákatiya dynasty, last with ever-increasing prosperity as long as the moon, sun, and stars exist ; the king who had the five great epithets, he Mahámandales'vara, Anmakundá-puravares'vara (sovereign of Anmakundá city), the lord of the great kings, doer of good, adorned with humility, the prosperous Mahámandales'vara.

In (?) Anmakondapattana munanda, where there is joyousness of stories of happiness (buna) buseyu chunanda, in S'aka year 1064, vanenti in the year Chitra bhánu pukha 12, Vaddhavára (Wednesday or Thursday ?) munádu tanashera Rudres'vara Munu, S'rí Vásudeva, S'rí Súryadeva, were established (anupratisthá Seyinche).

I praise Hari as Varáha, to whom, at the time of upheaving, the land dashed the skies with high waves, and yet the waters of the seven oceans reached only the point of the nail of his feet ; the point of whose tusk was a cottage in which were placed the three worlds as a drop of water ; the rays from whose hairpits (?) were like Brahmandas (Brahmá's eggs).

2. O Haremba ! mayest thou be propitious to me, thou who art the asylum of the collections of the smelling organs of the bees, attracted by the growing scent of the masses of opening buds of the Mogra entangled in thy long tresses ; thou who art the seat of the intense splendour of that lustrous tooth the unparalleled majesty of which (splendour) completely extinguishes that of the teeth of the .

3. May Sarasvatí ever reside in my mouth ! she who is like a mother ; who nourishes as it were with the waves of the ocean of milk ; who is fair, as if created by the moon ; and like a white statue, made of balls of rubbed sandalwood.

4. Achintendrawara, the disciple of Advayámrita Yati, the chief of the Bháradwája gotra; intimately familiar with the ceremonial of the Vedas; a prominent character, and the son of S'rí Rames'vara Díkshita, praises with zeal (or at the request of the Yati?) the genealogy of the good Rudranares'vara.

5. In the Kákatiya race was born a king named S'rímat Tríbhuwana Malla, a chief among kings who reduce the wives of their powerful enemies to widowhood.

6. S'rí Malla-deva (i.e. Tríbhuwana Malla) shone with splendour in the three worlds, a frontal ornament of the assembly of the Kákotya kings; a source of agony to his enemies; a daily giver of wealth to proper objects; a giver of delight to the hearts of women; an up-rooter of the masses of the wicked; a worshipper of the brilliant lotus of the feet of S'iva; who has reduced kings to submission.

7. His son became distinguished as Prolí-rája, the seat of the ambrosia of contemplation of the pair of lotuses of S'iva's feet. The spoiler of the prosperity (Saubbhágya) of the beauties (wives) of his enemies, the destroyer of the pride of the chiefs of his enemies; a lord of Lanká in respect to the pride of fighting without fear, in all directions.

8. He, in battle (Prolí-rája), an elephant bound down in an instant, S'rímat Tailapa-deva, the head ornament of the Chalukyas, who was skilled in riding elephants, whose deep attention was continually directed to war, and who was like a lotus. He (Prolí-rája), celebrated for cutting off the bulb of his enemies, in an instant released him (Tailapa) on being pleased with his faithfulness.

9. He also bound down and released Govinda-rája, skilful beyond comparison in hewing the face of the forces by the sharp edge of his irresistible battle-axe, and gave the kingdom to King Udaya. He (Prolí-rája), invincible to hundreds of enemies, without pity, despoiler of (Govinda-rája) in the battle-field as if in sport, a master (or teacher) of the vows of heroes, this Prolí-rája in anger attacked and shaved the

10. head of Gúdhaha (?), the shameless lord of the great Mantra-kúta city, who bore the insignia of the boar on his breast, and who, when called on to fight by the king, ran away like a lamb to his city.

11. And, secondly, he (Prolí-rája) resisted Jagaddeva, whose beauty was like that of a god on earth, and who, accompanied by many Man-



dalika-rájas, had laid siege to the city of Anumakonda, and who, being unable to accomplish his object, retired in an instant. How is it possible to describe sufficiently the glory of the prosperous Prolí-rája?

12. His chief queen was Muppamá, endowed with virtues, with fame like the moonlight in the S'arat season (October and November); with brilliant beauty beyond comparison; virtuous like Kausalyá and Jánakí, and great as Kunti, Lakshmi, Paulomí (the wife of Indra), and Chandiká.

13. Of her was born for the good of the world a son named S'rí Rudra-deva, a sprout of the chief bulb of supreme joy. Was he not Cupid himself? was he not Skanda, the son of S'iva or Jayanta, or Jishnu (Indra), the holder of the Vajra (thunderbolt), or Hari, or as As'vini Kumara? A humble devotee of S'rí Girísa.

14. This Rudra king, defeated—repeatedly compelled to fly away by hundreds of bright arrows, as if in sport, and as Arjuna defeated Karna—Doma, of exceedingly elegant prowess; and practised in leading (*lit.* riding) masses of tall and excellent cavalry; and returned to his city, which contained everything that is remarkable.

15. [The transliteration of this verse is unsatisfactory, from imperfections in the copy, but I glean from it that Rudra-deva defeated S'rímat Meliga-deva, ruler of a country called S'rípalavása.]

16. The frightful mongoose Bhíma overcame the cobra named Gokarna, who boasted of his bravery, and was of low family. In that state he was instantly destroyed, just as a house-mouse would be killed in great darkness by a young cat.

17. The soul of Chodádaya-rája, an ornament of his race, was frightened by the lustrous weapon of paralyzing fear produced from the prowess of S'rímat Rudra (the king), and departed to the higher regions as if from madness or forgetfulness, as if pursued by the great Bhuta (spirits), as if from agony and confusion.

18. From sheer fright of the valorous king S'rí Rudradeva, King Tailapa was afflicted with diarrhoea and became emaciated. And although this resulted in death, Bhíma ventured to succeed to the fleeting royal dignity.

19. Just as a young jackall, surrounded by many younger ones, imagining himself to be a king, despises the rest of the world, and

i. e. one whose mind is devoted to Satyá (i. e. to Satyabhamá, his wife). The one is Nirastanarakakles'ah, i. e. he who has removed the miseries of hell. Kes'ava is the same, one who removed the terrors of Narakásura. The one is Lakshmyás'raya, the abode of Lakshmi (wealth); the other, the support (husband) of Lakshmi.

The one is Prithvíbhṛta, the protector of the earth; so is Kes'ava. The one is Anantabhogamilalja, the abode of infinite enjoyment; so is Kes'ava, who sleeps on the body of the serpent Ananta. The one is ever Dvijendrapriyah, the lover of the best of Brahmanas; so is Kes'ava, ever the friend of Dvijendra, the king of birds (garuda). The one is Dushtarishtha vimardanah, the remover of evil calamities; the other, the destroyer of the wicked Arishta (a giant). The one fulfils the wishes of the learned; the other who grants the prayers of the gods (sumanasubhyarthitharthaprada). The one is gotraprodharanah, i. e. one who raises his family to distinction; the other raised gotra (the Govardhana hill). The one is Sudarsanadharah, i. e. he who holds good doctrines or who looks excellent; the other is the holder of Sudarsána, wheel or disc.

32. Rudra-deva appears beautiful with the numerous rows of necklaces of the pearls (drops) dropping from the forehead of the tall elephants in the incomparable battle-field; he shone like heaps of the petals of blue lotuses, like the beautiful eyes of the wife (Psyche) of Cupid, the god who was in terror of Rudra's (S'iva's) anger.

33. Whilst Rudra-deva ruled over the earth, the title of Rájá was given only to the moon, not to the greatest among men. Roughness existed only in the Chandratilaka, not in the rich. Brightness existed only in the sun, not in the multitude of enemies. The catching of hair was confined to the act of copulation (not in fighting). The holding of sticks was confined to Yatis (ascetics); no *daṇḍa* or fine was exacted from the mass of the people. Disputation was confined to the Śástras ( ) not in social intercourse. There was no *mathana* (punishing) of the wicked; it was reserved only for the Arni wood (by rubbing which, fire is produced for the Agnihotra and Vedic sacrifices).

34. The extent of his charity was limited only by the relief of poverty; of his might, by the destruction of his enemy; of his wisdom, that of the four-faced (Brahmá); of his good qualities, by infini-

tude ; of his brightness, by the heating of the sun ; of his fame by the three worlds. His attention to Dharma was without limit, and his mind was brilliant.

35. Ocean ! although thou art spread everywhere ; although thou art exalted ; although thou art the single support of the great ; although thou art the birthplace of S'rí (wealth) ; although thy heart is inclined to favour ; although thou art the abode of gems, yet thou wert drunken by the pitcher-born (Agasti) and became Sattith. But the king Rudra (to whom the adjectives applied to the ocean are also applicable) is not as thou art ; and vainly do not try to rival him.

36. Verily Rudra-deva was formed by the lotus-born (Brahmá-deva), selecting with joy—literally, from the Kalpa Vriksha ; greatness from him of Golden-body's peak (Meru mountain) ; courage from the son of Das'ratha (Ráma) ; strength, from Purabhit (Indra) ; gaiety (or depth) from the ocean ; beauty from him with the (Dragon) Makara flag (Cupid) ; love of learning from the teacher of the Suras (Bṛihaspati).

37. The moon at present appears beautiful as the lily in his ocean of milk of success. The sun appears like the expanded lotus ; the moving cloud (*lit.* sky), like the blue lotus ; the stars, like clear bubbles ; the quarters, like the coast ; the three worlds, like the series of waves. And how wonderful ! Success to S'rí Rudra-deva !

38. Imagine that to the successful prosperity approaching the victorious Rudra-deva, and to the fame proceeding from him to the distant quarters across the stream of blood, having flesh for shining mud, the fallen heads of enemies cut off by the sword in battle served as stepping stones ; and the spasmodic (*lit.* dancing) headless bodies served as little boats.

39. His city named Anumakonda is like the capital of the goddess of wealth, and prospers from the sword and battle-axe residing there permanently. It is rati-mati (beloved) like the city of Cupid, which is rati-mati (having Psyche in it) and full of S'ringára (gay life). Like the city of the great Indra with Jishṇu, Viṣṇu (Anumkonda having temples of Jishṇi and Vishṇu) and the sports of Rambhá (Rambhá vilása) whilst Anumkonda had Rambhá vilásá, *i. e.* abundance of plantain trees.

40. In it women are Makarketu's (Cupid's) favourite residence (*lit.* capital city), whose eyes are like the petals of the full blue lily,

whose bodies are spare, and who are the frontal ornaments of the most beautiful women in the three worlds, and who are bowed down by high and full breasts.

41. Where in the houses of the chief of the twice-born, the parrots, though prevented, commit to memory, along with the little boy, the Vedas, with all their Angas and all their deliberations with their Padas and Krama, and which (the Vedas) are the objects of study by the virtuous.

42. Where the five words of young parrots picked up from expressions dropt during amatory intercourse, and which (words) are like the full moon to the tempestuous ocean of the excitement of desire of gallants in the habitations of harlots, are in daytime heard in all directions.

43. The body of cavalry of S'rí Rudra-deva does not jump across the sky, only because it is the footmark (Pada) of Viṣṇu. It does not touch the earth with its feet, because it (the earth) is a god (cow). It fills all the quarters in the battle-field by its prancing; threatening the enemies every day, it causes them to fly and slays them.

44. His horses were of beautiful make, of low voice, and possessed of all the illustrious qualities mentioned in the various treatises on the horse, with a body full of agility and strength, hardy and trained in the five kinds of paces.

45. His extensive dominions reached the shores of the ocean (*lit.* salt sea) and to the S'rí S'aila mountains in the south, as far as the western countries, as far as Cuttak (in the east). On the north, as far as the fine country of Mályavanta (the country in the neighbourhood).

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*Transcript of Rudra-deva's Inscription.*

ॐ स्वस्तिश्रीविजयोभ्युदयश्च भवतु ॥ स्वस्ति समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दम-  
हामंडलेश्वरअन्मकुंडापुरवरेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरपतिहितचरितविनयविभूषणश्री-  
मन्महामंडलेश्वरकाकतीयरुद्रदेवराजुलविजयराज्यमुत्तरोत्तराभिवृद्धिप्रवर्धमा-  
नमाचन्द्रार्कतारमुगाअन्मकोडपट्टनमुनंदुसुखसंकथाविनोदंबुनराज्यंनुसेयुचु-  
नुंड शकवर्षमुलु १०६४ वनेटिचित्रभानुसंवत्सरमापुख १२ वट्टवारमुनांडुत-  
नषेररुद्रेश्वरमुनुश्रीवासुदेवरश्रीसूर्यदेवरानुप्रतिष्ठासेधिचे ॥

यस्योत्तुंगतरंगताडितवियत्सप्तार्णवीयं जलं पादांगुष्ठनखाप्रदघ्नमभवद्भू-  
मंडलोद्धारणे ॥ दंष्ट्राकोटिकुटीरकोटरगतं त्रैलोक्यमब्बिदुवद्ब्रह्माण्डाव-  
रोमकंदरकरा वंदे वराहं हरिं ॥ १ ॥ श्रीहेरंबविलंबिकुंतलमिलन्मल्लीदल-  
कुङ्कुलव्रातोजृम्भितगंधलुब्धमधुपघाणोत्करस्यास्पदं ॥ स्फीतप्रीतमनाभवत्ब-  
मिह मे दिग्दंतिदंतदुति प्रोक्षामोदलनैकविक्रमलसदंतातिकान्त्याश्रयः ॥२॥  
मातेव दुग्धलहरीभिरुदंचतीव दुग्धोदधेरमृतदीधितिनिर्मितेव ॥ श्रीखंडपि-  
डपरिपाण्डुरपुत्तलीव वत्के वसत्वविरतं तु सरस्वती नः ॥३॥ भारद्वाजकुलश्रि-  
यःपरिवृढःश्रौतक्रियाकर्म्मठःश्रीरामेश्वरदीक्षितोजनयिता यस्य क्षितावग्रणीः॥  
सोचिर्तेद्रवरोद्वयामृतयतेःशिष्योयतेः श्रद्धया श्रीमद्भुद्रनरेश्वरस्य सुमतेर्वशाव-  
लिं वर्णये ॥ ४ ॥ श्रीमन्निभुवनमल्लो राजा काकत्यवंशसंभूतः ॥ प्रबलरि-  
पुवर्गनारीवैधव्यविधायकाचार्यः ॥ ५ ॥ श्रीकाकत्यनरेन्द्रवृंदतिलको वैरी-  
न्द्रहत्तापकः सत्पात्रे वसुदायकः प्रतिदिनं कान्तामनोरंजकः ॥ दुष्टानां  
चयदूषकः पुरहरः श्रीपादपद्मार्चको न्यग्भूतीकृतनायकस्त्रिभुवने श्रीमल्लदे-  
वो बभौ ॥ ६ ॥ तत्पुत्रः शिवपादपद्मयुगलध्यानामृनानंदभूलुंठाकोरिपुसुंद-  
रीजनमहासौभाग्यसंपच्छ्रियः ॥ प्रोलीराज इति प्रसिद्धिमगमद्वैरीन्द्रदर्पापहो  
निःशंकप्रधनप्रबंधनमहार्हकारलंकेश्वरः ॥ ७ ॥ हस्त्यारोहणकर्मकर्मठगतिं  
चालुक्यचूडामणिं शश्वदुद्धनिबद्धगव्हरमतिं युद्धे बबंध क्षणात् ॥ श्रीमत्तैल  
पदेव मंबुजमिव स्तंबेरमस्तं क्षणात्प्रख्यातोरिपुकुंठखंडनविधौ भक्त्यानुरागा-  
ज्जहौ ॥ ८ ॥ यो कुंठोरिशतैरकुंठपरशुश्लक्ष्णाग्रधारोल्लसद्वारापातनिपातनैक-  
चतुरं (गो) विंदराजाब्धयं ॥ बध्वोन्मुच्य तदोदयक्षितिभृते राज्यं ददौ  
लीलया लुंठाकोविदयस्य तस्य समरे सद्दीरदीक्षागुरुः ॥ ९ ॥ क्रुद्धेनोदुर-

मंत्रकूटनगरीनायस्तु यो निस्त्रपो गूढः खंडितएव मुंडितशिराः क्रोडांक-  
वक्षस्थलः ॥ एडोडिभकवत्पलायनपरो जातो गतः स्वां पुरीमाहूतोपि नृपे-  
श्वरस्य पुरतः प्रोलेन युद्धाय यत् ॥ १० ॥ अन्यच्चानुमर्कौडनामनगरीं सं-  
वेष्ट्य योयं स्थितो नानामंडलिकान्वितोभुवि जगद्देवत्सदेवप्रभः ॥ स्तब्धस्तंभि-  
तएव कार्यकरणे शक्तः क्षणाभिर्गतः श्रीमत्प्रोलनृपस्य तस्य जयिनः किं ब्रूम-  
हे गौरवं ॥ ११ ॥ देवीमुष्पमनामधेयसहिता यस्यागुणाः सारकाः कीर्तिः  
शारदचंद्रिकेव विलसत्कान्तेस्तु नैवोपमा ॥ कौशल्येव च जानकीव च  
सती कुंतीव पद्मेव सा पैलोमीव च चंडिकेव च वरा तस्याभवद्भामिनी  
॥ १२ ॥ तस्यास्तस्य सुतोजनीह परमानंदैककंदांकुरः कामः किं नल-  
कूबरः शिवसुतः स्कंदो जयंतोयवा ॥ जिष्णुर्वज्रधरोय वा हरिरयं दस्तौ  
कुमारौ नतो भक्तः श्रीगिरिशो हिताय जगतः श्रीरुद्रदेवो नृपः ॥ १३ ॥  
त्वंगत्तुंगतुरंगपुंगवचयारोहक्रमे कर्मठंडोमं चारुपराक्रमक्रमभरं भंक्तासकृ-  
ल्लीलया ॥ कर्णं पार्यद्भवामलैः शरशतैर्विद्राव्य विद्राव्य योलेभे सर्वविशेषयुक्त-  
नगरग्रामं सरुद्रोनृपः ॥ १४ ॥ . . . . विडंबिडंबरभरक्षोदक्षमं क्ष्माभृतां दुर्वारो-  
दुरवीरमित्रसमयादानैकदीक्षागुरुं ॥ श्रीमन्मेलिगदेवसंगसमयप्रोद्धूतदर्पापहं  
प्राप्तश्रीपलवासदेशविभवश्रीरुद्रदेवः सदा ॥ १५ ॥ भीमेन भीमनकुलेन  
कुलेन हीनो ग्रस्तो ममार गृहमूषकवत्क्षणेन ॥ मार्जारडिभकवरेण महांध-  
कारे गोकर्णनामभुजगो भुवि शूरमानी ॥ १६ ॥ श्रीमद्रुद्रपराक्रमोद्धवभय-  
व्यामोहनाख्योलसच्छस्त्रस्तसमस्तगोत्रविलसच्छोडादयक्ष्मापतेः ॥ उन्म-  
त्ता इव विस्मृता इव महाभूताभिभूता इव प्रोद्धांता इव संकृला इव तदा  
प्राणाः प्रयाता दिवं ॥ १७ ॥ यातेपि तैलपनृपे दिवमस्य भीत्या सर्वातिसारक-  
बलीकृतगात्रयष्टौ ॥ श्रीरुद्रदेवनृपतेः पृथुविक्रमस्य भीमोपि राज्यपदवीं क्ष-  
णिकां स लेभे ॥ १८ ॥ एकोजंबुकडिभकोल(घु)तरैः संवे(ष्टि)तो जंबुकै  
राजाहंकृतिधिकृतक्षितितलस्सिंहेन संस्पर्धते ॥ फेत्काराकुलगार्जितैर्मुखरय-  
न्सर्वादिशोविह्वलो यातः कापि सटाविधूननभरैः कंठीरवस्यातुरः ॥ १९ ॥  
तद्वद्भीमनृपाधमोनरपशुर्मातुः सपत्न्याः पतिर्हता भ्रातृवरस्य भोजनविधौ भी-  
मेन संस्पर्धते ॥ आकाशग्रसनप्रयासानिरतः श्रीरुद्रदेवेन यस्पर्धावर्धितगर्वपर्वत-  
महाशृंगायमारोहति ॥ २० ॥ श्रुत्वा भीमनृपस्य राज्यविभवं चारैश्च दुश्चे-  
ष्टितं श्रीमद्रुद्रनेरश्वरोय विजयप्रारंभसंभारभाक् ॥ जातो जातरिपुः समग्र

गपनीयोततः सद्यस्सज्जपलान्वितः प्रमुदितः शीघ्रं त्रियेनिर्गतः ॥ २१ ॥  
 जयप्रयाणसमये गंभीरभेरीभरद्वाङ्कारोद्भवसंभ्रमव्यतिकरव्याजं भू-  
 ॥ भ्रश्यं सभ्रचया चलन्त्यवनयोभ्राम्यं सर्मा भूधराः कूर्मस्ताम्यति मुह्यति  
 नः कुन्यन्ति दिक्कुंजराः ॥ २२ ॥ कोशान् गेहेष्वमुचन्यथि करितुरगान् चान्ध-  
 र्ममार्गे दुर्गेष्वन्तःपुराणि प्रतिरवचकिता रुद्रदेवस्य भीत्या ॥ यस्योद्योगे भ्र-  
 समसमयसमारंभगंभीरभेरीभाङ्काराकीर्णकर्णञ्जरभरतरल्यः प्रेषिताशाः  
 णाः ॥ २३ ॥ गत्वा जवान्निचतुराणि पदानि राजा सस्यस्य संढनमिव  
 णद्वति वा ॥ भ्रूङ्गवीक्षणविर्वाहितकोशवन्दौ यद्दृढमाननगरीं प्रयमां जुहा-  
 २४ ॥ यस्यास्त्रिवीक्षणमयाचकितस्सभीमो दुर्योधनस्य नृपतेरिव विव्द-  
 ः ॥ स्वभ्रानृमानृवनितासहितः समग्रलक्ष्मीं विहाय वनमेव ययौ विलज्जः  
 २५ ॥ तन्पृष्ठतो नुच जगाम दहाह राजा चो (वो) ढादयस्य नगरीमगरीय-  
 ॥ लंक्रामिवामरपुरीसदृशीं मृगाक्षीत्रेणीविलसललितामिव चाञ्जनेयः  
 २६ ॥ कुलाव च वनं तस्य दुर्गमार्गलविभ्रमं ॥ तडागमकरोत्तत्र पुरमध्ये-  
 महत् ॥ २७ ॥ कंदूगदयचोढवंशविलसन्तीराब्धिगर्भोद्भवस्यैकाश्रयरू-  
 नृपतेः किं वर्ण्यते विक्रमः ॥ सुद्रक्षात्रकुलोन्नतिश्चयकृतः सर्वावनिश्रीभृतो  
 स्यैव कुठारसंढितरिपुत्रातस्य (प्रोतस्य) पृथ्वीपतेः ॥ २८ ॥ रंगतुंगतरं-  
 गवन्मुरशुष्णं जगन्मण्डलं ज्योत्स्नोत्सासिसदातपत्रनिकरव्याप्तं नभोमं-  
 ॥ पूर्णदून्करचारुचामरचयै दिङ्मण्डलं संभृतं दृष्ट्वा सैन्यविनिर्गमं नरपतेः  
 २९ ॥ कांचीमण्डलविध्यमध्यनिलया भीमादयः पार्थिवा-  
 गता अहरहः श्रीरुद्रदेवस्य ते ॥ दृष्ट्वैवानिमिषा बभूवुरमरी-  
 न् ममर्याभिरं प्रत्यावृत्त्य तमेव रुद्रनृपतिं प्राप्ताः शरण्यार्थिनः ॥ ३० ॥ रुद्रं  
 नरेश्वरं बुधसत्तान्येकश्रियां भाजनं कृत्वा यस्य कदापि चेतसि मदा-  
 न संभ्रमति ॥ एकः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमं कलकलैः कृत्वा त्रियोभाजनं वीचीनां  
 तेषुनापि बभूवामुज्जागरां सागरः ॥ ३१ ॥ न्यग्भूतीकृतराजहंसनिकरः प-  
 त्रैकाश्रयः कन्याकृत्तगतिः क्षिताविह सत्तानंदत्ययं पार्थिवः ॥ सत्सासक्तमना  
 तनरककेशश्च लक्ष्म्याश्रयः पृथ्वीभृशदनंतभोगानिलयः सन्धद्विजैद्रप्रियः  
 ३२ ॥ दृष्टारिष्टविमर्दनः सुमनसामभ्यर्थितार्थप्रदो गोत्रप्रोद्धरणः सुदर्शन-  
 रुद्रः स्वयं केशवः ॥ ३३ ॥ असमसमरसंगोत्तुंगमातंगकुंभस्थत्यविग-  
 रणाराधिरामः ॥ भवभवभयभाजो भामिनीभव्यनेत्रोत्पलदलचव-

भूषः (पः) शोभते रुद्रदेवः ॥ ३४ ॥ अस्मिन्प्रशासति महीं भुवि रुद्रदेवे  
 राजाभिधा शशिनि नैव नरोत्तमेषु ॥ रुक्षत्वमिन्दुतिलके न धनाकुलेषु तेज-  
 स्विता दिनकरे न च शात्रवेषु ॥ ३५ ॥ केशग्रहस्सुरतसंगरसंधमेषु दंडग्रहोय-  
 तिषु नैव जनोत्करेषु ॥ शास्त्रे विवादकथनं व्यवहारजं नो न कापि दुष्टमथनं  
 मथनं त्वरण्यां ॥ ३६ ॥ दानं दैन्यपराभवावधि रिपुच्छेदावधिर्विक्रमश्चातुर्यं  
 चतुराननावधि गुणग्रामस्त्वसंख्यावधिः ॥ तेजोभास्करतापनावधि यशोराशि-  
 स्तु रुद्रस्य यस्त्रैलोक्याक्रमणावधिर्नैवाधिर्धर्मं मतिः शोभते ॥ ३७ ॥ प्राप्ता-  
 शोपि महत्तरोपि महतामेकाश्रयोपि श्रियो जन्मस्थानमपि प्रसन्नहृदपि त्वं  
 रत्नधामापि सन् ॥ पीतः कुम्भसमुद्भवेन जलधिः ॥ क्षारस्समुद्रोत्पत्तो नैवं रुद्रनरे-  
 श्वरोयममुना स्पृष्टा वृथा माकृथाः ॥ ३८ ॥ औदार्यं सुरशाखिनः शिखरिणः  
 स्वर्णाकृतेर्गौरवं धैर्यं दाशरथेर्बलं पुरभिदो गांभीर्यमंभोनिधेः ॥ सौंदर्यं मक-  
 रध्वजात्सुरगुरोर्विद्यारती कौतुकादादायाब्जसमुद्भवेन रचितः श्रीरुद्रदेवो ध्रुव-  
 ॥ ३९ ॥ स्फायत्कैरवतींदुरंबुजपतिस्पृष्टांबुजत्यंबरं लोलं नीलसरोजति स्फुट-  
 यशोदुग्धोदधौ संप्रति ॥ ज्योतीषि स्फुटबुद्बुदंतिहरितः कूलंति लोकास्त्रयश्च-  
 चद्वीचिचयंति यस्य जयति श्रीरुद्रदेवोद्भुतं ॥ ४० ॥ पादन्यासशिला शिरांसि  
 समरे कृत्तानि खड्गेन यच्छत्रूणां पतितानि मांसविलसत्पंकेषु शके ह्यहं ॥  
 रक्तस्रोतसि रुद्रदेवजयिनो नृत्यत्कबंधाः प्लवा आयांया विजयश्रियश्च सविधं  
 कीर्तेः प्रयात्या दिशः ॥ ४१ ॥ तस्यास्तेनुमर्कोडनामनगरी श्रीराजधानीव या  
 यत्रोद्यत्सदखंडखंडपरशुव्याजृम्भणोज्जृम्भिता ॥ कंदर्पस्य पुरीव सा रतिमती  
 शृंगारभारान्विता माहेन्द्रीव च जिष्णुविष्णुसहिता रंभा विलासोर्जिता ॥ ४२ ॥  
 यत्र स्त्रियोमकरकेतनराजधान्य आनीलनीरजपलाशदृशः कृशांग्यः ॥ त्रैलो-  
 क्यसुंदरदृशां तिलकायमाना आपीनतुंगकुचकुम्भभरालसांग्यः ॥ ४३ ॥ यत्र  
 द्विजेन्द्रभवनेषु निवार्यमाणाः कीराः पठन्ति पटवो बटुभिः समेताः ॥ सर्वाङ्ग-  
 संगतसमस्तविचारचारुचारित्रचर्चितपदक्रमयुक्तवेदान् ॥ ४४ ॥ वेद्यागृ-  
 हेषु सुरतोत्सवजातचेष्टाशब्दानुकारिशुकशावकचारुशब्दाः ॥ सर्वादिशो  
 मुखरयन्ति दिवा विद्यानां कन्दर्पदर्पतरलार्णवपूर्णचंद्राः ॥ ४५ ॥ नातिक्रा-  
 मति वैष्णवं पदामिनि द्यां गौरिति क्षमामिमां पादैस्प्रक्ष्यति नो तुरङ्गमचयः  
 श्रीरुद्रदेवस्य यः ॥ सर्वांशाः परिपूरयन्विजयते नृयेन संभीषयन्छत्रून्युद्धम-  
 हीतले प्रतिदिनं विद्रावयन्मारयन् ॥ ४६ ॥ अतिरमणशरीरायेच नीचस्वरा-



ढ्याः सकलतुरगशास्त्रोद्भासिसलक्षणाढ्याः ॥ जवभरभरिताङ्गाः सत्वसंपन्न-  
गात्रा अतिचिरतरजीवाः पञ्चधारास्तुरङ्गाः ॥ ४७ ॥ राज्यं प्राज्यं लवणज-  
लधेस्तीरपर्यन्तमस्य श्रीशैलान्तां प्रचरति सदा दक्षिणाशां समग्रां ॥ प्रातीच्या-  
न्तां कटकनिकटस्थायिनीं राज्यलक्ष्मीः कौबेर्याशातटविलसिते माल्यवन्तप्र-  
देशे ॥ ४८ ॥ अर्चनार्थमिह दत्तवान्महन्नंदिचेखलनामखेटकं ॥ श्रीमहेशर-  
विशौरिणे स्थिरं रुद्रदेवनृपतिर्मतस्सतां ॥ ४९ ॥

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*(Faint handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.)*

ART. VI.—*Revised Translation of the Inscription on the Bhítarí Lát.* By BHA'U DA'JI', Esq., Hon. Mem. R. A. Society.

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Read 13th April 1871.

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The destroyer of all kings, an unsurpassable warrior in the world, whose victory is saturated by the four seas; comparable to Dhanada, Varuna, Indra, Antaka; whose battle-axe is deadly; the giver of crores of gold (pieces) and of innumerable cows affording hundreds of benefits; the performer of the As'vamedha (horse-sacrifice) neglected for a long time: the great-grandson of Maharájá S'rí Gupta; the grand son of Maharájá S'rí Ghatotkacha; the son of Maharájádhirája S'rí Chandragupta; the son of Licchavi's daughter; born of Mahádeví Kumáradeví, (was) Máharajádhirája S'ri Samudragupta; his son, born of his married wife Mahádeví (Queen) Datta-Deví (was) Mahápratiratha (the great unsurpassable warrior), Parama Bhágavata (the eminent devotee of Bhagavána [God]), Maharájádhirája (the great king of kings) S'rí Chandragupta (2nd) his son, intent on his (father's) feet, was born of Mahádeví (Queen) Dhruva-Deví Parama Bhágavata Maharájádhirája S'rí Kumára Gupta, whose talent and natural strength became renowned; whose glory is great; the son of this great lord of this earth was by name Skandagupta, whose wealth was like that of the gods: on the lotus of whose feet lay hundreds of hostile kings, whose glory is extensive; the lord of the earth; powerful in the strength of his arms in the world; an unparalleled hero in the Gupta dynasty, whose great glory is spread in all directions; who by his good qualities suffered not the virtuous state of the righteous to be destroyed, and caused his soul ..... to attain (a high state?); who gradually, by great strength, eminent virtues, prowess, and by daily fighting battles, having obtained all he wished of the enemies intent upon gaining victory [*unintelligible*], bent upon re-establishing the lost prospects of the family, made the ground his bed for three months, and having taken (Pushya) mitra, whose strength and treasures had been eminently on the increase, he placed (his) left foot on the seat of the feet of kings (*i.e.* he conquered other kings). By those who attack with impetuosity, and by those the prowess of whose arms is

annihilated ..... by  
 mercy and bravery. Whose life of pure (white) glory is duly sung  
 with joy by young and old in all quarters. Who conquered his ene-  
 mies by the prowess of his arms. Who, after his father went to heaven.  
 He recovered the lost wealth of the kingdom, as Kṛiṣṇa, after destroy-  
 ing his enemies, approached (his mother) Devakī, with joy he repaired  
 to his mother, who was full of tears, to say that he had conquered. . . .  
 Having repaired the ruined Upendra-chalita (a temple of Vámana, an  
 incarnation of Viṣṇu): with his two arms, having conquered the earth,  
 and having shown daily mercy to the distressed; whose beauty was  
 every day like that of the full moon, was neither filled with pride nor  
 with despair. The community of A'ryas entertained him with songs,  
 praises, and hundreds of poems .....  
 In battle, had come to fight with Hūnas?—with both arms and trem-  
 bling of the earth created fearful whirlpools ..... arrows to enemies  
 ..... distinguished ..... in the ear, the sound of  
 the Ganges ..... father's fame ..... with  
 ingenuity ..... the image of Shárngpaṇi Viṣṇu was made by  
 Supratíta? Having established this image of Viṣṇu here, he whose  
 government is fully established, for the increase of the merits of his  
 father, gave this village (in charity). This image of Bhagavána to  
 whom here (?)..... Both were given by the meritorious Skanda-  
 gupta for the increase of the merit of his father.

सर्वराजोच्छेतुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधिसलिलस्वदितयशसे धनद-  
 रुणेन्द्रान्तक . . . . . कृतान्तपरशोः श्रेयशतानेकगोहिरण्यप्रदस्य चिरोत्सन्ना-  
 श्वमेधाहर्तुर्महाराजश्रीगुप्तपौत्रस्य महाराजश्रीघटोत्कचपौत्रस्य महाराजाधि-  
 राजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य लिच्छविदौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महा-  
 राजाधिराजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यान्दत्त देव्यामुत्पन्न—  
 महाप्रतिरथ—परमभागवतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो  
 महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमभागवतमहाराजाधिराजश्री कुमारगुप्तस्तस्य

प्रथितपृथुमतिः स्वभावशक्तेः

पृथुयशसः पृथिवीपतेः ( सुरश्रीः )

(रिपुजन) शतपादपद्मवर्ती

प्रथितयशाः पृथिवीपतिः सुतोयम्

जगति भुजबलाद्यो गुप्तवंशैकवीरः

प्रथितविपुलधामा नामतस्कन्दगुप्तः

सुचरितचरितानां येन वृत्तेन वृत्तं

न विहतमथचात्माभा . . . . .

(विपुल) बलसुनीतैर्विक्रमेण क्रमेण

प्रतिदिनमभियोगादीप्सितं येन लब्ध्वा

स्वभिमतविजिगीषामोद्यतानां परेषां

प्रणिहितमवलोक्य संविधानोपदेशः

विचलितकुललक्ष्मीस्तंभनायोद्यतेन

क्षितितलशयनीये येन नीता (त्रिमासी)

समुदितबलकोशम्पुष्यमित्रं गृहीत्वा

क्षितिपचरणपीठे स्थापितोवामपादः

प्रसभमनुपमद्विध्वस्तशस्त्रप्रतापैः

. . . . . (सु येन) क्षान्तिशीर्य निरूढम्

चरितममलकीर्त्तैर्गीयते यस्य शुभ्रं

दिशिदिशि परितुष्टैराकुमारं मनुष्यैः

पितरि दिवमुपेते विप्लुतां राज्यलक्ष्मीं

भुजबलविजितारिर्यः प्रतिष्ठाप्य भूयः

जितमितिपरितोषान्मातरं सास्त्रनेत्रां

हतरिपुरिव कृष्णोदेवकीमभ्युपेतः

. . . . . ल्युपेन्द्रचलितं भग्नं प्रतिष्ठाप्य यो

बाहुभ्यामवनीं विजित्य हि जनेष्वात्तैषु कृत्वा दयां

नोत्सिक्तोनच विस्मितः प्रतिदिनं (पूर्णेन्दुमा) नद्युति-

हृ(नै)र्यस्य समागतस्य समरे दोर्भ्या धराकंपितै-  
भीमावर्त्तकरस्य शत्रुषु शर.....

.....प्रख्यापितोर्वी..

.....तल..शोत्रेषुगाङ्गध्वनि....

..पितुः कीर्ति.....

...प्रतिमाकाचित्प्रतिमा तस्य शार्ङ्गिणः सुप्रतीतश्चकारेमा-

.....

..ह चैनं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सुप्रतिष्ठितशासनः

ग्राममेनं स विदधे पितुः पुण्याभिवृद्धये

अतोभगवतोमूर्तिमिमां यश्चात्र (मंत्रितः)

उभयं निर्दिदेशासौ पितुः पुण्याय पुण्यधीरिति ।

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[illegible]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

[illegible]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

१५३३  
 १५३३

ART. VII.—*Revised Inscription on the Delhi “Iron” (Metal) Pillar at Kootub Minar, with Remarks.* BY BHA’U DA’JI’, Esq., Hon. Mem. R. A. Society.

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Read 18th April 1871.

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He, on whose arm glory is written with the sword, when he repeatedly turned back his combined enemies in the battle-field in the Vangas (Bengal?); who, having swum across the seven mouths of the Sindhu (Indus), conquered the Bálhikas in battle, the breezes of whose prowess still waft incense to the South Sea; who, having left the earth (*go*) as if in sorrow, resorted to the other *go* (heaven); who went to the land of his deserts (actions) with his (bodily) form, but with his glory remained on this earth; who destroyed the remnant of his enemies; whose heroism, like a great smouldering fire in a great jungle, does not yet leave the earth; and who by the prowess of his arms secured in this world an incomparable empire for a long time; whose countenance was beautiful like the full moon; this Lord of the earth, named Chandra, having by means of faith in Viṣṇu fixed his mind, erected this tall flag-post of Bhagavána Viṣṇu in Viṣṇupada-giri (the hill of Viṣṇu’s feet).

*Transliteration into Sanskrit of the Revised Facsimile of the Inscription on the Delhi “Iron” or Metal Pillar.*

यस्योद्धर्तयतः प्रतीपमु (रुषः) शत्रून्समेत्यागता-  
 न्वङ्गेष्वहवर्त्तितनोविलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्तिभुजे  
 तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोज्जिता बाल्हिका  
 यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते बलनिधिर्वीर्यानिर्लक्षिणः  
 खिन्नस्येव विसृज्य गां नरपतेर्गामाश्रितस्येतरां  
 मूर्त्या कर्मचितावर्णिं गतवतः कीर्त्या स्थितस्य क्षितौ  
 शान्तस्येव महावने हुतभुजो यस्य प्रतापो महा-  
 चाद्याप्युत्सृजति प्रणाशितरिपो र्यन्नस्य लेशः क्षितौ-

प्राप्तेन स्वभुजार्जितञ्च सुचिरं चैकाधिराज्यं क्षितौ  
 चंद्राब्देन समग्रचंद्रसदृशीं वक्तृश्रियं बिभ्रता  
 तेनायं प्रणिधाय भूमिपतिना भावेन विष्णौ मर्ति  
 प्रांशुर्विष्णुपदे गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वजस्थापितः

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REMARKS.—I examined the so-called “Iron” Pillar or Lát at Delhi in 1862. I am satisfied that iron forms no portion of the monument, and that it is a compound of several metals. It is  $22\frac{1}{2}$  feet above the ground, and 5 feet 3 inches in circumference.

I consider the transliteration and translation published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (vol. vii., pp. 629-31) as materially incorrect. There is no such name as Dhava, who has hitherto been supposed to be the prince who erected the pillar in commemoration of his prowess. Mr. E. Thomas, in his edition of Prinsep’s Essays (Vol. i., p. 318), observes that “the hero of this record remains for the present unidentified with any potentate named in local annals, or with any sovereign whose place in history might be determined approximately from numismatic associations.”

I have no doubt that the name of the Rájá who constructed the pillar is Chandra Rájá. He appears to me to be of the Nerwar kings, whose coins are described by General Cunningham in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (No. III. of 1865). Amongst the coins delineated is one which has the name “Chandra” on it. General Cunningham, however, supposes this “Chandra” to be Chandragupta of a later date.

But amongst the coins of the Chandraguptas there is none bearing any great similarity to this coin. And as the name is simply “Chandra,” there are no good grounds for adding “gupta” to it.

As the inscription is short, consisting only of six lines, I have but few remarks to make.

The character of the letters engraved shows them to be later than the time of the Guptas. The cross line across the top of each letter is only seen after the time of the Guptas. The letters correspond most to the inscriptions of the Maukhari dynasty, on two *riharas* or caves in

Behar, viz. those of Ananta Varmá at Nágárjuna and Bárábara. These inscriptions have also been revised, and a more accurate decipherment and translation will be submitted. The letter Va is similar to Ba.

The alphabet belongs in my opinion to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era.

It is difficult to make out where the temple of Viṣṇu and the Viṣṇupada-giri were situated, although in the Masjid or buildings around, there are stones which originally belonged to Jain, S'aiva, and Vaiṣṇava temples of the 10th or 11th century of the Christian era.

My copy of the inscription differs in every line from the copy published in Prinsep's Journal. What is read as "Dhavena" is really "bhávena." "Dhvaja" is really "bhuja," and what has been read "Chandrárkena" is "Chandrávhená." The mistake arises from adding a curved stroke to the letter Vha, on the left side at the middle.

ART. VIII.—*A Devanâgarî Transcript and Date of a new Valabhî Copperplate, and a new Interpretation of the figured Dates on the published Grants of the Valabhî Dynasty.* By Professor RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR.

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Read 11th January 1872.



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The Valabhî copperplate a Devanâgarî transcript of which I submit to the Society to-day was put into my hands by Mr. Burgess about two months ago. My translation of it, with remarks, has already appeared in the first number of the *Indian Antiquary*. I will therefore to-day proceed to the consideration of its date, and of those of all the Valabhî plates hitherto discovered and published.

In this copperplate the date is given in figures, thus २७५. The first symbol consists of a vertical line having at the lower end a circular loop with a point coming out on the right, and at the top a stroke consisting of two small curves on the left and a small curvilinear stroke on the right. This symbol, more or less modified, is often met with in the Valabhî copperplates and the Surashtran coins. The second consists of a circle with a smaller one touching it internally, and the last resembles the modern Devanâgarî ५ *six*. Before endeavouring to interpret this date, it must be premised that the value of the ancient Sanskrit numerals does not depend on position. Each symbol has a fixed value wherever it may be placed. The first figure in the present case has always been understood to signify three hundred, from the evidence of Dr. Burn's Châlukya and Gurjara plates. But subsequently, when it was found on the coins of fourteen or fifteen different kings of the Sâh dynasty, a doubt was thrown on the received interpretation. Mr. Thomas, on a careful observation of the numerals on these coins, found a variation in the form and number of the side-strokes, from which he gathered that the value of the symbol was, in some manner unknown to him, modified by these strokes.\* But the exact signification of these was given by our

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\* *Journal R. A. S.*, Vol. XII., p. 35, note.

learned Vice-President, Dr. Bháú Dáji. In his paper\* on the Ancient Sanskrit Numerals he tells us that the symbol without the right-hand strokes represents one hundred ; with one stroke it signifies two hundred ; and with two, three hundred. Dr. Bháú's conclusions are based chiefly on the numerals found in the Násik cave-inscriptions. I have carefully examined Mr. West's lithographs† of these, and I am convinced of the truth of this view. In the same inscription (No. 25) the numbers 'one hundred' and 'two hundred' occur in words as well as figures. The figures are  and , the first having no side-stroke, while the second has one. In the same manner, in No. 16, the words corresponding to 'two thousand' and 'three thousand' occur in the fifth and fourth lines, and along with them the symbol for a thousand with one side-stroke in the first case and with two in the second. In other places also we find the same, so that there can, I think, be no reasonable doubt as to the truth of Dr. Bháú's theory. It is also confirmed by the numerals on the Surashtan coins.‡

The symbol for one hundred in the present copperplate has, besides the two side-strokes, a circular loop at the lower end. I first thought that this represented another stroke on the left-hand side, so that the whole expressed four hundred. But from the Násik inscriptions § I find that the way of representing four hundred or four thousand was by annexing the figure equivalent to four to the symbol for a hundred or a thousand. And in the *facsimile* of one of Dr. Burn's Gurjara copperplates given by Prof. Dowson,|| in which the date 385 is given in words as well as figures, I find that the first symbol has a loop similar to that in the present plate. There can, therefore, be no doubt, I think, that the first figure here represents three hundred. The loop is merely a flourish.

The endeavours to decipher the figures in the place of tens have not been so successful. We know the symbols for ten, forty, eighty, and ninety ; but of the rest we do not know some at all, and have but an imperfect knowledge of the others. Dr. Bháú quotes an inscription from Kárlen, in which a symbol somewhat resembling

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\* *Journal B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VIII., No. 24.

† *Journal B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII., No. 22.

‡ Mr. Justice Newton's paper, pp. 27, 28, *Journal B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII., No. 22.

§ Mr. West's lithographs Nos. 17 and 18.

|| *Journal R. A. S.*, Vol. I., New Series.

the second figure in the present plate is given, with its value stated in words, as 'twenty.' Other considerations also show that the figure must be thus interpreted. It occurs twice in the Násik inscription No. 25. In both places Dr. Stevenson takes it to be equal to *twenty*,\* but Dr. Bháú attaches that value to it in one place, and in the other the symbol appears to have escaped his attention, since he gives in his paper on the Numerals† the value of the second figure in it only, which is *four*. The figure occurs in that inscription at Násik which is considered to be a deed of sale, and the deed is there said to have been executed at the orders of Gotamíputra in the year represented by the symbols. In another inscription (No. 26), in which Gotamíputra's exploits are enumerated, his wife assigns the cave in which it occurs for the use of religious mendicants in the 19th year of Padumayî. Both these things, therefore, took place in his reign, and very shortly after each other. The symbol under consideration cannot have been intended for *ten*; for that number is represented by a totally different mark. It stands therefore, very likely, for 20. The same figure occurs on a coin of Viśva Sáh, the 15th king in Mr. Newton's‡ list. The second figure on his other coins is that which we know represents 10, and the whole date appears to be 217. The former symbol, therefore, must stand for 20. The last figure in our grant resembles, as I have said, our modern ξ, and that has generally been considered its value. The symbol occurs in one of Dr. Bháú's quotations§ with the word छः, signifying *six*, after it. The date of the present grant is therefore, I feel sure, 326.

This grant is by Dharasena IV., the great grandson of Dharasena II., as I have shown in the genealogical table.|| But the figured date of the copperplate of this last monarch deciphered and translated by Mr. Wathen is usually considered to refer to the fourth century of some era. Mr. Prinsep¶ and Mr. Thomas\*\* interpret it as equal to 300 + some undetermined quantity. The Rev. Philip Anderson†† thinks it to be 330. Dr. Bháú, in his paper on the Numerals, gives five dates with their *facsimiles* from Valabhí plates. None of these latter resembles the

\* *Journal B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. V., p. 46.

† p. 228, under Cave No. 23.



‡ *Journal B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII., p. 28, and Mr. Thomas's paper on the Sáh Dynasty, *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII., p. 59.

§ Sanskrit thin Numerals, p. 229, under Cave No. 4. || *Ind. Ant.*, No. 1.

¶ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII., p. 349.

\*\* Paper on the Sáh Dynasty, p. 5, note.

†† *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. III., p. 216.

date in any of the three grants I know of, but the one which is somewhat like that in Mr. Wathen's plate is interpreted by him as 332. In the same volume of the Journal, however, in another paper,\* he assigns to Dharasena II. the dates 322 and 326, which, by the way, are not to be met with in the former list. If, then, I have interpreted the date in the present copperplate correctly, and if, at the same time, Mr. Anderson and Dr. Bháú are right in their readings of the dates of Dharasena II., it follows that Dharasena IV. reigned at Valabhí four or six years *before* his great grandfather, or in the *same* year as he, or only four years after him. And even if we assign to the odd number of the date in Mr. Wathen's plate the least possible value, viz. 12, and consider the date to be 312, fourteen years is too short a time for five reigns, or for the great grandson to come to the throne after his father, uncle, grandfather, and great-grandfather. The supposition that the eras used by the two monarchs may have been different is, I think, unreasonable. One of two conclusions then must follow. Either my reading of the date of the present grant is wrong; or Mr. Anderson, Dr. Bháú, and other antiquarians, have assigned a wrong date to Dharasena II. Fortunately, in this difficulty, Mr. Wathen's copperplate happens to be in the Museum of this Society. On examining the date, which is  it will be found that the figure representing hundreds has only one side-stroke. And even in Mr. Wathen's lithographed copy given in the fourth volume of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, and in Mr. Prinsep's table of the numerals in the seventh volume, the symbol has one stroke. All subsequent writers, however, and even Mr. Prinsep in another place,† add one more. It thus appears that the first figure in the grant of Dharasena II. is equivalent to 200. But this does not altogether remove the difficulty. The effect of this new reading would be to throw back Dharasena II. by a whole century, if the other two figures were to have the same value as that hitherto assigned to them. And I shall presently show that a century's interval between Dharasena II. and his great-grandson would be too long. The question then is, what value should be assigned to the other two figures, which are . Our knowledge of the symbols for tens is, as I have observed before, imperfect. Something like the second figure in Mr. Wathen's plate occurs in Dr. Bháú's quotation from the A'bhirā‡ inscription at Násik, and he interprets it as 2. But I do not find the figure in Mr. West's § lithograph of

\* p. 215. † B. A. S. Jour., Vol. VII., p. 349. ‡ Paper on the Numerals.  
§ No. 15, l. 10.



the inscription; and instead of that, there is after the word *३* (two) the usual symbol of that number, viz. two short horizontal strokes. In the table given by him in the same paper I again observe the symbol opposite to the number 20.\* But Dr. Bháú has given no authority for assigning that value to it, and I am inclined to think that it is a misprint for the figure which has now been interpreted as 20. In fixing the value of the symbol under consideration, it should be borne in mind that the same minister, Skandabhata, executed the grant of Dharasena II., and also the present one. Dr. Burn's copperplates have acquainted us with the symbols for *eighty* and *ninety*; and from the Násik and other cave-inscriptions we have been able to determine the values of three more, viz. those for *ten*, *twenty*, and *forty*.† The figure in Mr. Wathen's copperplate does not resemble any of these five. It must therefore be interpreted as *thirty*, *fifty*, *sixty*, or *seventy*. If these values were assigned to it successively, the date would be 232, 252, 262, or 272 (the last figure, consisting of two simple strokes, clearly representing 2), and Skandabhata's tenure of office would be 94, 74, 64, or 54 years. The last number must be accepted as the most probable, and it thus determines the date to be 272, and hence the symbol must be understood to represent *seventy*. A tenure of 54 years would not be too long for any individual holder of an hereditary office, though there would be a very great degree of improbability in the supposition of each of three or four members of a family holding it successively for as long a period. George III. reigned for 60 years, but the reigns of George IV. and William IV. were very short. The symbol the value of which I have been discussing bears a sufficient resemblance, making allowance for the difference of time, to that for *seventy* in Rudra Dáma's Girnár inscription, in which the date 72 is given in words and figures. Mr. Prinsep's transcript‡ of it is *३*, General Jacob's and Mr. Westergaard's§ *३*, and Dr. Bháú's¶ *३*. Dr. Bháú's|| differs from the other two in having a stroke on the right-hand side, and this makes it look rather like 40. Of the three, it resembles the figure in Mr. Wathen's plate the least, the other two being more like it.

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\* p. 231.

† In his table Dr. Bháú gives symbols for 30 and 70, but I have not been able to find his evidence for them in his paper. One of those he puts down under 70 is very unlike the transcript he himself gives of the symbol for that number occurring in Rudra Dáma's inscription. And the transcript is, as I have shown further on, different from that given by two previous transcribers.

‡ *Jour. B. A. S.*, Vol. VII., p. 334, lith.

§ *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol., I., p. 149, lith., l. 4.

|| *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII., No. 22 lith., l. 4.

Mr. Wathen's second copperplate is also in the Museum of this Society. It resembles in most respects Dr. Burn's No. 4, a modern Devanāgarī transcript of which is given in the seventh volume of the Bengal Society's Journal. The grantor in both cases is the same. He was, as I have shown,\* Śīlāditya II., the third king after Dharasena IV., the grantor in the present plate. The figured date of both is ३४५.† The first symbol stands for 300, and the last for 6. The value of the second, which resembles the letter *sa* स, has generally been taken to be 70. But we have already assigned that value to a totally different symbol, and if this also were taken to represent 70 the date of these two plates would be 376; i. e. the interval between Dharasena IV. and Śīlāditya II. would be 50 years, and that between this latter king and Dharasena II. 104 years. The minister who prepared the deed in Śīlāditya's time was Madana Hala, the son of Skandabhata, so that this reading would give to the father and son together a tenure of the office for at least 104 years. But, as I have already remarked, the son holds an hereditary office only for a short time if the father has enjoyed it for a long time. Each year added to the father's tenure must, it appears to me, be taken away from the son's. There is probably no instance in history of a father and son holding an office in succession for 104 years. I think, therefore, that the second symbol in these places cannot have been meant for 70. The only *tens* now available in fixing the value of this symbol are 30, 50, and 60, the rest having been already appropriated. 30 would not do, as the resulting date 336 would limit the duration of three reigns to ten years. *Sixty* would, like *seventy*, give, I think, too long a time to Skandabhata's son. But even if it should be thought otherwise, the dates on the Śāh coins appear to support the interpretation of the symbol under consideration as equal to 50 rather than 60. For after Rudra Śāh,‡ the twelfth in Mr. Newton's list, reigned in succession his two sons, Viśva Sinha and Atri Dāma, then his grandson Viśva Śāh, son of Atri Dāma, and after some interval his third son, Aśa Dāma. One of Rudra Śāh's coins bears the date 197, one of Atri Dāma's 214, one of Viśva Śāh's 227, and one of Aśa Dāma's a date the second symbol in which is the one we have been considering. The most probable values in this case are 30 and 40, for a coin of his predecessor bears the date 227. But 40 has another and well-ascertained symbol; and 30 I have rejected above on indepen-

\* *Ind. Ant.*, No. 1.

† *Jour. B. A. S.*, Vol. VII., p. 349. ‡ *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII.

dent grounds. The value which ranks next in probability is 50 ; 60 would render Aśa Dāma's reign too long, and make him live about 40 years, or 33 at least, after his second brother. The date of Mr. Wathen's second copperplate and of Dr. Burn's, the grantor in both of which is Śílāditya II., appears thus to be 356. Dr. Bháú gives under one Śílāditya the date 338,\* and under another 346 and 348. He does not tell us whether these are his interpretations of the figures in the two copperplates I have been speaking of, but if they are, I do not know on what authority he takes the symbol resembling the letter **ॐ** *sa* to represent 30 or 40. In his own table of numerals he does not put the symbol under 30 or 40, nor does it occur there at all. My conclusions therefore are that the figure **ॐ** stands for 50 and **ॐ** for 70, and that the date of the grant of Dharasena II. discovered by Mr. Wathen is 272, and not 330, 332, 326, 322, or 300 and odd, as given by the various writers I have quoted, of Dharasena IV. 326, and of Śílāditya II. 356, and not 375. The interval between Dharasena II. and Śílāditya II. is thus 84 years, and not 40 or 45 as the interpretations of the dates hitherto received have led Indian antiquarians to suppose. According to Dr. Bháú the whole dynasty did not last for more than 40 years.† The reason generally given is that though there were many successions to the *gádi* during the interval, only one minister and his son served all the kings. But there is, I submit, no impossibility whatever in the circumstance of a father and his son holding an office for 84 years between them. Henry III. and Edward I. reigned in England for 91 years. And 40 or 45 years is certainly too small a period for seven or eight reigns. It appears to me very improbable that a son of the great-grandson of a king should be reigning only about 45 years after him. And Śílāditya II., the grantor in Mr. Wathen's second plate, was the son of the great-grandson of Dharasena II., as I have shown in the genealogy referred to above.

The question remains,—To what era are these dates to be referred? A good many antiquarians refer them to Vikrama's, and some to that of the Valabhí dynasty itself. Mr. Thomas, however, thinks the era used to be the Śaka,‡ and our learned Vice-President, Dr. Bháú, has consistently maintained this for many years. My humble opinion coin-

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\* *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VIII., p. 245. † *Ibid.*

‡ Paper on the Sáh Dynasty.

cides with Dr. Bháú's. Not only do we find the words S'aka-Kála used in those records of the period in which the era is specified, but I think there is a reason why that era should have been used. The name S'aka-nṛipa-Kála, or the era of the S'aka king, and the fact of the existence of such an era, show that there was a great king from whose date it originated, that he and his descendants governed the country, and that he was a foreigner and belonged to a tribe known to the Indian A'ryas by the name of S'akas. Now, from the cave-inscriptions and the Surashtra coins, we find that the whole of Gujerát and a great part of Maháráshṭra, with some adjacent countries, were for about three centuries governed by kings who called themselves *Kshatrapas*. Though a Sanskrit etymology has been given to the word, there can be no question that it is of foreign origin and is the same as the Persian word Satrap. The earliest person who is known to have borne the title was Náhápaṇa, spoken of in the cave-inscriptions as the *Kshatrapa* of a king named Kshaharáta. Another Satrap was called Chashtana. These three names are unquestionably foreign and are considered to be Parthian. The name Sáh of the Satrap dynasty of Suráshṭra is also not of Sanskrit origin. It appears, therefore, that the kings who bore the title of Kshatrapas were Parthian by descent, though they were afterwards domiciled in the country, used the Sanskrit language, and took Sanskrit names. Náhápaṇa or his sovereign, or any one else who conquered this portion of India and established the Satrap dynasty, must have been the S'aka king from whom the era originated. And Ushavadáta, the son-in-law of Náhápaṇa, is called a S'aka in one of the Násik inscriptions.\* The era must have been used by the dynasty itself, and consequently by the people, just as we at the present day, even in our private transactions, use the Christian era. When the Satraps were superseded by the Valabhís in Suráshṭra, and by the Chálukyas in Maháráshṭra, the same era to which the people had been accustomed for about three centuries must have continued in use, and been used by the conquering dynasties themselves. After the Maráṭhás had put down the Mahomedans and established their sway, they always used the Mahomedan era, sometimes along with, but often without, the S'aka, notwithstanding the endeavours of Shiváji to Sanskritize his Durbar. And this Mahomedan era continued to be used

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\* No. 14, *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII., No. 22.

even by British Mámledárs, Maháلكaris, and Munsifs in their official letters until recently. From what has taken place in recent times, we may infer what must have occurred fifteen centuries ago. If we have seen the Maráthá Rájás and the Bráhmaṇ Peshwás using the Mahomedan era, notwithstanding that they had the advantage of another more ancient, we should certainly expect to find the Valabhís and the Chálukyas using the era of the Satraps whom they succeeded, especially when they had no other.

And if we refer the Valabhí dates to the era of the S'aka kings, we arrive at an intelligible starting-point for the Valabhí era, ascertained by Col. Tod to have commenced in 319 A.D. The date 272 of the grant of Dharasena II. if referred to the era of Vikrama is equal to 216 A.D., i.e. the Valabhí era must be supposed to have originated 103 years after Dharasena's grant was executed. But it is difficult to conceive what event in the history of those kings so important as to give rise to a new era could have taken place at that time, except it be the overthrow of the dynasty or the destruction of Valabhí. But we have no evidence to show that there was a revolution in the country in 319 A.D. Valabhí was the capital of a kingdom in the time of Hwan Thsang, and the overthrow of a reigning family does not appear to me to be such an occurrence as would give rise to a new era called after the family. It would in such a case bear the name of the conqueror, and not of the conquered. If, however, the date 272 were referred to the Śaka-Kála, it would be equivalent to 350 A.D., i.e. it would show that Dharasena II. was reigning at Valabhí in the 31st year of the era of his family. The best starting-point for the era is, in my opinion, the coronation of Droṇa-Sinha, the second son of Bhaṭárka. The latter had, no doubt, laid the foundations of the greatness of the family, but he and his first son did not assume the title of King, and were called Senápatís or Commanders of forces. Droṇa-Sinha is the first member of the dynasty to whom the title of Mahárája or King is given in Mr. Wathen's first copperplate, and he is there spoken of as having been crowned by the only sovereign of the whole world, whoever he may have been. The independence of the Valabhí kings therefore dates from this event. After Droṇa-Sinha, his two brothers governed the kingdom successively. The reigns of brothers succeeding each other cannot be very long, and even Guhasena, the son of Dharapaṭṭa the last brother, and father of Dharasena II., must have been a pretty old man when he began to

reign, for he came to the throne after his three uncles and his father. Droṇa-Sinha also must have received the title of Mahārāja some years after he succeeded his brother. I therefore think that 31 years is a sufficiently long period for a portion of the reign of Droṇa-Sinha and the whole reigns of his two brothers and Guhasena. These considerations, in my opinion, go a great way towards showing that the Valabhí princes used the era of the Śaka kings. Mr. Fergusson refers the dates in the grants to the Valabhí era\*; but it is difficult to conceive how it should have escaped his notice that 272 years—or, according to the old reading, 330 years—is far too long a time for the reigns of Bhaṭārka, his four sons, and his grandson Guhasena, supposing even that the era began from the date of the original founder of the dynasty, and not from that of Droṇa-Sinha's coronation.

The conclusions, then, at which I arrive are—that the date of the grant of Dharasena II. discovered by Mr. Wathen is 272 Śaka, corresponding to 350 A.D.; that of the present grant is 326 Śaka or 404 A.D., and that of those of Śílāditya II. is 356 Śaka, i. e. 434 A.D.

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Since the above was written, Mr. Burgess has kindly placed in my hands the second halves of two copperplate grants of the dynasty found in the ruins of Valabhí. Both are greatly damaged, but the smaller one more so than the other. The surface was at first covered over by a thick crust of some hard but brittle substance, so that the letters were not distinct. What was observable on the smaller plate was the sign-manual of the king and the date. But the date without the name of the grantor was of little use. I then placed the plates in a vessel containing water mixed with tamarind for a whole night, and the next morning, when the hard substance had softened a little, scratched it off with a knife. The letters are now more distinct. In the first line of the smaller plate the following words occur:—**सुखसंपदपुसेवानिरुद्धधर्मा-**  
**दित्वादितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीला....** Śrī Śílā ... whose second name Dharmāditya was procured for him by his enjoyment of prosperity being... ” The part of the plate containing the syllables **दित्य** forming the latter part of the name and two or three words more is broken off. Then follow the words **युक्तकविनियुक्तक**, after which some letters are

illegible ; and then समाज्ञापत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं, “ commands ‘Be it known to you.’ ” Dharmāditya, we know, was another name of Śīlāditya, son of Dharasena II., and the words preceding his name in other plates are the same as here. The grantor, therefore, is Śīlāditya I. The date is २००६. The first figure has one side-stroke only, on which account it represents 200. The second is that which stands for 80 in Dr. Burn’s plates. The common chord, however, on which the segments here stand is not quite a straight line, and the whole has the appearance of two irregular circles touching each other. But the figure occurs in this slightly modified form on some coins\* of the Sáh dynasty. The last figure is 6, so that the whole date is 286. This remarkably confirms my reading of the date of Mr. Wathen’s first plate, and especially of the second figure in it. If the date of this grant of the son and successor of Dharasena II. is 286, that of one of Dharasena himself may well be 272.

These two plates, broken and mutilated as they are, are very interesting. Those hitherto discovered record grants of land to Bráhmans, but in these I observe grants made to Buddhistic *Viháras* or monasteries for the support of the mendicant priests from “ the four quarters residing in them ;” as well as for providing the means of worshipping the great Buddhas, such as incense, flowers, and lamp-oil. The grant in the larger plate is to a vihára constructed at the village of Yodhávaka, by the minister Skandabhata, who appears to have been a pious Buddhist. We thus see that the Valabhí kings patronized Bráhmans as well as Buddhists, and sectarian animosity did not exist. Buddhism still flourished side by side with Bráhmaṇism ; and the worship of the images of the several Buddhas formed part of the religion. But I reserve these plates for a fuller consideration on some future occasion.

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\* See Mr. Newton’s paper, *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII., p. 28, under Rudra Sáh.

† These have been translated in the *Indian Antiquary*, No. II.

११। स्वास्ति वलंभीतः प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसम्पन्नमण्डला-  
भोगसंसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धम् । १२। तौपात्प्रतापोनतदानमानार्ज्जवोपाज्जितानुरागाद-  
नुरक्तमौलिभृतश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रियपरममाहे । १३। श्वरश्रीभटार्कादव्यवच्छि-  
न्नराजवंशान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मषः शैशवात्मभृति खड्ग  
द्वितीयबा । १४। हुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिकषः तत्प्र-  
भावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनख । १५। रश्मिसंहतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीत  
मार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरज्जनान्वर्थराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्थैर्यगाम्भीर्य  
। १६। बुद्धिसंपाद्भिः स्मरशशाङ्काद्रिराजोदधिभिदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शरणाग-  
ताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्ता । १७। शेषस्वर्कार्यः फलप्रार्थनाधिकार्थप्रदानान-  
न्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलोभोगप्रमोदः । १८।  
परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसंतानविसृतेजान्हवीजलौ-  
घप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयि । १९। शतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसंपद्रूपलोभादिव-  
श्रितः सरभसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैः सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविशेषविस्मापिता । १०।  
खिलधनुर्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्मदायानामपकर्त्ता प्रजो-  
पघातकारिणामुपप्लवा । ११। नां दिश [दर्श] यिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवा-  
सस्य संहितारातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगैदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिव । १२।  
श्रीः परममाहेश्वरैः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सकलजगदानन्दनात्य-  
द्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थागितसमग्र । १३। दिङ्मुण्डलः समरशतविजयशोभासनाथम-

- १ विजयस्कन्धावार...वासक W. 2.    २ सपत्न W. 1.    ३ संप्रहार W. 1.  
४ °प्रतापः प्रतापः प्रतापोपनत W. 1.    ५ W. 2 repeats अनुरागात्.  
६ मौलिभृतमित्रश्रेणी W. 1, मौलिभृतः W. 2.    ७ W. 1 & 2 om. one प्रकाशित.  
८ संसक्तसव्यपाद° W. 1.    ९ रज्जनादन्वर्थ W. 1.    १० स्वकार्यफलः प्रार्थना°  
W. 1, कार्यफलप्रार्थना W. 2.    ११ W. 1 has मण्ड.    १२ श्रीमहाराजगुह° W. 1.  
१३ निर्वृत्त W.    १४ विक्षालित W. 1.    १५ उपजीव्यभोगसंपत्.  
१६ सरसमा° W. 1.    १७ W. 1 om. one विशेष.    १८ दर्शयिता W. 1.  
१९ संहता° W. 1.    २० परिक्षोभ W. 1.    २१ क्रमोप° W. 1.    २२ °माहेश्वरो महाराज  
श्रीधर° W. 1.



ण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुरतरांसपीठोदूढगुरुमनोरथमहाभारः सर्व्व ॥१४॥ विद्यापरावर  
 विभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतस्सुभाषतलखना [षितलेखेना]पि सुखोपपा-  
 दनीयपरितोषः समग्रलोकागाध ॥ १५ ॥ गार्भीर्य्यद्वयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्य-  
 क्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतो ॥ १६ ॥ द-  
 म्भकीर्तिधम्मनिपरोधोज्ज्वलतरीकृतार्थसुखसम्पदुपसेवानिरूढधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा  
 परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशिला ॥ १७ ॥ दित्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः स्वयमुपेन्द्र  
 गुरुणेव गुरुणात्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्त ॥ १८ ॥  
 परमभद्र इव धुर्यस्तदाज्ञासम्पादनैकरसतयैवोद्वहन्खेदसुखरतिभ्यामनायासितस-  
 त्वसम्पत्तिः प्रभावसम्पद्वशी ॥ १९ ॥ कृतनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि  
 परावज्ञाभिमानरसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेकां करि ॥ २० ॥ त्यज्य प्रख्या-  
 तपौरुषेतिभिमनिरप्यरातिभिरनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवनामोदविम-  
 लगुप्त्रसंद्वति ॥ २१ ॥ प्रसभविषटितसकलकलिविलसितगतिर्नीचजनाधिरोहि-  
 भिरशेषैर्दोषैरनामृष्टात्युन्नतद्वयः प्रख्यातपारुषास्त्र ॥ २२ ॥ कौशलातिशयगणति-  
 थविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयंग्राहप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगम [ : ] परम  
 माहेश्वरः ॥ २३ ॥ श्रीखरग्रहस्तस्य तनयस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सकलविद्याधिगमवि-  
 हितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशयः सत्वस ॥ २४ ॥ म्पदा व्यामौदार्य्येण  
 च विगतानुसंधानसमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशा-  
 स्त्रकलालोकचारि ॥ २५ ॥ तगर्भीरविभागो [वा ?] पि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरकृत्रिमप्रश्रय  
 विनयशोभाविभूषणः समरशक्तजयपताकाहरणप्रत्य [व ?] लोदग्र ॥ २६ ॥ बा-  
 हुदण्डविध्वंसितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदप्यौदयः स्वधनुः प्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमान  
 सकलनृपति ॥ २७ ॥ मण्डलभिनन्दितशासनः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्या-  
 नुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सच्चरितातिशयित ॥ २८ ॥ सकलपूर्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साध्यानाम-  
 पि प्रसाधयिता विषयाणां मूर्तिमानिव पूरुषकारः परिवृद्ध ॥ २९ ॥ गुणानुरागनि-  
 र्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिर्मनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः कान्तिमा-  
 नि ॥ ३० ॥ वृत्तिहेतुरकलङ्कः<sup>३३</sup>कुमुदनाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितदिशान्तरालप्रध्वंसित  
 ध्वान्तराशिस्सततोदितस्स ॥ ३१ ॥ विता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्थवन्तमतिबहुति-

थप्रयोजनानुबन्धमागमपरिपूर्णं विदधानः सन्धिविग्रह । ३२। समासनिश्चयानि-  
 पुणः स्थानेनुरूपमादेशं ददद्गुणवृद्धिविधानजनितसंस्कारस्साधूनां राज्यसौलातुरी-  
 यतन्त्रयोरु । ३३। भयोरपि निष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि करुणामृदुहृदयः श्रुतवर्गमे-  
 प्यगर्वितः कौन्थो[न्तो]पि प्रशमी स्थिरसौहृदयोपि निर । ३४। सिता दो-  
 षवतामुदयसमयसमुपजनितजनैतानुरागपरिपीडितभुवनसमर्थितप्रथितबालोदित्य-  
 द्वितीयनामा परम । ३५। माहेश्वरः श्रीधुवसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादकमलप्रणामधः-  
 राणिकषणजनितकिणलाञ्छनललाटचन्द्रशकलः शिशु भावएवं । ३६। श्रवणं  
 निहितमौक्तिकालङ्कारविभ्रमामलश्रुतविशेषः प्रदानसलिलक्षालिताग्रहस्तारविन्दः  
 कन्याया इव मृदुकरग्र । ३७। हणादमन्दीकृतानन्दविधिर्वसुन्धरायाः  
 कार्मुके धनुर्वेद इव संभाविताशेषलक्ष्यकलापः प्रणतसामन्तमण्डलोत्तमाङ्ग । ३८।  
 धृतचूडारत्नायमानशासनः परममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरच-  
 क्रवर्त्ती श्रीअञ्जकपादानुध्यातः । ३९। श्रीधरसेनः कुशली सर्व्वानेव यथासंबध्यं  
 मानकान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाय । ४०  
 सिंहपुरविनिर्गतकिक्कटापुत्रग्रामनिवासीसिंहपुरचातुर्व्विद्यसामान्यभारद्वाजसगोत्रं  
 छन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणगु । ४१। हाट्यपुत्रबाह्मणार्जुनाय सुराष्ट्रेषु काला-  
 पकपथकान्तर्गतकिक्कटापुत्रग्रामोपरिवाटकशर्करापद्रकदक्षिणसीम्नि ष । ४२।  
 ट्पञ्चाशत्यादावर्त्तपरिमाणक्षेत्रखण्डं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वतः विण्हलसत्कवापी  
 दक्षिणतः वत्तकसत्कक्षेत्रं अपरतः । ४३। कुटुम्बिविण्हलसत्कक्षेत्रं उत्तरतः ब्राह्म-  
 णषष्टिभवसत्कक्षेत्रं तथसिंहपुरविनिर्गतसिंहपुरचातुर्व्विद्यसामान्यकिक्कटा । ४४।  
 पुत्रग्रामनिवासिभारद्वाजसगोत्रछन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणगुहाट्यपुत्रब्राह्मणमङ्क-  
 स्वामिने सुराष्ट्रेषु कालापकप । ४५। थकान्तर्गतकिक्कटापुत्रग्रामे अपरसीम्नि षोड-

२४ शालातुरीय Bs.      २५ कान्तोपि Bs.      २६ जनानुराग Bs.

W. 1 signifies Wathen's first plate.

W. 2                      do.                      second do.

Bs. signifies the plate translated in the *Indian Antiquary*, No. II.,  
 p. 45.

शपादावर्त्तपरिसरा वापी यस्या आघाटनानि पूर्वतश्चत्रसत्कवापी दक्षिणतोप-  
 १४६। रतश्च कुटुम्बिचन्द्रसत्कक्षेत्रं उत्तरतः महत्तरदासकसत्कक्षेत्रं तथा कि-  
 कटापुत्रग्रामोपरिवाटकशर्करापद्रकग्रामे अ १४७। परसीम्नि अष्टाविंशतिपादा-  
 वर्त्तपरिमाणं क्षेत्रखण्डं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः कुटुम्बिबव्यस्थविरकसत्कक्षेत्रं  
 दक्षिणतः आश्विनिक १४८। पुत्रग्रामीणकुटुम्बिवराहसत्कक्षेत्रं अपरंतः आ-  
 श्विनिपुत्रकध (ब) प्यटीयकसत्कक्षेत्रं उत्तरंतो ब्रह्मदायिकभागीयकसत्कक्षेत्रं तथा  
 १४९। चतुर्दशपादावर्त्तपरिमाणं क्षेत्रखण्डं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः बव्यस्थविरक  
 क्षेत्रमेव दक्षिणतः कुटुम्बीश्वरक्षेत्रं अपरतः बप्यटीय १५०। कक्षेत्रमेव उत्तर-  
 तः ब्रह्मदेयिकबारिलकक्षेत्रं तथा षट् पत्तकाः येषामाघाटनानि पूर्वतः विञ्छीयक  
 क्षेत्रं दक्षिणतः कुटुम्बीश्वरक्षेत्रमेव १५१। अपरतः कु [टुम्बी] श्वरक्षेत्रमेव उत्तरतः  
 पटानकग्रामसीमा एवमेतद्विंशत्युत्तरपादावर्त्तशतप्रमाणं वापीक्षेत्रं सोदृङ्गं स-  
 १५२। परिकरं . . . . सधान्यहिरण्यदेयं सदशापराधं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं सर्व-  
 राजक्रीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं पूर्वप्रत्तदेव १५३। ब्रह्मदायवर्ज्यं . . . . न्याये-  
 नाचन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं उदकातिसर्गेण  
 धर्मदायो निसृष्टः १५४। यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुञ्जतः कृषतः कर्ष-  
 यतः प्रदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्वा  
 १५५। अनित्यान्यैश्वर्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यंच भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भि-  
 रयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं च बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजा १५६।  
 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । यानीह दारिद्र-  
 भयान्नेरेन्द्रैर्धनानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि । निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः  
 १५७। पुनराददीत ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता  
 चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति । दूतकोत्र राजपुत्रध्रुवसेना लिखितामिदं  
 १५८। संधिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिवश [ ! ] भटपुत्रदिविरपतिस्कन्दभटेन सं०  
 ३२६. आषाढ शुद्ध स्वहस्तो मम.

ART. IX.—*Consideration of the date of the Mahâbhârata, in connection with the Correspondence from Col. Ellis.* By Professor RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A.

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Read 12th September 1872.

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In the 9th vol. of the *Asiatic Researches* there is a notice by Colebrooke of an inscription on copper plates purporting to be a grant of land by Janamejaya the son of Parikshit, of the race of the Pândavas. The characters engraved being very modern, and the language very incorrect, Colebrooke came to the conclusion that it was a forgery. But this decision rests on the supposition that the Mahâbhârata, which describes the great serpent-sacrifice held by Janamejaya, alluded to also in the grant, is a very ancient work. The antiquity of this work, however, may be denied, in which case there is nothing in the grant itself to show that it is spurious. Colonel Ellis, therefore, in the correspondence placed before us, considers the grant as genuine, and refers the composition of the Mahâbhârata to a period subsequent to its execution. On the day on which the grant was made, there was a partial eclipse of the sun, which, from calculations made by the Rev. G. B. Gibbons and Prof. Airy, took place at about 11 A.M. on Sunday the 7th of April, 1521. The date of the grant being thus determined beyond any possibility of doubt, Colonel Ellis wishes us to prosecute further inquiries, with a view to find out whether any traces of the events and circumstances mentioned in the grant, or connected with the story of Janamejaya, exist at the present day. For instance, we are asked to ascertain whether the ruins of the palace in which Sarvadamana or Bharata, the son of Dushyanta and Śakuntalâ, was crowned, and of the court in which Janamejaya held the Ásvamedha 'Jagg,' or Horse-sacrifice, are still visible at Anagunḍi, with which the Colonel identifies Hastinâpura, or whether any burnt remains of the sacrifice are found by digging for them on the spot. But the supposition on which the Colonel goes leads him into a difficulty. Kṛṣṇa Râya, one of the ablest kings of the local dynasty, and not Janamejaya of the Pândava race, was on the throne of Vijayanagar, or Anagunḍi, about 1521. Since, then, both could not have been kings at the

Ellis suspects that Kṛishṇa Râya's minister, Appâji, was the Janamejaya of the grant, *i. e.* it is considered not at all unlikely that a king who is represented in the plates as the king of kings and the refuge of the whole universe, and whom Col. Ellis himself speaks of as a renowned conqueror, should have been but an insignificant minister of the king of a minor state. Again, if the grant is genuine and the Mahâbhârata was written after 1521 A.D., we should certainly expect to find in it a picture of the state of society in the sixteenth century, when the Mahomedans had been ruling over a large portion of the country for about four hundred years, and when the few remaining Hindu states were struggling for existence, and not such an archaic condition as that which the poem unfolds to our view. The current tradition which ascribes a high antiquity to the Mahâbhârata, ought also to be explained and not lost sight of. How is it that it has come to be an almost intuitive belief with every intelligent Hindu that the epic is very old, while at the same time he considers works written long before 1521 A.D. to be but very recent? At the same time it is very difficult to conceive how an epic only three hundred and fifty years old could have worked itself into the thoughts and feelings of all the Hindu nationalities, from the Himâlaya to Cape Comorin, so thoroughly as the Mahâbhârata has done. Reasons such as these ought, I think, to be sufficient to enable one to pronounce the grant to be spurious. But Col. Ellis does not seem to consider them to be weighty, and in the view he has put forth he but represents, in a somewhat exaggerated form, the tendency of most European scholars and antiquarians to modernize everything Hindu. I will, however, not content myself with this general reasoning, but will give more specific proofs of the antiquity of the Mahâbhârata.

If Col. Ellis's view is correct, the greater part of our existing classical literature must be supposed to have been written after 1521 A. D.; for there are but few works which, directly or indirectly, do not allude to the Mahâbhârata or the principal characters in the poem. But such a conclusion is inadmissible, for there are some dates in the history of India and the history of Sanskrit literature which cannot be called in question. I will therefore set forth the principal testimonies to the existence of the Mahâbhârata, in chronological order.

The earliest literary date is that of Patanjali, the author of the Mahâbhâshya, or the great commentary on Pânini's grammar. Prof.

Goldstücker places him in the second century before Christ, and I have recently succeeded in making out that he lived in the reign of Pushpamitra, the founder of the Śung dynasty, who reigned from B.C. 178 to B.C. 142. Pāṇini must have preceded him, and the interval between them was probably about three centuries, or even much greater. The Śrauta and Gṛihya Sūtras of the three Vedas preceded the work of Pāṇini, or, according to some scholars, some of them were written at about the same time. The Brāhmaṇas of these Vedas must have preceded the Sūtras. Now Janamejaya,\* the son of Parikshit, and Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa as very powerful kings who conquered the whole earth. I do not mean to assert that the Mahābhārata existed before the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, but I bring forward this instance to show how very far into antiquity some of the elements of the story of the Mahābhārata run. In Āśvalāyana Gṛihya, there is a sūtra containing the names of the gods and Ṛishis to whom water is to be given, i.e. tech., whose *tarpana* is to be made every day by a Ṛigvedī Brāhmaṇa. In this list the name of the Mahābhārata† occurs. But it may perhaps be questioned whether the reference here is to the Mahābhārata as we have it, or to some other work that existed in the time of Āśvalāyana. For the Ṛishi mentions several classes of literary works, such as Gāthās, Nārāśansīs,‡ &c. which are not now known. This objection amounts to this. A Mahābhārata may have existed before Āśvalāyana, but there is nothing to show that it contained the story of the Kurus. But I do not see why this question should be raised, since a few centuries later we are told by another author that the story of these heroes was popular and current in his time, and when, only a short time after, or about the same time, as Āśvalāyana, a third mentions the names of the Mahābhārata and some of the principal characters. Pāṇini (VI. 2. 38) teaches us the accent of *mahā* in the word Mahābhārata. Another sūtra § of his teaches that the termination *aka* should be applied to the nouns Vāsudeva and Arjuna to form derivatives

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\* Ait. Brāh. VIII. 21 and 28.

† Āśv. Gr. III. 4, 4—भाष्यभारतमहाभारतधर्माचार्याः

‡ Āśv. Gr. III. 8, 1.

§ Pāṇ. IV. 3, 98.

from them signifying one who is devoted to Vâsudeva and Arjuna. In the Mahâbhârata these two persons are represented as great friends, and their being mentioned together by Pânini is very significant. Even Patanjali, commenting on the sûtra, sees no reason why Vâsudeva should have been put in here, since there is another and a more general rule under which the noun would come. He explains that the Vâsudeva here meant was the god Vâsudeva, and not the one that comes under the general rule.\* This is a subtlety which, however, shows that the characters in the Mahâbhârata had come to be regarded as demigods. But it is not unlikely that Pânini was led to put them together because they were always associated together in the minds of the people, as they are in the Mahâbhârata. In a third sûtra we have Yudishthira.† The words I have brought forward are not taken from the *gaṇas* or groups which form an appendix of Pânini's work, nor are they the examples of his rules given by the grammarians, for there is no evidence to determine what portion of these is to be attributed to Pânini. But they occur in the sûtras themselves, Pânini's authorship of which is unquestionable.

In Patanjali's work we find in one place the names of Bhîmsena, Sahadeva and Nakula, who are mentioned as descendants of Kuru,‡ and of Duryodhana and Duhsâsana.§ The compound Yudhishtirârjunau occurs in several places.|| In one of these, Patanjali, in explaining a *vârtika* of Kâtyâyana, tells us that the word *dvi* becomes *dvandvam* as applied to a copulative compound of the names of persons or things always mentioned together and well known to all. In the case of the compound Yudhishtirârjunau, though the persons are well known, says he, they are not always or invariably mentioned together; hence *dvi* does not become *dvandvam*, i. e. we have to say *dvau*

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\* वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् । किमर्थं वासुदेवशब्दाद्बुन्विधीयते । न गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं बु-  
ञ्जित्येव सिद्धम् । न ह्यस्ति विशेषो वासुदेवशब्दाद्बुञ्जो वा वुनो वा । तदेव रूपं स एव स्वरः ।...  
अथवा नैषा क्षत्रियाख्या । संज्ञैषा तत्र भगवतः ।

† VIII. 8, 95.

‡ Pat. IV. 1, 4 Ahn. कुर्वणो वकाशः । नाकुलः । साहदेवः । यस्य स एव । भीमसेनो  
नाम कुरुस्तस्मादुभयं प्राप्नोति । प्यो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । भीमसेन्यः । § III. 8. 1 ann.

|| Under II. 2, 34 भ्रातुश्च ज्यायसः पूर्वनिपातो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ ।  
In this, Yudhishtira is spoken of as Arjuna's older brother.

*Yudhisht̥hirārjunau*, and not *dvandvam Yudhisht̥hirārjunau*.\* From this I infer that the story of Yudhisht̥hira and Arjuna was current and popular in Patanjali's time.

In another place, Patanjali, in his comments on Pân. III. 2, 122, gives, as an example of a counter-rule, III. 2, 118, *Dharmena sma Kurav yudhyante*, i. e. the Kurus fought with fairness. Now the war between the sons of Pându and Dhṛitarâshṭra, both of whom belonged to the Kuru race, is known as a Dharma-yuddha, i. e. a war in which it was not allowable for the hostile parties to carry their enmity beyond the field of battle, and in which, even in battle, no unfair advantage could be taken by either side. Besides, this is an instance in which the present *yudhyante*, we are told, has the sense of the perfect, i. e. the action of fighting took place at a remote time and was not witnessed by the speaker. This shows that, when Patanjali wrote, the war was considered as having taken place at a remote time. From these quotations it follows that there was in Patanjali's time a work describing the war of the Kurus, that it was popularly read, that it contained a story concerning the five Pândavas also, and that it was regarded as ancient. This could be no other than the Mahâbhârata. Perhaps the story in the epic was made the subject of new poems in Patanjali's time, for under II. 2, 24 he quotes, as if from such a work, 'asidvitiyonusasâra Pândavam,' 'he followed the Pândava, sword in hand.' This forms a regular line in the *vanâstha* metre. Of course I do not assert that the poem existed in Patanjali's time in exactly the same form as we have it now. There can be no question that several additions have been subsequently made, and it has undergone a good deal of transformation. The very popularity of our epics has made it almost impossible now to secure a correct or reliable text. But the main story as we now have it, leaving the episodes out of consideration, was current long before Patanjali's time.

My next testimony is from inscriptions. The inscriptions in the Nâsik caves—at least the earlier ones—appear, from the forms of the characters and the names of kings and other noted persons occurring therein, to date from the first to the third century of the Christian

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\* Under Pân. VIII. 1. 15. अत्यन्तसहचरिते लोकाविज्ञाते इन्द्रमित्युपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम्। इन्द्रं स्कन्दविशाखौ। इन्द्रं नारदपर्वतौ। अत्यन्तसहचरित इति किमर्थम्। द्वौ युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ। लोकाविज्ञात इति किमर्थम्। द्वौ देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ। Kaiyata on this last. द्वौ युधिष्ठिरार्जुनाविति। लोकाविज्ञानादभिन्वयत्वावेतौ नत्वत्यन्तं सहचरितौ।



name by Subandhu. But even if it were thought otherwise, Subandhu is mentioned in a śloka\* attributed to Râjasekhara, from whose works again there are quotations† in the Sarasvatî Kaṇṭhâbharana. This last work is attributed to King Bhoja. It contains a śloka in the first chapter addressed to Munja, ‡ the uncle of the celebrated Bhoja of Dhara, from which it appears that the work was written soon after the tenth century. Now Subandhu's Vâsavadattâ contains many allusions to the Mahâbhârata and to some of the characters in the story. Bhîma's having killed the giant Baka, the skill of the Pândavas in gambling, the Kîchakas as officers of King Vîrâṭa, Duhśâsana, Arjuna, and such other persons and events are mentioned. The name of the epic also occurs several times. §

The Mṛichchhakatika is one of our oldest dramas, though its exact date is not yet determined. It is mentioned in the commentary on the Daśarûpa,|| of which more hereafter. In this play, the poet, in order to bring out the meanness, foolishness, and presumption of one of the characters makes him misquote the Mahâbhârata. Draupadî is, according to him, dragged by the hair by Râma, instead of Duhśâsana, Subhadrâ becomes the sister of Viśvâvasu and not Kṛishṇa, and she is carried away by Hanûman instead of Arjuna. In other parts of the play also there are several allusions. ¶

There is a commentary by Śankarâchârya on the Bhagavadgîtâ, which forms an episode of the Mahâbhârata. In his principal work, the Bhâshya on the Vedânta Sûtras, there are many quotations from the Gîtâ and other parts of the Mahâbhârata.\*\* A verse from the Sâvitryupâkhyâna, an episode in the Vanaparva, occurs in his comments on the sûtra I. 3. 24.†† The age of Śankarâchârya has not yet been fixed

\* Śârṅgadhara, chap. on Viśishṭha Kavipraśansâ :— माघो भारविकालिदासतरलाः स्कन्धः सुबन्धुश्च यः Dr. Hall's reading of the first name in this is मेघो, which is evidently a mistake. (see his edn. of Vâs., p. 20, notes.)

† Prof. Aufrecht's Oxford Cat., p. 209a.

‡ Ibid.

§ Dr. Hall's edn., pp. 15, 21, 27, 33, 70, 106, & 147.

|| Dr. Hall's edn. of Daśarûpa, p. 127.

¶ Calc. edn. of the play, Śaka 1792, pp. 28, 31, 109, 199.

\*\* Sûtra Bhâshya Bibl. Ind., Vol. I. p. 275, 456, &c.

†† Ibid. p. 276 :— अथ सत्यवतः कायात्पाशबद्धं वशंगतम् । अङ्गुष्ठमात्रं पुरुषं निश्चकर्ष यमो बलात् ॥. In the Bombay edn. of the Mahâbhârata this śloka occurs as it is here, the only difference being the substitution of ततः for अथ.

with certainty, but some scholars are of opinion that he flourished in the 9th century. In the *Konga Deśa Charita*, a Tamil chronicle in the Mackenzie collection, Śankarâchârya is mentioned as having converted a king of the Chera country named Tiru Vikrama from Jainism to the Śaiva faith. The date of the king given in the MS. is 100 Śaka. But Prof. Dowson thinks the MS. is not trustworthy here, and is of opinion that he reigned in the sixth century. He also thinks that, perhaps out of a desire to assign a remote antiquity to the reformer, the compiler of the MS. may have transferred him from the reign of Tiru Vikrama II., another king of the same country, to that of Tiru Vikrama I., and assigns the eighth century to the former.\* Mr. Burgess possesses a copperplate grant† by Kongaṇi Mahâdhirâja, another king of the dynasty, who appears, from a comparison of the plates and the chronicle, to have been the tenth after Tiru Vikrama I., and the third before Tiru Vikrama II. The date of the grant is 388, which supposing the era to be the Śaka, as is very likely, since the dates in the MS. are all referred to that era, corresponds to 466 A.D. Now, taking twenty years as the average duration of each reign, Tiru Vikrama I. must have been reigning in 346 A.D., and Tiru Vikrama II. in 526 A.D. And this latter date, curiously enough, agrees with that given in the chronicle, while the former does not. It thus follows that if the king converted to the Śaiva faith was Tiru Vikrama I., Śankarâcharya must have flourished in the fourth century, and if he was Tiru Vikrama II., in the sixth century. The Mahâbhârata then must have existed at the latter date.

The drama of the *Veṇiśanhâra* by Bhaṭṭa Nârâyana is based on the latter part of the story in the Mahâbhârata. It dramatizes the incidents in the war between the sons of Pându and Dṛitarâshṭra. In the prologue, Bhaṭṭa Nârâyana thus speaks of the reputed author of the Mahâbhârata :—"I adore Kṛishṇa Dvaipâyana, who was no *Kṛishṇa*, i. e. whose deeds were pure, who had conquered his passions and who composed the nectar of the Mahâbhârata, drinkable by the ears." The *Kirâtârjunîya* of Bhâravi and the *Śisupâlavadhâ* of Mâgha are also based on parts of the story in the Mahâbhârata. The dates of these authors have not been determined, but it appears they must all

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\* See the Professor's Essay on the Chera Kingdom, *Jour. R. A. S.*, No. XV., pp. 17, 18.

† Since published in the *Ind. Ant.* vol. I., pp. 363-366.

have flourished before the tenth century. There are quotations\* from their works in Dhanika's commentary on the Daśarûpa by Dhananjaya, who was patronized by Munja, the uncle of Bhoja, as appears from the last verse in the work. Dhanika seems to have been Dhananjaya's brother, and from a copperplate grant mentioned by Dr. Hall,† he appears to have lived in the middle of the tenth century. There are also extracts from these three books in the Sarasvatikanṭhâbharāṇa,‡ a work which I have already noticed.

Hemâdri, as he tells us in his works, was a minister of Mahâdeva, a Yâdava king of Devagiri, who, according to Sir Walter Elliot, ascended the throne in 1182 Śaka, corresponding to 1260 A.D.§ In the Dânakhandā of this author, recently printed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, there are many quotations from the Mahâbhârata.||

We will next turn our attention to a Marâṭhî work. The Jnâneśvarî, a Marâṭhî commentary on the Bhagavadgîtâ, was finished, as the author tells us, in the year of Śaka 1212, i. e. 1290 A.D.¶ In the first chapter the Mahâbhârata is spoken of in terms of praise and reverence, and we are told that the Bhagavadgîtâ was addressed by Kṛishṇa to Arjuna, and occurs in the Bhîshmaparva of the work, as it does in our existing copies. Janamejaya also is mentioned by Jnâneśvara.\*\*

Sâyaṇa was minister to Bukka, king of Vijayanagar, whom he mentions in all his works. Bukka was on the throne in 1334 A.D. ††

\* Dr. Hall's edn. of Daśarûpa, pp. 118, 142, 143, 146, 148, 150, 151, 152, 153, &c. &c.

† Dr. Hall's Daśarûpa, p. 3, notes.

‡ Dr. Aufrecht's Oxford Cat., p. 208b, p. 209a. In the Iwullee inscription noticed above, Dr. Bhâu reads the name of Bhâravi, and in the copy given in the Bombay Society's Journal the name does seem to occur in the last line, but in the photographic copy the *ra* is wanting, and the word looks like *Bhâvi*. I cannot arrive at any definite conclusion on this point in the absence of a better copy of the inscription.

§ *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. IV., p. 28.

|| pp. 6, 10, 25, 31, 33, &c. &c.

¶ शके बाणशते बारोत्तरे । ते टीका केली ज्ञानेश्वरे । सच्चिदानन्द बाबा आदरे । लेखक जाहला ||, last verse of chap. 18.

\*\* क्षणिकनी जनमेजयाचे अवलीळा । दोष हरले ॥ क्षणिकनि महाभारती नाही । ते नेहे लोकीं तिहीं । येणे कारणे क्षणिवे पाहीं । व्यासोच्छिष्ट जगत्त्रय ॥ मुनि सांगे नृपनाथा जनमेजया ॥

†† Prinsep's Chronological Tables.

Sâyana quotes from the Mahâbhârata in his commentary on the Taittiriya Upanishad. In the Sarvadarśana Sangraha an argument is brought forward by a follower of Jaimini to prove that the Vedas are eternal. An objector is then introduced who says that it would apply equally well to the Mahâbhârata. In another place also the epic is mentioned in the Sarvadarśana Sangraha.\* In the same book quotations from the Kâvyaprakāśa occur.† The Kâvyaprakāśa itself quotes from the Venīsanhâra,‡ which I have already mentioned. Sâyana quotes from the Mahâbhârata in his comments on Parâśara also.§

Śârṅgadhara, in his Paddhati or Anthology, tells us that he was the grandson of Râghava, who was in the service of Hammîra, a Chohan prince.|| Hammîra came to the throne, according to Col. Tod, in 1300 A.D.¶ Śârṅgadhara must have therefore flourished in the latter part of the fourteenth century. In his Paddhati he quotes from the Venīsanhâra, Kirâtârjunīya, Śisupâlavadha, Bhagavadgîta and other parts of the Mahâbhârata.\*\*

\* Sarva-Darśana-Sangraha, *Bibl. Ind.*, p. 64 and p. 128.

वेदस्याध्ययनं सर्वं गुर्वध्ययनपूर्वकम् ।

वेदाध्ययनसामान्यादधुनाध्ययनं यथा ॥

इत्यनुमानं प्रतिसाधनं प्रगल्भत इति चेत्तदपि न प्रमाणकोटिं प्रवेष्टुमीष्टे

भारताध्ययनं सर्वं गुर्वध्ययनपूर्वकम् ।

भारताध्ययनत्वेन सांप्रताध्ययनं यथा ॥ इति ।

† Ibid., p. 172.

‡ In the chaps. on Rasa and Dośa.

§ Prof. Aufrecht's Oxford Cat., p. 265a, 266b : Anuśāsana-parva and Āśva-medha-parva are mentioned here.

॥ पुरा शाकम्भरीदेशे श्रीमान्हम्मीरभूपतिः ।

चहुवाणान्वये जातः ख्यातः शौर्य इवार्जुनः ॥

तस्याभवत्सभ्यजनेषु मुख्यः

\* \* \* \*

द्विजाग्रणी राघवदेवनामा ॥

गोपालदामोदरदेवदाससंज्ञा बभूवुरतनयास्तदीयाः ।

तेषां मध्ये यस्तु दामोदरोभूदुत्पाद्य त्रीनात्मजान्वातरागः ।

\* \* \* \* \*

ज्येष्ठः शार्ङ्गधरस्तेषाम् ।

¶ Dr. Hall's Vās., p. 48, notes.

\*\* Chaps. on Viśiṣṭakavi-praśansā, Raudrarasa, Bhayānakarasa Śānta-rasa, Vīrarasa, &c. &c.

I have thus briefly sketched the principal testimonies to the existence of the Mahâbhârata from the time of Pânini and Âśvalâyana, *i. e.* from about the fifth century before Christ to the time of Śârnga-dhara, *i. e.* the 14th century after Christ.

The antiquity of the Mahâbhârata being thus established, the grant, which according to Prof. Airy's calculations was made in 1521 A.D., must be pronounced to be a forgery. The fact that the villages conveyed by it are still in the possession of the descendants of the pretended donees agrees with the conclusions arrived at from the other data. Most of the queries of Col. Ellis contained in the letter before us, based as they are on the genuineness of the grant, require, I think, no answer. He refers to a passage in Ânandgiri's Śankara-vijaya in which the *maṭha* of Maṇḍana Miśra is said to have been situated a few miles from Hastinâpura, which, as I have before mentioned, the Colonel identifies with Anagunḍi. There must have been some mistake here ; for Mâdhava in his Śankara-vijaya, tells us that Maṇḍana Misra lived in Mâhismatî, on the Narmadâ.\* Anagunḍi may have been called Hastinâpura in some corner of the country, and there is some ground for it, for the name Anagunḍi is derived from *ane*, which in Canarese means, I am told, an elephant, and *gunḍi*, a lane. But the classical Hastinâpura was certainly far to the north. Patanjali, in his remarks on the Sûtra *yasya chûyâmah* (Pan. II. 1-16) gives *Anugangam Hâstinapuram* as an example from which it is clear that Hastinâpura was situated on the Ganges. Besides, in the grant, Janamejaya is represented as having gone from his capital to the south to subjugate the different parts of the country, and performed the Sarpasattra or serpent-sacrifice at Harihara, at the junction of the Tungabhadra with the Harida. There is a place of that name on the map and it is situated at the junction of the Tungabhadra with another river, but its bearing from Anagunḍi is south-east by east, so that it appears that even in the grant the Hastinâpura that was meant was that one in the north. Some of the Colonel's questions as to the identification of the places the names of which occur in the grant can only be answered by one acquainted with the locality.

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\* See the Bombay edn. of Mâdhava's Sank. Vij., chap. viii.

ART. X.—*Notices of Hindu Tribes and Castes in Gújarát.*

BY JAVE'RILA'L U'MIASHANKAR YA'JÑIK, Esq.

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Read 10th December 1872.

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*Preliminary Remarks on the sources of information about them.*

I place before the Society the undermentioned MSS. (partly Sanskrit and partly Gujaráti), bearing upon Hindu Tribes and Castes in Gujarát.

They are—

1. An Inquiry into Castes in the City of Broach, conducted by H. Borradaile, Esq., in 1829 (Gujaráti).\*
2. The *Pravarádhya*, a Sanskrit MS.
3. The *Nágar Khand*, a portion of the *Skand Purána*, also in Sanskrit.
4. The *Śrīmál Múhátmya*, a Sanskrit MS.
5. The *U'dichyaprakáśa*, do.
6. The *Nirṇaya Dípiká*, by Achal Davé, do.
7. Narrative connected with the marriage of Sámaldás, the son of Narsinha Méhétá, the earliest of the Gujaráti poets, by Kavi Vallabha (Gujaráti).

Of these works the first contains queries respecting the law and custom of Hindu tribes and castes in Gujarát, with answers referring specially to castes in the city of Broach. It is but a fragment of a larger work, since it embraces only the Brahmanical castes, whereas the inquiry had reference to *all* castes in the city. Similar results, as is well known, have been obtained for Surat, where the investigation first began. I have placed the Broach MS. at the head of the list, as it comprises

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\* This MS. has been kindly placed at my disposal by Desái Kalyáñraí Hakúmatrái, of Broach. For the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th MSS. I am indebted to my learned friend, Ráo Bahádur Bholánáth Sárabhái, of Ahmedabad, at present First Grade Subordinate Judge of Kaira.

some of the authentic results of the earliest attempts made by our Government to obtain a knowledge of the people and institutions of Western India. The history of such attempts is well worthy of notice. It would appear that after the settlement of the territory acquired from the Peishwa and the Gaekwád by the British, the late Mountstuart Elphinstone, while at the head of the Government of Bombay, was occupied with a scheme having for its object the preparation of a Code of Laws and Regulations for the Presidency,—a code founded on general principles of jurisprudence, and adapted to the customs and usages of this country. In a minute, dated the 22nd of July 1823, he pointed out the necessity of enquiring into the existing law and custom of the Hindus, affecting, especially, civil suits in the Presidency. He admitted the usefulness of the Hindu law-books, especially of such of them as were held to be of unquestionable authority in respect of questions bearing upon the social and domestic institutions of the country. In their application to every-day cases arising out of the current usages of the people, however, these law-books were found to be, in many respects, unsuitable. An examination of them showed that they had not kept pace with the progress of the country, and did not embody innovations which time and custom had introduced into Hindu society. On the other hand, custom had asserted its sway over law, and had, in fact, superseded it in many important points affecting marriage, divorce, *strídhan*, alimony, inheritance, adoption, division of property, &c. We find accordingly that at the commencement of British rule in Western India, the courts of justice, in the exercise of their civil jurisdiction respecting any one of these subjects, had to rely, partly, on the opinion of their Hindu law-officers to ascertain the particular law bearing upon the case in dispute, and, partly, upon the evidence of witnesses belonging to the caste to which the parties to the suit belonged, with a view to know what the prevailing custom of that caste was. The difficulty of this mode of procedure was manifestly great. Supposing that the Court Śāstris expounded the law as correctly and conscientiously as they could, and that the witnesses, on whose trustworthiness the Court had to rely, made as unbiassed and correct a statement of existing practice amongst their community as was consistent with truth, the Court was still left to the necessity of sifting the weight of the authorities cited in support of the Śāstris' views ; of comparing the opinions of different Hindu jurists, and of deciding as to which was the most just and correct view bearing

upon the point in dispute. This was hardly possible at the commencement of British rule in Western India, when regular courts of justice, though established at a much earlier date in Gujarát than in the Dekkan, hardly existed in all the districts of the Presidency, and when an intimate acquaintance with Hindu Law and current customs of the country amongst English Judges presiding over Mofussil Courts was a rare acquirement. It was to remedy this defect in the administration of justice that Mountstuart Elphinstone applied himself to prepare a Code. In the minute adverted to before, he indicated the methods he considered most expedient to adopt in the matter. "There are but two courses,"\* said he, "by which a remedy can be applied,—the first is to make "a new code founded entirely on general principles applicable to all "ages and nations ; the second is to endeavour to compile a complete "and consistent code from the MSS. of written law, and the fragments "of traditions determining on general principles of jurisprudence those "points where the Hindu books and traditions present only conflicting "authorities, and, perhaps, supplying, on similar principles, any glaring "deficiencies that may remain when the matter for compilation has "been exhausted. The first of these courses, if otherwise expedient, "is rendered entirely impracticable here by the attachment of the natives "to their own institutions, and by the degrees to which their laws are "interwoven with their religion and manners. The second plan is therefore the only one which it is in our power to pursue. The first step "towards the accomplishment of its objects appears to be to ascertain "in each district whether there is any book of acknowledged authority, "either for the whole or any branch of the law : the next is to ascertain "what customs and traditions exist independent of them. The best "modes of conducting these inquiries are—1st, to examine the Shastrees, "heads of castes, and other persons likely to be acquainted either with "the law, the customs of castes, or the public opinion regarding the "authority attached to each ; and, 2nd, to extract from the records of "the courts of justice the information already obtained in these subjects "in the course of judicial investigation."

My object in quoting these remarks from the minute of the eminent statesman is to indicate the plan on which it was resolved by his government to proceed for the purpose of obtaining a knowledge of the

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\* See Preface to Steele's *Summary of Hindu Law and Custom*.



existing castes of Hindus and of their current customs and usages. The scope of these enquiries was primarily confined to such of the points in their social system as affected civil suits. Nevertheless, it embraced three most important subjects :—

*First*—The determination of text-books on Hindu Law, with their commentaries, held as authorities even at the present day by Śāstris and heads of castes in Hindu society.

*Secondly*—An enquiry into the number and relations of existing castes, their divisions and subdivisions, with notices of old customs still obtaining amongst them, and of new ones not having the force of written law.

*Thirdly*—A comparison of the written with the unwritten Law, with special reference to points in which the one coincided with, or differed from, the other.

It would seem that immediate action followed the minute of the Honourable the President of the Council. A commission known as “the Regulation Committee” was appointed by Government to prepare a Code of Regulations. Acting upon the suggestions contained in the minute of Mr. Elphinstone, this Committee prepared a set of leading questions “as the foundation of others to be introduced in progress of the investigation,” \* and transmitted them to the Revenue Commissioners, Residents, Political Agents, and Collectors throughout the Presidency, with a view to obtain answers to them from the heads of castes in each district. The information thus obtained in regard to the Dekkan has been utilized by Mr. Steele in his “Summary of the Law and Custom among Hindu Castes.”

In Gujarát it was found expedient at the commencement to restrict the scope of the enquiry to one district only, lest it might give rise to any needless alarm among the people, who were generally ignorant of the objects contemplated by the measure. Accordingly, Surat was the first zilla where it was resolved that the enquiry should begin. The work was entrusted to the late Mr. H. Borradaile, who, by his translation of the *Vyavahár Mayúkh*, and his Reports of Judicial Cases illustrative of the rights, usages, and customs of the people of Gujarát, had shown his fitness for the task. He called before him the Śāstris of the place, and the leading men of different castes, and required them to answer his questions to the best of their knowledge and belief.

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\* *Vide* page 2 of the Preface to Mr. Steele's Summary.

At the end of their examination they were asked to affirm to the correctness of the statements made by them. In this way facts were collected regarding each caste. The city of Surat alone was found in 1829 to contain as many as 207 castes, all having more or less social differences and peculiarities of their own. One thing to be regretted in connection with this enquiry is that the results which were arrived at, after a patient and laborious examination of so many castes, should have hitherto remained unpublished, or unused for all practical purposes, so far as I am aware, except occasionally by the Judges of the Appellate High Court. Some idea of the nature of this enquiry may be formed from the copy of the Broach MS. now before the meeting. This work opens with queries on the following subjects :—

- |                      |                          |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Betrothal.        | 7. Funeral Obsequies.    |
| 2. <i>Strídhán</i> . | 8. Inheritance.          |
| 3. Marriage.         | 9. Division of Property. |
| 4. Divorce.          | 10. Excommunication.     |
| 5. Widow Marriage.   | 11. Caste customs.       |
| 6. Alimony.          | 12. Adoption.            |
| 13. Miscellaneous.   |                          |

This is followed by replies from the heads of each caste, who conclude by affixing their names to the statements made by them. In the MS. before us, the castes that supply information are chiefly Brahmanical, with a few others. They are :—

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|----------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Bhárgava Vísá Bráhmaṇs. |                  |
| 2. Do. Dasá do.            |                  |
| 3. Khedáwál Bhítrá do.     |                  |
| 4. U'dichya Sahasra do.    |                  |
| 5. Do. Tolakiyá do.        |                  |
| 6. Bhaṭ Mewádá do.         | (senior branch.) |
| 7. Do. do. do.             | (junior branch.) |
| 8. Chowrásí do.            | do.              |
| 9. Śrímáli                 | do.              |
| 10. U'náwál                | do.              |
| 11. Sáraswat               | do.              |
| 12. Bhátellá               | do.              |
| 13. Tapodhan               | do.              |
| 14. Wáydá                  | do.              |

15. Wadnágara Nágar Bráhmaṇs.
16. Zárolá do.
17. Kandoliá do.

Six other castes.

18. Brahma Kshatri.
19. Sutâr Pancháli.
20. Khatri Paraśúrâmi.

Unhappily the enquiries thus commenced were not extended to other districts of Gujarât. Even at Surat and Broach they were looked upon with suspicion by people,—even intelligent classes,—who often held back, under one excuse or other, from supplying the requisite information. This was discouraging enough. And it probably accounts for the postponement of all further attempts in this direction.

So far for the endeavours of the local Government to obtain a knowledge of the constitution of native society and the customs and usages of the people. Besides the partial results thus obtained, there are a few works in Sanskrit descriptive of some of the Brahmanical castes in Gujarât. They are comparatively of modern date, but, as many of the castes themselves are of modern origin, this circumstance would in no way detract from their merits, were it not for the very remote origin which each work seeks to establish for the caste of which it professes to treat. They hardly afford much assistance in arriving at any correct solution as to the date when some of the principal castes, out of the many now existing, were formed. Amidst much that is mythical and legendary in them, it is only rarely that we alight upon statements tending to throw some light on the past history of castes in Gujarât. The *Nágar Khaṇḍ* for instance, professes to treat of the Nágar Bráhmaṇs of Gujarât. It forms the third *Parichheda* of the *Skand Purân*. In like manner, the Śrimáli Bráhmaṇs point to the *Śrimál Mâhâtmya*—also a portion of the *Skand Purân*—as a work of authority for their caste. The U'dichyas, who are by far the most numerous class of Bráhmaṇs in Gujarât, refer for an account of the origin of their caste to a work called the *U'dichya Prakâśa*. This work, it must be confessed, has many pretensions to credibility in regard to the history it professes to give of the arrival and settlement of the U'dichyas in Gujarât. The Kandole Bráhmaṇs, likewise, refer for their history to a *Purân* which they call the *Kandole Purân*. In Surat zilla there is a class of Bráhmaṇs

called Bhúttellá Desáis, who are chiefly either landholders or cultivators. They profess to have a *Purán* of their own, known as the *U'nárúla Purán*. These works will be referred to more at length when we come to the particular castes of which they treat.

Besides these works, the text-books of the Dharma Śāstra which are of recognized authority throughout Gujarát and the Dekkan in all matters affecting the social as well as the legal status of the Hindus, are those of Manu and Yājñavalkya, with Vijñanbhikshu's Commentary on the latter,—the *Mitáksharā*; the *Vyavahár Mayúkh*; the *Nirṇaya Sinúhu*; *Hémádrī*; *Madhva on Parúsar*, &c. Other works on Hindu law are also held to be more or less authoritative, though they are not so frequently referred to as those named above.

I have thus briefly indicated some of the principal sources of information on the subject of castes in Gujarát. It must be confessed that they by no means guide us to a knowledge of all the existing castes: I must not, however, here omit to mention the efforts of Mr. Dalpatráam Dayabhái in this direction. In his "*Jñáti Nibandh*," or "*Essay on Castes*," he has attempted to supply much interesting and useful information on some of the principal castes in Gujarát.

A practical means of obtaining an insight into the statistics of castes would, perhaps, be the returns of the census. It does not appear, however, that this object has ever been kept in view at the time of taking a general census of the population on this side of India, though in the North-West Provinces it has not been lost sight of at each census. We find, for instance, that in his edition of Sir Henry Elliot's work on the History, Folklore, and Distribution of the Races of the North-West Provinces, Mr. Beames has largely availed himself of the materials placed at his disposal by the census returns of those provinces, in bringing the work down to a comparatively recent state of knowledge. The result of the census of this Presidency, taken in February last, would, when published, be serviceable in this respect. From the form in which the returns from the people were invited, however, it would appear that while the numerical results of the census, as supplied by these returns, would be most important, their value as a guide to a knowledge of Hindu castes and their sub-divisions would have been greatly enhanced if a column or two for this information

were added. We must, however, wait to see how far the census returns can be used profitably for this purpose.

Before proceeding to a detailed account of castes in Gujarát, I would refer to one important consideration bearing upon the institution in general. In doing this it must be premised that it is not my object here to discuss at length the question of the origin and antiquity of caste in India, or to trace its existence from remote times, or, further, to consider whether or not India was the original seat of the Bráhmānical race. Each of these is a large question, a satisfactory determination of which demands materials for evidence which either do not exist at the present day, or, where they may exist, are not yet accessible to scholars. The study of Sanskrit and a survey of its literature by European scholars have, however, led to the formation of certain theories by them on these and other cognate subjects which are deserving of careful attention and study, not simply because they are, in many respects, inconsistent with or opposed to the views held on those very subjects by orthodox Indian writers, but with the object of determining what is the truth about them. Take, for instance, the question about the antiquity of caste as an institution in India. The orthodox opinion, which has been handed down from one generation of Indian writers to another, and which is the foundation of the belief commonly held at the present day, has assigned to it a period the most remote in the history of the world,—in fact, has made it coëval with the creation of the universe. The belief is general that from the first the Hindu race consisted of four classes,—the Bráhmaṇ, the Kshatriya, the Vaiśya, and the Śúdra—each of whom was created respectively from the mouth, the arms, the thigh, and the feet of the Creator. The oldest writings to which the existence of this notion has been traced are the Rigveda and the Yajurveda. In the Rigveda it occurs in the 90th hymn of the 10th book of the 8th Aśtaka of the Saṁhitā. In the Yajurveda the same hymn has a place in the 31st Chapter of the Saṁhitā of the White Yajurveda. In both places the hymn is known as the Púrúsha Sūkṭa. That mantra of the Sūkṭa, which contains reference to the four classes, runs thus:—*Brahmaṇo' sya mukham úśid báhú rájanyah kṛitah; úrú tad asya yad vaiśyah padbhyām Śudro ajáyata*. It may be translated thus:—"The Bráhmaṇ was his (Púrúsha's or Creator's) mouth; the Rájanya (Kshatriya) was made his arms; that (production which was called) the Vaiśya, that was his thighs; the

Śúdra was born from his feet." In his Lecture on the "Origin of Brahmanism," Dr. Haug, in referring to this passage, characterizes it as "the most ancient and authoritative on the origin of Brahmanism and caste in general."

The age of the Púrúsha Súkta, in which the above mantra occurs, has been a subject of considerable discussion amongst European scholars. The language and allegorical character of the hymn have led the majority of them to question its antiquity and assign it quite a modern date. Dr. John Muir, who goes somewhat elaborately into this question in his "Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India,"\* describes the views of different European scholars on the age of this hymn, and arrives at the conclusion that the hymn was the production of a later age. It would appear that much stress has been laid by these scholars on the allegorical or, as they call it, the mystical nature of the hymn, to prove its modernness. This, however, is no argument that it is not as old as the other Vedic hymns, since many a hymn is found in the Vedas making use of allegorical or figurative expressions. Again, there is, after all, no great mystery about the passage in question. In making the Bráhmaṇ to be the mouth of the Creator, the author of the mantra, it is easy to understand, could hardly have meant anything more than that the Bráhmaṇ was created for the purpose of being the possessor and imparter of learning, the *guru* or the religious teacher and instructor of all classes. The mouth is the organ of speech, and speech in Hindu works is frequently associated with the idea of learning. In like manner, the arms being the seat of strength, and the means by which one could defend himself or his companions from the attacks of an enemy, the phrase "the Kshatriya was his arms" could only have been intended to mean that he was created for the purpose of protecting the people by the use of his arms—in other words, that he was to follow the military profession and to be the people's protector. The lower parts of the body are the principal receptacles of food; hence the creation of the Vaiśya to be the thigh of the Púrúsha was tantamount to saying that the Vaiśya was to concern himself principally with commerce and agriculture, thereby supplying all classes with the means of subsistence. He thus formed the mercantile

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\* Vide Sec. I., Ch. I., Vol. I., pp. 9—15 of the 2nd edition, on the mythical accounts of the creation of man, and of the four Castes.

and agricultural class. Lastly, the expression “the Śūdra was created to be the feet of the Pūrúsha” meant that he was to be the servant of the three preceding classes.

The Pūrúsha Sūkta is a well-known hymn in the Vedas, having a prominent place in the Bráhmaṇical ritual. To this day it is employed by the Ríḡvedi and Yajurvedi Bráhmaṇas in their principal ceremonies. It is true that, as far as we know, it is the only Vedic hymn in which a distinct mention is made of the creation of the different classes of Hindu society. But this circumstance in no way invalidates the traditional theory. On the other hand, the absence of any other hymn throughout the Vedas giving an account of the origin of Brahmanism and of caste in general, inconsistent with or contradictory to that given in the Pūrúsha Sūkta, as we find is the case in later writings, indicates that there was hardly any difference of opinion on this subject among the writers of the Vedic period at least. Dr. Muir contends\* that there was no settled opinion amongst them on this subject. So far, however, as the Vedas are concerned, there is nothing to show where the discrepancy in the account contained in them is. Dr. Haug, again, whose opinions on Vedic questions are entitled to as much consideration and authority as those of other European Sanskritists, has, in his Lecture on Brahmanism, submitted this hymn to a critical examination, and the conclusions he has arrived at tend to confirm, in a great measure, its traditional interpretation.

It is undeniable that in the later literature of India, the Bráhmaṇas, the Smṛitis, the Epic Poems, and the Puráṇas, we meet with accounts of the creation of the Hindu race that are inconsistent and often wholly

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\* At the conclusion of Sec. I. of Vol. I. of his *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Ch. 1, Dr. Muir observes :—

“But whatever may be the sense of the passage, it is impossible to receive it as enunciating any fixed doctrine of the writers of what is called the Vedic age in regard to the origin of the four castes ; since we find it not in the mantras or hymns, at least in the Bráhmaṇas (which, as we have seen in page 2, are esteemed by orthodox Indian writers as being, equally with the hymns, a part of the Veda), not only (1) texts which agree with the Purusha Sukta, but also (2) various other and discrepant accounts of the manner in which these classes were separately formed, as well as (3) a class of narratives of the creation in which the production of the human race is described without allusion to any primordial distinction of castes.”

contradictory. When however, we consider the distance of the epochs which separate the composition of each of these classes of literary works, during which their authors gave themselves up to theories as best answered their purpose, it is hardly to be wondered at that their speculations should indicate a wide difference—nay, be often inconsistent and even wholly contradictory. As we find from later authorities, such as Manu and others, that the first three classes, known as *dvi*j or twice-born, had many things in common amongst them, it is but natural to suppose that Hindu society during the early period of its history was composed of two classes, one of which was looked upon as a superior race, and the other an inferior or servile class—the first being known as the *Áryans*, and the second as the *Dasyus* or slaves. This division corresponds, in some respects, to the division of society into freemen and slaves which we read of in early Greek history, the *Áryans* forming the class of freemen, and the *Dasyus* that of slaves. The Hindu conception, however, is quite original, and independent of any Greek influence.

Coming down to the time of Manu, we find the existence of four castes to be a prominent feature of Hindu society in his time. In his code of laws, the Hindu jurist observes\* :—“The Bráhmaṇ, the Kshatriya, “and the Vaiśya are the three twice-born classes; and the Śúdra “forms the fourth class, but there is no fifth class. ” It must be confessed that in some parts the code gives discrepant accounts of the origin of the human species. Still there can be little doubt that the main composition of Hindu society in Manu's time must be as above. In any long intercourse of people, however, the strictness of this classification can hardly hold, as no community of people can main or continue to be bound by such a rigid tie. We find that even in Manu's time the disintegration of Hindu society had already commenced. While the offsprings resulting from the marriage of members of each class among their respective communities were considered natural, pure, and legitimate, intermarriages between different classes were freely allowed. The children of such promiscuous marriages were, however, held to occupy a very inferior rank in society, and excluded from the privileges in regard to inheritance and other matters to which legitimate offsprings were entitled. They were known as

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\* Manu, Ch. X., verse 8.



*Apasada*, or lower classes, and formed a numerous and ever-increasing section of the Hindu community, following a variety of professions. The offspring of a Bráhmaṇ marrying a woman of the Kshatriya caste, for instance, was called *Múrdhavasikṭa*. A Bráhmaṇ marrying a Vaiśya woman had an offspring known in Manu's time as *Ambushta*, who followed the profession of a medical practitioner. The union of a Bráhmaṇ with a Śúdra woman resulted in a *Nishád* or a *Púrshava*. In like manner, the offsprings of Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śúdras marrying women belonging to classes above or below them in social rank, came to be known under distinctive appellations, and followed different professions. Such marriages of mixed classes among different sections of the Hindu community multiplied castes to an indefinite extent.

It is difficult—nay, almost impossible—to identify the names of the various mixed classes given by Manu with those existing at the present day, and *vice versa* it is equally hard or impossible to trace many of the existing castes back to their original sources. In their treatment of these classes, Hindu writers subsequent to Manu have not, as a rule, given their names, so as to furnish some link connecting the present with the past divisions of Hindu society. The process of disintegration, however, once commenced, appears to have been ever at work. Wherever the A'ryans advanced, whether in the south, east, or west, they carried with them their own organization of society, and permitted the formation of mixed classes to assist the development of their race.

One feature of these classes which materially fostered this development remains to be noticed. It was possible in the time of Manu for a descendant of a mixed caste to rise to the rights, dignity, and position of a high caste. Thus an *Ambushta* or Vaidya—a medical man (the offspring of a Bráhmaṇ married to a Śúdra woman)—could attain to the dignity of a Bráhmaṇ in the seventh line of descent, provided the successive female issues in his family were married at each period of the line to a Bráhmaṇ. Yájñavalkya even goes further when he says that the rise to a higher caste may take place in the fifth as well as the seventh line of descent. In this manner it may be easily supposed that many Bráhmaṇ, Kshatriya, and Vaiśya families, degraded by matrimonial alliances with castes of inferior orders, must have been restored to their pristine dignity. Those for whom it was not possible to reach this position among Bráh-

manical castes probably secured a place at least higher than that occupied by them before.

If this process of multiplying castes had gone on for a considerable length of time, the institution would have broken down by its own inherent weakness. A change, however, of a restrictive character appears to have come over this process of multiplication. The Bráhmaṇ ceased to marry a Kshatriya, Vaiśya, or Śúdra woman; the Kshatriya ceased to marry a woman of a caste superior or inferior to himself, and so on. Marriages thus came to be confined amongst members of the same community. The exact period when this change came over Hindu society it is difficult to determine. As Brahmanism began to exercise a stronger hold over the community, and the higher classes grew more powerful, greater restrictions came in course of time to be placed on the mutual intercourse of different classes. And accordingly we have, at this day, castes which, as will be seen in the sequel, are distinct communities in themselves, each having a social world of its own, within which its sphere of action is most rigidly confined.

Modern castes, especially the higher ones, are very compact bodies, held together by bonds which, it would not be perhaps quite correct to characterise as indissoluble, are yet such as cannot be broken through with impunity in the present state of popular feeling. There are social lines of demarcation separating each of the classes, which, though not easily distinguishable by strangers, are still sufficiently understood by members of each caste for all practical purposes of life. Of the numerous restrictions which fence them, the most important, and, at the same time, the most stringent, are in respect of—1st, eating and drinking; 2nd, formation of matrimonial alliances; and, 3rd, practical observances in regard to the doctrine of touch. The non-observance of these and other restrictions exposes a member of a caste to the penalty of excommunication.

In the absence of any authentic or connected accounts of castes during the long interval which separates modern Hindu society from the period of Manu's Code, we are left to grope in the dark as to the various phases which the institution assumed during the successive epochs when Brahmanism was on the decline; when the Buddhist religion gained ascendancy over popular forms of belief; and when, again, the revival of Brahmanical forms of worship became para-

mount throughout the country. It seems highly probable that the effect of these and other potent forces working on the society was at first to multiply its divisions, and subsequently to confirm the social separation by the compactness which they assumed. Though Buddhism declined, and, in course of time, became extinct from the land, Jainism—an offshoot of Buddhism—has continued to this day to flourish in Gujarát and other provinces of India. This has had no small share in multiplying castes. During the period of Mahomedan rule in India also, among the other political forces which were at work, the conversion of Hindus to the Mahomedan faith received very active support from the rulers. And we have this day communities like the Borahs, Khojas, Memons, &c., who are no more than Hinduized Mahomedans.

One reason why no progress has been made in obtaining a satisfactory account of modern castes is to be found in the very summary manner in which the subject is disposed of by writers on Hindu Law. In treatises on the Dharma-Śástras, for instance, we find their authors, down to the latest date, adhering to the traditional classification. All rules and precepts enjoined in these law-books under the respective heads *A'chár* (Religious Observances), *Vyavahár* (Law and Custom), and *Práyaschit* (Penance), have been given in reference to the different sections of Hindu society, as if the component elements of that society, down to this day, were only four, and no more, and that the numerous tribes and castes found at the present day were still referable to one or other of its principal divisions. Now, it may be acknowledged that, so far as the Bráhmans are concerned, the old classification would hold good. Divided and subdivided as the Bráhmans are into numerous tribes and castes (and they are more so in Gujarát than in any other part of India), they seem, upon the whole, to have, at all times, and in all parts of the country, formed a class distinct and distinguishable from the rest of the Hindu population, and have preserved the purity of their race intact, with, perhaps, the best and worst features of their class. They are still the predominant castes in Hindu society. The duties assigned to them by Manu of learning and teaching the Vedas, of offering sacrifices and officiating at the sacrificial rites, and of making and receiving gifts, are to this day performed by them, and, of late, by them exclusively. As a warrior class the Kshatriyas have mostly ceased to exist. Neither the protection of subjects, nor the offering of sacrifices, nor the study of the Vedas, forms, or is considered to form, a part of the religious duty of

those who, like the Rajputs, still claim to rank among the descendants of the Kshatriyas of yore, except by a very small class. Even where the above are considered to be their essential duties, such duties have seldom, if ever, been performed by the Rájputs at the present day. Again, *Kshatriya* as many of the reigning houses in Rajputána, Gujarát, Káthiávád and Kachh are, and claiming, as they do, to trace their descent from the Solar and Lunar dynasties, there can be little doubt, I think, that, excepting perhaps a few, many of the so-called Rajput tribes of the present day exhibit characteristics which, to say the least, are a very wide departure from those of Manu's Kshatriyas.

The Brahma Kshatriyas of Gujarát, and the Bhattis, from whom the Bhátiás of Bombay and Kachh trace their descent, also lay claim to a Kshatriya origin. It is often difficult, as observed in a previous part, to identify the bulk of other castes with any one of Manu's principal divisions. While claims are often put forward by many of them to be ranked in the category of '*dvij*' or twice-born classes, they are as often, and with perhaps equal vehemence, resisted by the superior classes.\* In Gujarát the Vániás or Banyans claim to be regarded as a purely Vaiśya class. They even go further, and reckon themselves as next only to Bráhmaṇs, leaving the small class claiming to be the representatives of Kshatriyas behind them. Yet some of the common attributes assigned to the twice-born classes by Manu are wanting in them. As a matter of fact, they do not undergo the *Upanayana Sanskúrs*, or ceremonies connected with the putting on of the sacrificial cord; nor, as a consequence of not undergoing the rites, do they wear the *Yajnopavit*, the common symbol of a *dvija*.† Again, they neither study the Vedas nor are permitted to perform the sacrificial rites. They are undoubtedly the great trading and banking class in Gujarát, Káthiávád, and Kachh, where they are known by the general appellation of "*Mahajan*," or "great people." In modern times, however, the profession of a *Vanik* by no means constitutes any claim to identity with Manu's Vaiśyas. Many other classes there are in Gujarát who, though they put on the sacred thread and assert their right to be

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\* Instances of this are very common in Hindu society.

† In the Dekkau and other parts of India, the Banyans do put on the thread, so that the wearing of the sacrificial cord by a Hindu is no indication of his being a member of the Brahmanical castes.

ranked among the Brahmanical classes, are looked still upon as inferior to them.

A change, however, is rapidly coming over caste feelings, under the influence of Western culture and civilization. It is of the gravest import to the future well-being of Hindu society. Education of the highest kind is now open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects who can avail themselves of it, irrespective of caste, colour, or creed. Merit and competency are becoming more potent instruments of worldly advancement than rank or social position. Rigid as the bonds which hold castes together appear to be, there are not wanting signs at the present day indicating that the limits of rigidity have been reached, and a turn towards the loosening of the screw has already commenced. The forces which have conspired to maintain the social equilibrium are fast beginning to grow weaker, and the future of castes has already become a problem of the day. No question connected with the future of Hindu society, however, requires greater caution to deal with, or demands a wider knowledge of the world and of the predominant forces which actuate human nature,—no question, it seems, stands more in need of being looked at or approached from a feeling of respect for the prejudices of the people. It must be remembered also that whereas the destructive forces, opposed as they are and will be, will take less time to accomplish their work, those of reconstruction are very slow processes indeed. Hindu society is not a mass of inert body, capable, like clay, of being moulded into as convenient forms and shapes as an artizan may desire. It has to be dealt with in a way which makes the greatest demands upon the practical wisdom and sagacity of those who undertake the work. That re-constructed it will be admits of little doubt when we look to surrounding circumstances; but the question is how to do it, what to avoid, and what to receive.

There is, perhaps, no other province of India which exhibits a greater variety and multiplicity of castes than the fertile land of Gujarát. Nowhere, perhaps, have the A'ryans developed their social organization into such an intricate labyrinth as here. Amongst the Bráhmans the divisions generally accepted constitute eighty-four castes. But if we take the Brahmanical castes as we find them at this day, the number is more than a hundred. The same remark holds true of "Vániás," who have their *chaurási* or 84 castes. Eighty-four is a mystic number, like five, nine, &c.: for where the number of existing castes do not

come up to 84, we have castes from other provinces, having but few representatives in Gujarát, imported into calculation to make up the number. Accordingly, it is not surprising that lists of castes from different parts of Gujarát Proper, Káthiávád, and Kachh should vary. Again, the Rajputs alone constitute 99 castes. The Brahma Kshatriyas, Khattris, and Bhátiás are classes widely different from the Rajputs. The Káyasthas form a pretty important class in Surat, Broach, and Ahmadábád districts. The Kunbis, who form the bulk of the agricultural classes, are divided into three branches—Lewá, Kudwá, and Ánjaná. As we descend lower in the scale of society, we meet with castes more or less professional. In their case it is difficult to mark with nicety tribal distinctions from those arising out of professions or trades, different castes often following the same calling. There are, however, professional castes in every large village, town, or district.

The list of castes and their subdivisions given below must be considered provisional, being subject to modifications as inquiry extends. In submitting it to the Society, the object chiefly kept in view is to give the names of those castes and subdivisions only which have a distinct recognition in Hindu society, and which exhibit sufficiently wide differences in social intercourse to deserve separate mention.

## I.—BRAHMANICAL TRIBES.

### A.—BRA'HMAN'S.

*First Group, comprising 6 subdivisions of Nágar Bráhmans.*

- |    |                  |     |     |           |      |           |
|----|------------------|-----|-----|-----------|------|-----------|
| 1. | Vadnagará Nágar. | ... | ... | वडनगर     | नागर | ब्राह्मण. |
| 2. | Visalnagará      | „   | ... | विसलनगर   | „    | „         |
| 3. | Sáthodará        | „   | ... | साठोदरा   | „    | „         |
| 4. | Praśnorá         | „   | ... | प्रश्नोरा | „    | „         |
| 5. | Kṛiṣṇorá         | „   | ... | कृष्णोरा  | „    | „         |
| 6. | Chitrodá         | „   | ... | चित्रोडा  | „    | „         |

*Second Group, comprising 3 subdivisions of U'dichya Bráhmans.*

- |                          |                   |                 |            |              |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------|--------------|
| 7.                       | Siddhpúrá.        | } also known as | सिद्धपुरा. | } एओने सहस्र |
| 8.                       | Śihora ...        |                 | शिवरा.     |              |
| ... } Sahasra U'dichyas. |                   |                 |            |              |
| 9.                       | Tolakiyá U'dichya | ...             | टोळकिया    | उदिच्य.      |

*Third Group, comprising 6 subdivisions of Modha Brahmans.*

- |     |                |     |     |            |     |           |
|-----|----------------|-----|-----|------------|-----|-----------|
| 13. | Trivedi Modha. | ... | ... | त्रिवेदी   | मोढ | ब्राह्मण. |
| 11. | Cháturvedi do. | ... | ... | चातुर्वेदी | „   | „         |

12.	Agiáraṣaṇá Modha	...	...	अगियारशणा मोढ ब्राह्मण.
13.	Dhinojá	...	...	धिनोंजा. " "
14.	Jethi	...	...	जेठी. " "
15.	Tándala or Tándaljá...	...	...	तांदळा (तांदळजा.)

*Fourth Group, of 13 subdivisions of Bráhmans.*

16.	Sáchorá	...	...	साचोर.
17.	U'dambará	...	...	उदंबर.
18.	Narsápúrá	...	...	नरसापुर.
19.	Valádará or Vadádará	...	...	वलादरा अथवा वडादरा.
20.	Pangorá	...	...	पंगोर.
21.	Nádodará	...	...	नांदोदरा.
22.	Girnára	...	...	गिरनारा.
23.	Somapúrá	...	...	सोमपुर.
24.	Harsorá	...	...	हरसोर.
25.	Sajodhará	...	...	सजोधरा.
26.	Gangaputrá	...	...	गंगापुत्रा.
27.	Modhamaitrá	...	...	मोढमैत्रा.
28.	Gomitrá	...	...	गोमित्रा.

*Fifth Group, of 7 subdivisions.*

29.	Śri Gaud	...	...	श्रीगौड or श्रीगौड.
30.	Gurjar Gaud...	...	...	गुर्जर गौड.
31.	Karhedá	...	...	कन्हेडा.
32.	Wáyadá	...	...	वायडा.
33.	Bhat Mewádá	...	...	भट मेवाडा.
34.	Trawádí Mewádá	...	...	त्रवाडी मेवाडा.
35.	Dravidá	...	...	द्रविडा.

*Sixth Group, of 17 subdivisions.*

36.	Deshwál	...	...	देशवाल.
37.	Ráyakwál	...	...	रायकवाल.
38.	Rodhwál	...	...	रोढवाल.
39.	Khedáwál	...	...	खेडावाल.
40.	Sindhuwál	...	...	सिंधुवाल.
41.	Palliwal	...	...	पल्लिवाल.
42.	Gomtiwál	...	...	गोमतिवाल.
43.	Intawál	...	...	इंटवाल.
44.	Medatáwál	...	...	मेडतावाल.
45.	Gayáwál	...	...	गयावाल.

46.	Agastyawál	...	...	...	अगस्त्यवाळ.
47.	Pretwál	...	...	...	प्रेतवाळ.
48.	Yājñikwál	...	...	...	याज्ञिकवाळ.
49.	Ghadwál	...	...	...	घडवाळ.
50.	Púdwal	...	...	...	पुडवाळ.
51.	U'néwál	...	...	...	उनेवाळ.
52.	Rájwál	...	...	...	राजवाळ.

*Seventh Group, of 9 subdivisions.*

53.	Kanojiá	...	...	...	कनोजोआ.
54.	Śarvariá	...	...	...	शरवरीआ.
55.	Kandoliá	...	...	...	कंडोलीआ.
56.	Karkhelia	...	...	...	करखेलीआ.
57.	Parwáliá	...	...	...	परवालीया.
58.	Sorathíá	...	...	...	सोरठीआ.
59.	Tangmodíá	...	...	...	टंगमोडोआ.
60.	Sanothíá	...	...	...	सनोठीआ.
61.	Vanśvaddhá	...	...	...	वंशवद्धा.

*Eighth Group, of 9 subdivisions.*

62.	Motálá	...	...	...	मोताळा.
63.	Zárolá	...	...	...	झारोळा.
64.	Ráyapalá	...	...	...	रायपळा.
65.	Kapilá	...	...	...	कपीला.
66.	Akshayamangalá	...	...	...	अक्षयमंगळा.
67.	Gúgali	...	...	...	गुगळी.
68.	Nápal	...	...	...	नापळ.
69.	Anávalá	...	...	...	अनावला.
70.	Śrímálí	...	...	...	श्रीमाळी.

*Ninth Group, of 2 subdivisions.*

71.	Válmiká	...	...	...	वालमीका.
72.	Náradiká	...	...	...	नारदीका.

*Tenth Group, of 2 subdivisions.*

73.	Kalingá	...	...	...	कालिंगा.
74.	Telingá	...	...	...	तेलिंगा.

*Eleventh Group, of 3 subdivisions.*

75.	Bhārgava	...	...	...	भार्गव.
76.	Málví	...	...	...	माळवी.



*Twelfth Group, of 3 subdivisions.*

77.	Nandúvāṇá.	...	...	...	नंदुवाणा.
78.	Bharthāṇá.	...	...	...	भरथाणा.
79.	Pushkarná.	...	...	...	पुष्करणा.

*Thirteenth Group, of 9 subdivisions.*

80.	Sárasvat	...	...	...	सारस्वत.
81.	Khaḍáyatá	...	...	...	खेडायता.
82.	Máru...	...	...	...	मारु.
83.	Dahimá	...	...	...	दहिमा.
84.	Chovisá...	...	...	...	चोवीसा.
85.	Jámbu	...	...	...	जाम्बु.
86.	Maráthí	...	...	...	मराठी.
87.	Dadhichá	...	...	...	दधीचा.
88.	Lalát...	...	...	...	ललाट.

**B.—MIXED CLASSES.**

- a. Brahma Kshatriyas. ... ब्रह्मक्षत्री.  
b. Bhattis or Bhátiás. ... भट्टी अथवा भाटिया.  
c. Rajputs ... रजपूत.

*(Thirty-six principal classes of Rajputs.)*

1. Suryavansī, or the Solar Race. सूर्यवंशी.
2. Chandravansī, or the Lunar Race ... चंद्रवंशी.
3. Jádavavansī ... जादववंशी.
4. Kachhwáhá ... कच्छवाहा.
5. Parmár... परमार.
6. Túwár ... तुवार.
7. Chahuwán ... चहुवाण.
8. Solanki ... सोलंकी.
9. Chandel... चंदेल.
10. Silár ... सीलार.
11. Abhivar ... अभीवर.
12. Dahimá ... दहिमा.
13. Mukwáná ... मुक्वाणा.
14. Gohil... गोहिल.
15. Guhilot ... गुहीलंत.
16. Chávadá ... चावडा.

17.	Padhár	...	...	... पढार.
18.	Ráthod	...	...	... राठोड.
19.	Devadá	...	...	... देवडा.
20.	Tánk ...	...	...	... टांक.
21.	Sindhava	...	...	... सींधव.
22.	Aniga...	...	...	... अनीग.
23.	Yotika	...	...	... योटीक.
24.	Pratihár	...	...	... प्रतिहार,
25.	Dadhikhat	...	...	... दधीखट.
26.	Karatpál or Káthís	...	...	... कारटपाल-काठी.
27.	Kotwál	...	...	... कोटवाल.
28.	Hún...	...	...	... हुण.
29.	Hádá...	...	...	... हाडा.
30.	Goúđ ...	...	...	... गोड.
31.	Kamád or Jethava	...	...	... कमाड-जेठवा.
32.	Jat ...	...	...	... जट.
33.	Dhyánpál	...	...	... ध्यानपाल.
34.	Lakum	...	...	... लकुम.
35.	Râjpâl	...	...	... राजपाल.
26.	Kálchhar	...	...	... कालछर.

The *Vahiranchás* or Rajput genealogists trace the Rajputs to five original families :—The Parmárs, the Ráthods, the Yádava or Jádavas, the Chawáns, and the Solankis, each of which has the following branches :—

Parmárs have 35 branches.

Ráthods „ 13 do.

Yádavas „ 20 do.

Chahuwáns „ 24 do.

Solankis „ 7 do.

—

Total..... 99 branches.

*d. The Banyans or Vániás.*

*(Eighty-four castes of Vániás or Banyans.)*

*First Group, of 16 castes.*

1.	Śrí Śrímálí	...	...	... श्री श्रीमाली.
2.	Śrí-Málí	...	...	... श्रीमाली.
3.	Agarvál	...	...	... अगरवाल.

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4.	Anérvál	...	...	... अनेरवाल.
5.	Átbarji	...	...	... आटबरजी.
6.	Árchitvāl	...	...	... आरचीतवाळ.
7.	Orvāl	...	...	... ओरवाळ.
8.	Osvāl	...	...	... ओसवाळ.
9.	Andorá	...	...	... अंडोरा.
10.	Kathervál	...	...	... कठरवाल.
11.	Kapôl	...	...	... कपोळ.
12.	Karberá	...	...	... करबेरा.
13.	Kákaliâ	...	...	... काकलीआ.
14.	Kájotivāl	...	...	... काजोटीवाळ.
15.	Kortávál	...	...	... कोरटावाल.
16.	Kambovāl	...	...	... कंबोवाळ.

*Second Group, of 4 subdivisions.*

17.	Khadáyatá	...	...	... खडायता.
18.	Khátarvāl	...	...	... खातरवाल.
19.	Khichí	...	...	... खीची.
20.	Khandevāl	...	...	... खंडेवाल.

*Third Group, of 3 subdivisions.*

21.	Gasorá	...	...	... गसोरा.
22.	Gujarvāl	...	...	... गुजरवाल.
23.	Goyalvāl	...	...	... गोयलवाल.

*Fourth Group, of 5 subdivisions.*

24.	Nafúk	...	...	... नफाक.
25.	Narsinhapará	...	...	... नरसींहपरा.
26.	Nágar	...	...	... नागर.
27.	Nágadrá	...	...	... नागद्रा.
28.	Nághorá	...	...	... नाघोरा.

*Fifth Group, of 2 subdivisions.*

29.	Chitrodá	...	...	... चीत्रोडा.
30.	Chehetrávāl	...	...	... चेहेत्रावाल.

*Sixth Group, of 7 subdivisions.*

31.	Jhárolá	...	...	... जहारोला.
32.	Jíranvāl	...	...	... जीरनवाल.
33.	Jailvāl	...	...	... जैलवाल.
34.	Jemá ...	...	...	... जेमा.

35. Jambu ... .. जंबु.  
 36. Jháliyará ... .. झालीआरा.  
 37. Thákarvál ... .. ठाकरवाल.

*Seventh Group, of 5 subdivisions.*

38. Didu... .. डीडु.  
 39. Dindoriá. ... .. डींडोरीया  
 40. Disavál... .. डीसावाल.  
 41. Terotá... .. तेरोटा  
 42. Tiporá... .. तीपोरा.

*Eighth Group, of 2 subdivisions*

43. Dasará... .. दसारा.  
 44. Doilvál... .. दोइलवाल.

*Ninth Group, of 13 subdivisions.*

45. Padmorá. ... .. पदमोरा.  
 46. Palevál... .. पलेवाल.  
 47. Pushkarvál ... .. पुष्करवाल.  
 48. Panchamvál—Páncchá.... .. पंचमवाल—पांचा.  
 49. Bativará... .. बटीवरा.  
 50. Baruri... .. बरुरी.  
 51. Báis... .. बाइस.  
 52. Bágriá... .. बाग्रीआ.  
 53. Bábarvál Bábar... .. बाबरवाल-बाबर.  
 54. Bámanvál ... .. बामणवाल.  
 55. Bálmivál ... .. बालमीवाल.  
 56. Báhor... .. बाहोर.  
 57. Bednorá... .. बेडनोरा.

*Tenth Group, of 4 subdivisions.*

58. Bhágervál ... .. भागेरवाल.  
 59. Bhárijá... .. भारीजा.  
 60. Bhugarvál ... .. भुगरवाल.  
 61. Bhangadá ... .. भुंगडा.

*Eleventh Group, of 10 subdivisions.*

62. Medatávál ... .. मेडतावाल.  
 63. Mánatvál. ... .. मानतवाल.  
 64. Máđ ... .. माड.

65.	Mhewádá.	...	...	...	मेहेवाडा.
66.	Mihiriá...	...	...	...	मीहीरीआ.
67.	Mangorá.	...	...	...	मंगोरा.
68.	Mandáhul.	...	...	...	मंडाहुल.
69.	Modha.	...	...	...	मोढ.
70.	Mándaliá	...	...	...	मांडलीआ.
71.	Mandorá	...	...	..	मंडोरा.

*Twelfth Group, of 13 subdivisions.*

72.	Lád...	..	...	...	लाड.
73.	Ládisáká	...	...	...	लाडीसाका.
74.	Lingáyet...	...	...	...	लींगायत.
75.	Váyadá...	...	...	...	वायडा.
76.	Stabi...	...	...	...	स्तबा.
77.	Súrarwál.	...	...	...	सुररवाल.
78.	Sirkerá...	...	...	...	सीरकेरा.
79.	Soni. ....	...	...	...	सोनी.
80.	Sojatwál.	...	...	...	सोजतवाल.
81.	Sárviá...	...	...	...	सारवीआ.
82.	Sohárwál	...	...	...	सोहारवाल.
83.	Sáchorá...	...	...	...	साचोरा.
84.	Harsorá...	...	...	...	हरसोरा.

*e. OTHER CASTES, CHIEFLY TRADERS.*

1.	Káyastha	...	...	...	कायस्थ.
2.	Loháná	...	...	...	लोहागा.
3.	Bhaṇsáli	...	...	...	भणसाळी.

## II.—NON-BRAHMANICAL CLASSES.

*a. ARTIZANS, MANUFACTURERS, AND SHOPKEEPERS.*

1. Soní or Goldsmiths.

<i>a.</i>	Mástán	...	...	...	मास्तान.
<i>b.</i>	Trágad	...	...	...	त्रागड.
<i>c.</i>	Śrímáli	...	...	...	श्रीमाळी.
<i>d.</i>	Máru	...	...	...	मारु.

2.	Kansará	...	कंजरा	...	Braziers or Coppersmiths.
3.	Sutár	...	सूतार	...	Carpenters.

<i>a.</i>	Vaidya.	वैद्य
<i>b.</i>	Pancholi.	पंचाळी

- |     |                        |     |                        |     |  |
|-----|------------------------|-----|------------------------|-----|--|
| 4.  | Lohár                  | ... | लोहार                  | ... | Blacksmiths.                             |
| 5.  | Kaḍiyá                 | ... | कडिया                  | ... | Bricklayers.                             |
| 6.  | Salát                  | ... | सलाट                   | ... | Masons.                                  |
| 7.  | Ozá or Kumbhar         | ... | ओझा-कुंभार.            | ... | Potters.                                 |
| 8.  | Dirzi                  | ... | दरजी                   | ... | Tailors.                                 |
| 9.  | Návi, Hajám, or Valund | ... | नावी, हजाम अथवा वालंद. | ... | Barbers.                                 |
| 10. | Sálvi or Khattri,      | ... | सालवी-खत्री.           | ... | Weavers.                                 |
| 11. | Bháwsár or Chhipá      | ... | भावसार अथवा छीपा.      | ... | Calico-printers.                         |
| 12. | Gaḷiará                | ... | गळीयारा                | ... | Indigo-dyers.                            |
| 13. | Saraiyá or Sikalgará   | ... | सरैया अथवा शिकलगरा.    | ... | Polishers of iron instruments.           |
| 14. | Chúḍgaḍ                | ... | चूडगड                  | ... | Manufacturers of elephant-teeth bangles. |
| 15. | Baroḍiá                | ... | बरोडीया.               |     |  |
| 16. | Rájbbhará              | ... | राजभरा.                |     |  |
| 17. | Kamáliá                | ... | कमालिया.               |     |  |
| 18. | Sargadiá               | ... | सरगडिया.               |     |  |
| 19. | Bháḍbbhuná             | ... | भाडभुंजा.              |     |  |

b. AGRICULTURAL CLASSES.

- |    |          |     |        |     |                     |
|----|----------|-----|--------|-----|---------------------|
| 1. | Kunbí    | ... | कणबी   | ... | Cultivators.        |
| 2. | Máí...   | ... | माळी   | ... | Gardeners.          |
| 3. | Káchhiyá | ... | काडीया | ... | Vegetable-sellers.  |
| 4. | Tamboḷi  | ... | तंबोळी | ... | Betel-leaf-sellers. |

c. BARDS, MUSICIANS, SINGERS, DANCERS, BUFFOONS, &c.

- |     |                      |     |                    |     |               |
|-----|----------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|---------------|
| 1.  | Bhát or Vahivanchá   | ... | भाट अथवा वहिवंचा.  | ... | Bards.        |
| 2.  | Cháran               | ... | चारण.              |     |               |
| 3.  | Gandhrava or Gandráp | ... | गंधर्व or गंध्रप.  | ... | Singers.      |
| 4.  | Bhaváyá or Turgálá   | ... | भवाया अथवा तरगाळा. | ... | Players.      |
| 5.  | Naṭ or Bajánia       | ... | नट अथवा बजाणीया.   | ... | Rope-dancers. |
| 6.  | Pawáyá               | ... | पवाया.             |     |               |
| 7.  | Hijḍá                | ... | हिजडा.             |     |               |
| 8.  | Bhánd                | ... | भांड.              |     |               |
| 9.  | Mull or Jeḥhi        | ... | मल्ल अथवा जेठी.    | ... | Gymnasts.     |
| 10. | Gáḍrú                | ... | गाडरु.             |     |               |

*d. LABOURING CLASSES.*

1.	Golá	...	...	गोला.	...	Grain-pounders.
2.	Khárwá	...	...	खारवा.	...	Ship's crew.
3.	Bhoí	...	...	भोई.	...	Pálkhi-bearers.
4.	Dhobí	...	...	धोबी.	...	Watermen.
5.	Bhistí	...	...	भिस्ती.	...	Water-bearers.
6.	Bhaṇḍárá	...	...	भंडारी.	...	Toddy-collectors.
7.	Mácchís	...	...	माछी.	...	Fishermen.

*e. SECTS OF DEVOTEES AND RELIGIOUS MENDICANTS.*

1.	Gosain	..	...	...	गोसांइ.
2.	Daṇḍi...	...	...	...	दंडी.
3.	Jogí or Yogí	...	...	...	जोगी अथवा योगी.
4.	Tridaṇḍí	...	...	...	त्रीदंडी.
5.	Aghorí	...	...	...	अघोरी.
6.	Sanyasí or Swámí	...	...	...	सन्यासी अथवा स्वामी.
7.	Paramhansa	...	...	...	परमहंस.
8.	Vairágí	...	...	...	वैरागी.
9.	Bharatharí	...	...	...	भरथरी.
10.	Digambara	...	...	...	दिगंबर.
11.	Jangam	...	...	...	जंगम.
12.	Brahmachárá	...	...	...	ब्रह्मचारी.
13.	Abdhuta	...	...	...	अबधूत.
14.	Udásí	...	...	...	उदासी.
15.	Kapálí	...	...	...	कपाली.
16.	Teliyárájá	...	...	...	तेलीयाराजा.
17.	Bahurupí	...	...	...	बहुरूपी.
18.	Gorjí...	...	...	...	गोरजी.
19.	A'rjá...	...	...	...	आरजा.
20.	Śiwḍa	...	...	...	शिवडा.

*f. MESSENGERS, ATTENDANTS.*

1.	Ráwalíyá	...	...	...	रावळीया.
2.	Wághari	..	...	...	वाघरी.

*g. WORKERS IN LEATHER.*

1.	Mochí: मोची.	Shoemakers.	3.	Dufgar. डफगर
2.	Chamár, Chámaḍiá, चमार, चामडिया.			
	or Khálpá. अथवा खालपा.			

## h. SHEPHERDS.

1. Ābira. आहीर.                      2. Bharwād or Rabāri भरवाड अथवा रबारी.

## i. INFERIOR CLASSES.

1. Dheḍa or Mehetar. डेड वा मेहेतर                      4. Sindhwa. सिंधवा.  
 2. Olgāṇā or Bhangī. ओलगाणा अथवा भंगी.                      5. Turi. तुरी.  
 3. Garoḍa. गरोडा.

## III.—ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

- |                   |                |              |          |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------|----------|
| 1. Koli, Dhārālā, | कोंली, धाराळा, | 8 Talaniya   | तळणीया.  |
| Pagi, Kotvāl.     | पगी. कोटवाळ.   | 9. Vāghri.   | वाघरी.   |
| 2. Bhill.         | भील.           | 10. Chodhrā. | चोधरा.   |
| 3. Naikra.        | नायकडा.        | 11. Dhodia.  | ढोंडिया. |
| 4. Dúblā.         | दुबळा.         | 12. Naik.    | नायक.    |
| 5. Kalipurūja.    | काळीयरज.       | 13. A'gri.   | आगरी.    |
| 6. Bhauda.        | भाउडा.         | 14. Magpela. | मागपेला. |
| 7. Dhangar.       | धनगर.          |              |          |
-



constant companion in the Deccan and the South Maratha Country when he was engaged on the New Revenue Survey (so well known by his own name and that of his able coadjutor, Captain, now Sir George, Wingate), and it was because of the sense he entertained of the service the book had been to himself that he, when in England, wrote to Mr. Grant Duff, though a stranger to him at the time, to urge the bringing out of a new edition, which he said would be a boon to the junior servants employed in the Maratha districts of Western India.

When I had this conversation with Mr. Goldsmid, he had already begun to suffer from the illness that so soon afterwards proved fatal. In November he took a trip to the Persian Gulf and returned somewhat improved in health, but the improvement did not last; in December he was persuaded to take another trip to sea, and left Bombay with the intention of proceeding as far as Suez, hoping to return by the next mail steamer, but his state of health became worse, and he proceeded as far as Cairo, where he arrived in a state of exhaustion, only to die,—and so passed away one of the ablest servants in the Revenue Department the Government of Bombay ever had. I well remember the intelligence of Mr. Goldsmid's death being received in Bombay by the mail which arrived towards the end of January 1855. It was on a Sunday morning: I had gone down to the Bunder to hear the latest news as the passengers landed, for it was the time of the war in the Crimea, and news of every fresh event excited deep interest. But the news that saddened the few present on that occasion was the intelligence of Mr. Goldsmid's death at Cairo. When I was returning I met Lord Elphinstone's private secretary, Mr. Adam, hurrying down to the steamer; he stopped with me for a minute to discuss the news, and in reference to Mr. Goldsmid's death said, "What a loss to the public service!"

I should mention that I published the substance of Mr. Grant Duff's letter in an article which I wrote on the Marathas and their history in the *Bombay Saturday Review* shortly after the meeting of the Society above referred to.

It was then that it was suggested to me by the late President of the Society, and others, that the letter had so much value historically that it ought to be published in the Society's Journal with any remarks I might think fit to make regarding it. I quite concurred in this view, though I have been longer in carrying it out than I intended. I believe the members generally will admit that this

letter—giving an account by the author himself of the circumstances under which he wrote the history of the most remarkable native power that has existed in Western India in modern times, and that history itself perhaps the most valuable work that has been written on a special portion of Indian history—will do honour to the Society's Journal in finding a place there.

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Letter from J. GRANT DUFF, Esq. (author of the "History of the Mahrattas"), to E. H. Goldsmid, Esq., Bombay Civil Service.

*Eden by Banff, January 30th, 1846.*

. . . . As to a second edition, about ten years ago, in consequence of repeated suggestions on the subject—for I had individually no *pleasure* in recurring to it—I wrote to the publishers, Longman and Co., but their reply was not so encouraging as to induce me to begin recasting many ill-written passages, which I sometimes thought of, but had always some more immediate object of interest or business.

I am aware that it cannot be purchased even of booksellers; but even if the publishers now wished it, I should be much more inclined—though I could not now be bothered re-writing—to publish a second edition on testimonials such as yours than from any other consideration whatever.

I think your suggestion very good, what you propose would make it more portable and better fitted to the end I had in view.

Your interest in the work, and in case you should ever become an Indian author, leads me to tell you something of its origin and progress.

It ought, and perhaps would, have been undertaken by Mr. Elphinstone had he not so soon then removed from the Deccan to Bombay. I began to collect materials at his (Mr. E.'s) and Sir Thomas Munro's suggestion, lest we should lose the only chance of recovering the records of a very extraordinary power, the history of which was only known in a very superficial manner. As I went on collecting, I was obliged to unite the fragments in order to ascertain what was wanted, and I soon found myself obliged to employ agents, not merely within the confines of Maharashtra, but all over India.

I wrote the greater part of the work when otherwise working twelve and fourteen hours daily without intermission (and of what sort you know), whilst some of the gentlemen with me, who had their full share

of public business, particularly Mr. W. R. Morris, still in the Service, most zealously assisted in translating the mass of materials which were selected from a still larger mass, read over without discovering a single fact on which we could depend. To account for some apparently very careless passages, I must tell you that I was subject to very severe headaches, which at last became very agonizing, returning every fifth day, and lasting from six to sixteen hours at a time, requiring me to work with wet cloths girt about my head, and I always could do best and most as the fit went off, so that I very often was induced to write on, upon these occasions, requiring no sleep until next night.

I was, as might have been expected, driven home; but it was some time before I had health or inclination to get through the task I had undertaken. At last I sent the MS. to the late Mr. Murray. It was read and approved of by the person to whom he submitted it. I waited upon the potentate of Albemarle Street, who told me he would publish the work if I would alter the title. I said "it was a history of the Mahrattas, and only of the Mahrattas." "Who knows anything about the Mahrattas?" "That's the reason," said I, "the book has been written; no one does know much about them." "Well," replied Murray, "and who cares to know? If you call it the Downfall of the Moguls, and the Rise of the English, or something of that kind, it may do, but a *History of the Mahrattas*—that will never sell!" I was not in the least discouraged, although I too well knew that what Mr. Murray said was true, and amongst other drawbacks, although India is now beginning to excite a little more interest in England, no one can write or speak of India as of Europe—the feeling which cheers and impels the writer or the orator by an indescribable .\*. . sympathy is wanting, and hence the tiresome task which the narration of events purely Indian imposes. Of course I do not mean such narratives as Orme's Carnatic, which is more exciting than it could have been made by the fancy of De Foe. I got the MS. laid before Sir James Mackintosh, who most kindly, without stopping to finish it, walked from Cadogan Place to Paternoster Row (before the days of omnibuses), and at his recommendation Longman and Co. immediately wrote to me offering to publish it. It went through the press in six weeks, and many errors corrected by me escaped the vigilance of the compositor: the reason was the MS. was too distinctly copied; had it been in such

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\* Illegible in original.

an abominably indistinct hand as mine, one of their best men would have been selected, but because distinct, I got one of the less experienced.

The late Mr. Rees was the partner with whom I chiefly communicated. No publisher in London at that time understood the business so thoroughly. When calculating the sale, I was surprised when he put down a very small proportion for India. The reason he said was "people in India don't buy—they read, but borrow—and it would be long before the *Mahratta History* would be bought as an *outfit* book." Murray was so far quite right—people require to know something before they desire to know more.

The publishers took the risk. The book cost me upwards of £2,000 before it went to press. The Court of Directors took 40 copies—which they would have done equally, had it been a *Mahratta Vocabulary*, and, as a general rule, is liberal: but, although I collected all those materials, certainly valuable to Government, and gave them an original and most valuable map, they never even acknowledged the receipt of the latter. They never inquired, and I certainly never stated, that I lost upwards of £1,700 by what I had done, and indeed, excepting a very few, I do not suppose any Director or aspirant of that period even opened the *Mahratta History* after they became Directors—a matter of no consequence, excepting as discouraging to such servants of the Company as may engage in extraordinary labour, and whom most certainly it is their province at least \*. . . in order to stimulate others in a like course.

It is not unusual to send copies of new books to the principal reviews, and even to make interest, to ensure a favourable notice; but I begged Mr. Rees in this case to do nothing of the kind, as time, and time only, could prove whether the matter was correct—and that must be tried by Indian authority hereafter. I had in the first instance the favourable opinion of the best authorities of the period as regarded my facts, and the praise even of a favourable critique was therefore but a mere puff—of use principally to the booksellers. Mr. Rees, however, quite agreed with me.

These details, if not useful, may be amusing to you. \* \* \*

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\* Illegible in original.





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ART. XII.—*S'áliváhana and the S'áliváhana Saptaśati.* BY  
RAO SA'HEB VISHVANA'TH NA'RA'YAN MANDLIK.

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Read 19th March 1873.

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ŚA'LIVAHANA, sometimes called Śátaváhana or Śátaváhana, is the name of the Hindu king after whom the present Śaka era current in Mahá-ráshṭra is named. He is popularly believed to have been descended from a *Kumbhára*, or bricklayer. A legend named *Śaliváhana-charitra*, written in Maráṭhi, has been printed and published, and it gives the traditionary account of his birth from a virgin aged under four years, and his exploits, and the establishment of his era to the south of the Narmadá. When a Maráṭhá Hindu makes a religious determination about anything, he has to repeat the period of time that has elapsed since the advent of the *Kali-yuga*, the number of the incarnation believed to preside over the destinies of the world, the geographical position occupied by the performer of the ceremony, and the time with reference to the Śáliváhana era in the calendar. This is the era generally observed to the south of the Narmadá. To the north of that river, the Vikramáditya era is observed in most places.

In the popular enumeration of the founders of *śakās* or eras, Śālivāhana stands the third. Thus,

युधिष्ठिरो विक्रमशालिवाहनौ  
ततो नृपः स्याद्विजयाभिनन्दनः ॥  
ततस्तु नागार्जुनभूपतिः कलौ  
कल्की षडेते शककारकाः स्मृताः ॥

Translation :— In the *Kali* age (come) Yudhishtira, Vikrama, (and) Śālivāhana, afterwards will be the king Vijayābhinandana, then the king Nāgārjuna, (and) the sixth Kalki : these six are stated to be the makers of *śakās* or eras.

The calculators of the current native almanacs describe the places of these founders, and the duration of their eras. Thus, beginning with the first, Yudhishtira,\* he is stated to have lived at Indraprastha (supposed to be somewhere near Dehli), and the duration of his era to be 3044 years, up to the time of Vikrama of Ujjayinī, whose era is said to have extended to 135 years, until the advent of Śālivāhana at Pratishthāna,† whose era will, it is said, last 18,000 years. He will be succeeded by the following :—

(4.) The fourth, Vijayābhinandana, at Vaitaraṇi,‡ at the junction of the Indus ; his era 10,000 years.

(5.) The fifth, Nāgārjuna, at Dhārātīrtha, in the Gauda country § ; his era 400,000 years.

(6.) The sixth, Kalkin, at Karavīra-pattana [or Kolhāpura], in the Karnāṭaka ; his era 821 years.

\* बृहत्संहिता, अ० १३ श्लो० ३  
आसन्मघासु मुनयः शासति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ ॥  
षड्विंशतिपञ्चद्वियुतः शककालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च ॥३॥

Translation :—When Yudhishtira was holding sway over the earth, *Uraa major* was in the tenth constellation, *Maghā* (Regulus) ; the era of that king was 2526 years. This differs from the popular tradition by 518 years.

† The modern town of Paṭhāna, on the Godāvarī, in the Nizām's dominions, E. Long. 75° 28', N. Lat. 19° 29'.

‡ There is no such town in Sindh where the Indus joins the sea, but probably the place of junction itself is so called.

§ Adjoins Vanga, or Bengal. See the *Bṛihatsanhita* of Varāhamihira, Ch. 14, v. 7, p. 88, Calo. ed. Probably this is Behar. One of the districts of the Nizām's territory is called Dhārāsinha or Dhārāseva.

The Śaka year of Śalivāhana begins on the first day of the first half of *Chaitra*.

*Vasanta-navarātra* (or the spring-festival of nine nights, sacred to the Durgā) begins on the first day of the Śaka year. These years are classed into cycles of sixty\* each, and each year is named from some supposed quality inherent in it. Thus the twenty in the beginning are believed to represent years of prosperity; while the last twenty are considered to be inauspicious. Vishṇu is the presiding deity of the first twenty, Brahmā that of the second, and Śiva reigns from the forty-first to the sixtieth. The last year of this cycle is *kshaya*, which means annihilation; and the three before it are *rudhirodgūrī*, causing to vomit blood, *raktúkshi*, red-eyed, and *krodhana*, angry. These are believed to be unpropitious years. I may mention that the last four years of the last cycle, which were Śaka 1785-88, or A.C. 1864-65 to 1867-68, were understood by the people of Western India to be years fraught with evil. And when the American war broke out in the years *raudra*, the destroyer's year, and *durmati*, the bad-motived, people supposed that some calamities would befall the world. Every worldly event is interpreted by these signs; and people are in a ferment when some war or other bloodshed takes place in these years. These sixty-years' cycles are common to the eras both of Vikramāditya and Śalivāhana. The latter is pre-eminently the prince of Western India, or rather a Maráthá if I may use the expression.

His capital was Pratishthāna, the modern Paithāna, on the Godávarī. The traditionary accounts connect him with Mahārāshtra in every respect. Hemachandra, the great Jaina writer, who flourished in the twelfth century of the Samvat era, includes Śalivāhana among the four

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\* They are named thus:— १ प्रभव. २ विभव. ३ शुक्ल. ४ प्रमोद. ५ प्रजापति. ६ अंगिरा. ७ श्रीमुख. ८ भाव. ९ युवा. १० धाता, ११ ईश्वर, १२ बहुधान्य, १३ प्रमाथी, १४ विक्रम. १५ वृष. १६ चित्रभानु. १७ सुभानु. १८ तारण. १९ पार्थिव. २० अव्यय. २१ सर्वजित्. २२ सर्वधारी. २३ विरोधी २४ विद्वत्ति. २५ खर. २६ नंदन. २७ विजय २८ जय. २९ मन्मथ. ३० दुर्मुख. ३१ हेमलंब. ३२ विलंबी. ३३ विकारी. ३४ शर्वरी. ३५ प्रव. ३६ शुभवृत्. ३७ शोभन. ३८ क्रोधी. ३९ विश्वावसु. ४० पराभव. ४१ प्रवंग. ४२ कीलक. ४३ सौम्य. ४४ साधारण. ४५ विरोधकृत्. ४६ परिधावी. ४७ प्रमादी. ४८ आनंद. ४९ राक्षस. ५० नल. ५१ पिंगल. ५२ कालयुक्त. ५३ सिद्धार्थ. ५४ रौद्र. ५५ दुर्मति. ५६ दुंदुभि. ५७ रुधिरोद्गारी. ५८ रक्ताक्षी. ५९ क्रोधन. ६० क्षय.

These occur in old astronomical works, like *Náradasanhitá*.



Saluting Suvrata Jina,\* he describes Pratishthána as he had heard it described. In the southern half of Bháratavarsha,† an ornament to Maháráshtra, is the beautiful city of Pratishthána. Although it once vied with the capital of India in splendour, time has changed it into a poor trifling village. There lived in it some foreign Bráhmaṇas in the house of a potter, with their young widowed sister. They used to beg for food-corn, and to bring it to their sister, who cooked it for them. One day their sister went to the bank of the Godávāri to fetch water, when Śesha,‡ the Nága-king, viewing her attractive person, assumed the human form, and, coming out of his watery house, had connection with her against her will. Although by age incapable of conception, the divine power of Śesha made her a mother. Śesha, discovering to her who he was, told her that whenever she was in distress she should remember him. He then went back to his home in *Pátála*; and the widow also returned to her home. Shame prevented her disclosing to her brothers the adventure that had befallen her. After some time had elapsed, her brothers concluded from her physical condition that she was with child; and the elder brother suspected the younger of the intrigue, while the younger had the like suspicions of his senior brother. Afterwards both abandoned their sister, and went to different countries, while she remained in the same city, gaining her livelihood by doing service in several families. At the proper time she gave birth to a boy endowed with all good signs. Her son grew in age as well as in good qualities; and whenever he played with his companions he used to become the king, and to give his playfellows horses, elephants, carriages, and other artificial conveyances. *Jinaprabhasúri* says:—“ सनोतेर्दानार्थत्वात् लोकैः सातवाह न इतिव्यपदेशं लभितः ” *i.e.* “The people called him Sátaváhana, because (the verb) *sanoti* signifies ‘to give.’ [And hence he by whom were (*i.e.* [*dattáni*]) *sútani* § given [*váhanáni*, *i.e.*] conveyances, was called Sátaváhana. The story which follows the above narrative is also to be found in the Maráthí legendary work *Śáliváhana-charitra*, to which allusion has been made in the beginning of this paper, and which is therefore omitted here. At the end, the king Vikrama being defeated by Sátaváhana, fled to Ujjayiní. Sátaváhana was afterwards installed

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\* One of the Tíirthankaras.

† India.

‡ The king of *Pátála*, or the serpent-region.

§ षण् (उ) दाने || The above is a form of this verb of the eighth class.

king, and the city Pratishthāna became a rich city, having wide roads, large temples and private dwellings, brilliantly white markets, fortifications, and ditches; and Sātavāhana having made all the people of the *Dakṣiṇapatha* \* free from debt, and conquered the country as far as the Tápī, introduced his era therein. He afterwards became a Jain. He built Jaina *chaityas* or temples, which refreshed the eyes of the people. Fifty of his *Vīras* (or Sirdárs) built Jaina temples, after their respective names. Here the episode respecting Pratishthāna comes to an end. The author then recounts the remains of other traditions respecting the life of Sātavāhana. This account is the same as that given in the *Chaturvīṃsatiprabandha* of Rājasekhara. Therein it appears that there was a powerful Bráhmaṇa minister named Śudraka with Sātavāhana, who once recovered the wife of Sātavāhana, who had been carried away; and further that there were fifty warriors living without, and fifty within the city of Pratishthāna at the time of Sātavāhana. Śudraka was made the chief magistrate of the capital by Sātavāhana. On one occasion Sātavāhana lifted up a stone of the size of fifty-two cubits, along with fifty of his officers. Some lifted it an inch, others two inches, while the king lifted it up to his knees. Although Śudraka was then only twelve years of age, he threw up the stone into the skies, and, in falling, it split up into three pieces. One piece fell to a distance of twelve *kos* or twenty-four miles; the second fell into that pool of the *Godāvari* at Paithāna called Nága-rhada [*i. e.* the pool of serpents]; the third is still to be seen at a crossing where four roads meet. Seeing this feat of extraordinary strength, the king invested him with authority. The king's officers only permitted his wielding a stick, but he was not allowed to carry any other weapon. But even with that stick he used to prevent the Sirdárs residing outside the city from coming within its limits, for he feared a disturbance if they came within.

Sātavāhana's end was thus brought about. He became desirous of sexual enjoyment, and every fourth day he married a new virgin from one of the four classes. This went on for some time, when the people became enraged, and a Bráhmaṇa of the village named Vivāhavaṭikā prayed to the goddess Pithajā stating that the king's practice came in the way of their children's marriage. The goddess said that she would become his daughter, and when asked by the king he should bestow her

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\* Country to the south.

on him, when she would chastise him. Accordingly, when the marriage was being performed, and the cloth between the pair was removed, she assumed the form of a fiend and pursued the king, who fled before her, until coming to the Nága-rhada pool, he there jumped in and was drowned. After some time the minister Śudraka also died. The account runs thus :— “ततः शक्तिकुमारो राज्येभिषिक्तः सातवाहनायनिः॥ तदनन्तरं अद्यापि राजा न कश्चित् प्रतिष्ठाने प्रविशति वीरक्षेत्रे इति, i. e. “Thereafter the son Śaktikumára was enthroned king, (and called) Sátaváhanayani. After him there has been no king at Pratishthána, the city of heroes.”

The conclusion of the story is characteristic of a sectarian writer :—

अत्र च यदसंभाव्यं तत्र परसमय एव मं-  
तव्यो हेतुः यन्नासङ्गतवाग्जनो जैनः॥

“Whatever is improbable herein is caused by the writings (or Shástras) of others ; for a *Jaina* is not given to inconsistent (or dishonest) speech.”

The same author—Jinaprabhasúri—has written another chapter on the city of Pratishthána, from which I give the following extracts :—

जीयाज्जैत्रं पत्तनं पूतमेतद्गोदावर्या श्रीप्रतिष्ठानसंज्ञं ॥  
रत्वापीडं श्रीमहाराष्ट्रलक्ष्म्या रम्यं हर्म्यं नेत्रशैत्यैश्च चैत्यैः ॥ १ ॥  
अष्टा षष्टि लौकिका अत्र तीर्था द्वापंचाशज्जज्ञिरे चात्र वीराः ॥  
पृथ्वीशानां न प्रवेशोत्र वीरक्षेत्रत्वेन प्रौढतेजोरवीणां ॥ २ ॥  
नश्यतीति पुटभेदनतोस्मात् षष्टियोजनमितः किल वर्त्म ॥  
बोधनाय भृगुकच्छमगच्छद्वाजितो जिनपतिः कमठाङ्कः ॥ ३ ॥  
अन्वितत्रिनवतेर्नवशत्या अत्ययेत्र शरदां जिनमोक्षात् ॥  
कालको व्यधित वार्षिकमार्यः पर्व भाद्रपदशुक्लचतुर्थ्या ॥ ४ ॥  
तत्तदायतनपंक्तिवीक्षणादत्र मुञ्चति जनो विचक्षणः ॥  
तत्क्षणात्सुरविमानधोरणीश्रीविलोकविषयं कुतूहलं ॥ ५ ॥  
शातवाहनपुरःसरानृपाश्चित्रकारिचरिता इहाभवन् ॥  
दैवतैर्बहुविधैरधिष्ठिते चात्र सत्रसदनान्यनेकशः ॥ ६ ॥  
कपिलात्रेयबृहस्पति पंचाला इह महीभृदुपरोधात् ॥  
न्यस्तस्वचतुर्लक्षग्रंथार्थं श्लोकमेकमप्रथयन् ॥ ७ ॥  
( सचायं श्लोकः ) जीर्णे भोजनमात्रेयः कपिलः प्राणिनोदया ॥  
बृहस्पतिराविश्वासः पंचालस्त्रीषु मार्दवं ॥ ८ ॥

Translation:—"May the city of Pratiśṭhāna, on the Godāvāri, pure and fit for the subduer of enemies, flourish;

A city which is the jewelled head-ornament of the glory of Mahārāsh-  
tra; and which is beautified by pleasure-giving palaces and  
*chaityas*, cooling to the eyes. (1.)

Wherein exist sixty-eight sacred popular places, and wherein fifty-two  
heroes were born, and which is consequently called the city of  
heroes; and

Wherein the [other] kings of the earth glorious-like-the-sun cannot  
effect entrance therein. (2.)

[Fearing] that his religious faith may be destroyed,  
The *Jain* king went on horseback to preach it at Bhṛigu *Kachha* (pro-  
bably Broach), a city 220 *kośa* distant from this city. (3.)

Nine hundred and ninety-three years after the death of the *Jain*  
(king) in this city,

The Ārya [named] Kālaka established an annual festival on the 4th of  
the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada. (4.)

And intelligent persons, having seen the line of temples of gods in this  
city, gave up their desire of witnessing the beauty of the line of  
heavenly cars [called *wimāns*] of the gods. (5.)

In this city flourished Śātavāhana and other kings of singular celebrity;  
And there were likewise Annasatras or houses for the distribution of  
food in this city containing many deities. (6.)

And in consequence of being troubled by the king, [the authors] Kapila,  
Ātreya, Bṛhaspati, and Panchāla published one *śloka* or verse  
containing the drift of their four lākhs of verses. (7.)

(This is the *śloka*.) When food is digested, says Ātreya, dinner [should  
be taken]; Kapila [enjoins] compassion towards animals; Bṛhas-  
pati counsels distrust, and Panchāla, softness towards the female  
sex. (8.)"

From the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and *Chaturvīṁsatiprabandha* it ap-  
pears that, with the aid of *Paṇḍitās*, Śālivāhana composed 400,000  
*gūthās* or *Prākṛit* verses, and denominated it the *kośa* or treasury of  
*gūthās*. And this seems probable. For Bāṇabhaṭṭa writes as follows,  
at the beginning of *Harshacharitra* :—

अविनाशिनमग्राम्यमकरोत्सातवाहनः ॥

विशुद्धजातिभिः कोशं रत्नैरिव सुभाषितः ॥

Translation :—Sātavāhana made the (*gāthā-*) *kosha*, indestructible and faultless.\* The *kosha* (was made) of good verses of approved metres like precious stones.†

Bānabhaṭṭa lived 1200 years ago.

Of the *gāthā-kosha* I have succeeded in obtaining from a Basseen Brāhmaṇa a portion containing seven hundred verses in the Mahārāshṭri form of the Prākṛit. It is entitled the *Śālivāhana-Saptasati*, the seven hundred verses of Śālivāhana. The copy is about a hundred years old. This is a very old work, of an age which may be taken to be contemporaneous with Śālivāhana. The language is Mahārāshṭri-Prākṛit, which requires a commentary to understand it properly. The Marāṭhī is evidently derived from this form of Prākṛit. I append a table of words gathered from the above work :—

महाराष्ट्री प्राकृत.		मराठी.	
Mahārāshṭri-Prākṛita.		Marāṭhī.	English.
( 1 )	अत्ता.	आते.	Father's sister.
( 2 )	सुरई.	सुरत्ये.	Grieves.
( 3 )	पाव.	पाव.	Attain.
( 4 )	आंठो.	ओंठ.	Lip.
( 5 )	तुझें.	तुझें.	Thine.
( 6 )	मझें.	माझें.	Mine.
( 7 )	सिप्पि.	शिंपि.	Shell.
( 8 )	पिकं.	पिकलेले.	Ripe.
( 9 )	पाडि.	पाडी.	A female calf.
( 10 )	चिखिल्लां.	चिखल.	Mud.
( 11 )	फलई.	फाडितो.	Tears.
( 12 )	छिल्ली.	साल.	Bark.
( 13 )	पोट.	पोट.	Stomach.
( 14 )	सोणार.	सोणार.	Goldsmith.
( 15 )	रुंदो.	रुंद.	Wide.
( 16 )	तूपं.	तूप.	Ghee or clarified butter.
( 17 )	मंजरम्.	मांजर.	Cat.
( 18 )	जुण्णं.	जुनें.	Old.
( 19 )	ओल्लं.	ओलें.	Wet.
( 20 )	चुक्कं.	चुकी.	Mistake.
( 21 )	बांड. (vulgar बांडियो.)	मुलगा.	Boy.
( 22 )	भोंडी.	डुकरीग.	A female pig.

\* Free from vulgarisms. † This verse is also capable of another interpretation.

All these words are current in Mahārāshṭra, and they point to the age of this work, and also help us to understand the changes which have taken place in the Marāṭhī language. The oldest Marāṭhī poet whose works are extant is Mukundrāj, who belongs to the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century. His successor Dnyāneśvara wrote his celebrated commentary on the *Bhagavatgītā* in Śāke 1272 or A. C. 1350. Now the difference between the Marāṭhī of Dnyāneśvara and the present Marāṭhī, and that between the Mahārāshṭrī-Prākṛit of *Śālivāhana-Saptaśati* and Dnyāneśvara's Marāṭhī, is so great that we may safely conclude that more than twice the period must have elapsed between the composition of the *Śālivāhana-Saptaśati* and that of the *Dnyāneśvari* that has elapsed since the latter was written. I do not say that the present Marāṭhī is a pure daughter of the Mahārāshṭrī-Prākṛit, in which the *Śālivāhana-Saptaśati* is composed; but I believe it mainly is so; and the time that has certainly passed in the bringing about of certain known changes in the Marāṭhī language is a fair index for judging the age of prior lingual formations from which the Marāṭhī has evidently drawn largely in its construction.\*

There are seven hundred and odd *gāthās* or verses in the above work, divided into seven chapters called *śatakas* or hundreds; and at the end of each chapter is a verse like this:—

रसिअ जणहिअअ दइए कइवच्छल पमूह सुकइ णिम्मविए ॥  
सत्तसतम्मि समत्तं पढमं गाहासअं एअम् ॥

Translation :—Thus ends this first hundred of the *gāthās* out of the *sapta-śatam* (i.e. the seven hundred) made by the chiefs of the great poets headed by *Kavivatsala*, † charming the hearts of the appreciative people.

This work is evidently by Śālivāhana, living on the banks of the Godāvari; for that river is often named, and some description in reference to it occurs here and there. Of mountains, the Vindhya is herein noticed. Verse 64 of the fifth hundred is in praise of Vikramāditya, and the 67th of the same hundred is in praise of Śālivāhana; both of these must be by some one of the six poets other than Śālivāhana.

\* In the 4th *śataka*, 8th verse, there is a reference to *Buddha* and *Bhikṣu saṅgha*, words chiefly in use amongst the Bauddhas; and they point to the remote periods at which this work must have been composed.

† This is the name of Śātavāhana, as appears from verse 3 of the first hundred.

Although it is called *Śālivāhana-saptaśati*, it has not been composed by Śālivāhana alone, because I understand from the commentator's notes that the following poets also contributed to the work :—

- |                |                               |
|----------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Bodissa ;   | 5. Makarandasena ;            |
| 2. Chulluha ;  | 6. Śrīrāja ; and lastly comes |
| 3. Amarrāja ;  | 7. Śālivāhana.                |
| 4. Kumārila ;* |                               |

This poem is a collection of *Prākṛit* songs, abounding in ironical expressions and love-sentiments.

Although the *Jainas* claim Śālivāhana as one of their own, he does not seem to be so. In the *Mangala* or introductory verse, the *Paśupati* or Śiva is distinctly referred to, and a prayer addressed in his honour, which would not have been the case if the prince were a *Jaina*.

In the first *lambaka* (or section) of the *Kathāsaritasāgara* of Bhaṭṭasomeśvara, a king named Śātavāhana and his dependent Guṇādhyā-kavi are mentioned, and a long account is given about them ; but that Śātavāhana is evidently quite different from the Śātavāhana the founder of the era and author of the *Saptaśati*, the subject of this paper. Except this work by Śālivāhana, I think that a very old work by a king in the *Prākṛit* language is not to be found.

There is an old Sanskrit and *Prākṛit* drama by Śudraka, a king, entitled the *Mritśakaṭī* or the Toy-cart ; but its age has not, I think, been yet well determined.

The Śātavāhana mentioned by the *Bṛhatkathā* must have been a contemporary of Nanda, while the Śātavāhana or the Śālivāhana of some of the *Jaina* writers (see the fourth verse in the above extract) would be living at about 466 A.C., or in the 388th year of the Śālivāhana era. The Śālivāhana author of the *gāthā-saptaśati* can be neither the one nor the other, as he is the prince of Pratishṭhāna, whose current era is now in its 1795th year. Some writers appear to me to be confounding this Śālivāhana with the Vikramāditya Śakārī ; but the same works (like the *Saptaśati*) refer to two princes ; and both eras are still current within their respective spheres. The universal and continued practice of Mahārāshṭra, supported by uniform tradition, inclines me to the belief that Śālivāhana was quite distinct from Vikramāditya Śakārī, who reigned at Ujjayinī 135 years before the advent of Śālivāhana.

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\* This is evidently a different Kumārila from the contemporary of Śaṅkarāchārya of that name.





°ΔΠ°ΙΧΓΗΙΧΗΙΗΗΙ  
 ΒΧΒΥΒΒΒΒΒΒΒΒΒΒΒΒ  
 ΥΥΓΟΠΙΥ)ΒΙΣΓΗΗΙΠΠ  
 ΙΘΙΘΒΓΔΥΧΥΘΠΥΓΙΘΥΒ  
 ΥΘΙΠΧΘΙ)ΥΒΥΙΥΘΥΙΥΘ  
 ΙΗΙΧΥ(ΘΠΥΠΓΥΓΥΠΓ  
 ΥΓΓ°ΙΒ)ΒΥΥΓΓΥΥΥΥΥ  
 ΓΥΠΥΘΘΓΓΥΥΥΥΥΥΥ  
 ΒΓΥΥΥΥΥΥΥΥΥΥΥΥΥΥ  
 ΟΠ(ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ

ART. XIII.—*Twelve Sabæan Inscriptions*. By E. REHATSEK, M.C.E.,  
Member of the Senate of the University of Bombay, Hon. M.  
B. Br. R. A. S.

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Read 21st March 1874.

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As the reduced copies here given are facsimiles made by me on a smaller scale from my original estampages, they will show that these inscriptions belong to different periods of time, and are sculptured in various styles. Of nine slabs, all of which are yellow and extremely hard stones, only one (VIII.) is entire, but there is also another (IX.) the inscription of which, although not mutilated, is only a fragment taken from a larger monument composed of several, perhaps of many, stones; indeed there is no doubt that the walls of many public buildings bore inscriptions.

The three metal tablets (X., XI., XII.) are quite perfect, although greenish from verdigris. Their inscriptions are *in relief*, and must have been cast. The four corners have holes for nails or rings.

#### I.

The arrows indicate the direction in which lines 6, 8 and 10 must be read.

..... ו יאם דת כלחן עבר ע	1.
..... ביקד numerals מנהמחם	2.
..... ב בן בסלם דרן בעל נה	3.
..... ביק להב דחחפסכו ו	4.
..... ון אוחן ימחן קרבן ו	5.
→ ..... קנ קהנלהג קב ודחח קא	6.
..... מן עמאכל המדס אל ה	7.
→ ..... יב ילא קנהחא קדעה קנ	8.
..... בהג מהבת כבא גי קדלם	9.
→ ..... הסעב עלאז לשי קב ברנע	10.

1. M. Halévy has to Os. 26 עברו “*à celles qui sont enceintes, grosses chez lui.*”

2. There is no doubt that the figures enclosed by the two ladders on the facsimile are numerals, but it is uncertain whether the sign 4 is to be considered as the lower part of 𐩺 whose numerical value is always = 5, or as the upper part of 𐩻 whose value is always = 1000. In the former instance the whole number would be 23, and in the latter 4003.

3. The words in this line are nearly all well known, except the fragments at the two extremities.

4. Totally unknown to me.
5.  $\text{𐩦𐩣}$  pl. of  $\text{𐩦𐩣}$  "idol," occurs also in line 8, and further on in V. lines 4 and 7.
6. Part of this phrase occurs also in V. 5, from which the last word  $\text{𐩦𐩣}$ , which is here fragmentary, can be completed, thus  $\text{𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣}$ .
7.  $\text{𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣}$  "fruits."
9.  $\text{𐩦𐩣}$  the first word of this line occurs also in another inscription, Z. d. D. M. G. XXVI., where it is taken for a man's name by Prætorius, and  $\text{𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣}$  is also considered one by Halévy. *Saba* is well known.
10. "A'qrah the son of Yashal," in another inscription Yabshal.

## II.

Slab, long 21·7, broad 13·6 inches; reduced by me to one-third. The letters are all *in relief*, and the four sides are mutilated as in I.; moreover the stone is broken, and a line on the facsimile shows the triangular piece thus separated.

..... 𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣	1.
..... 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣	2.
..... 𐩦𐩣 (gap) 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣	3.
..... 𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣	4.
..... 𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣	5.
..... 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣	6.
..... 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣	7.
..... 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣	8.
..... 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣	9.

In inscriptions carved *in relief*, the letters  $\text{𐩦}$ ,  $\text{𐩣}$ ,  $\text{𐩦}$  are confounded more easily than in others, but especially  $\text{𐩦}$  and  $\text{𐩣}$ ; also in other respects they are more difficult to decipher than the more common ones where the letters are excavated. Here nevertheless the locality "Saba," the tribe "Beni Hotaimah," a man's name "Ahab son of," and the region "Tahamah," i. e. low-country, and the root  $\text{𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣}$  can be made out with certainty in lines 4, 5, 6, 8, and 10.

## III.

Inscription 18 inches long and 13·5 broad, incomplete on all sides. Also *in relief* and nearly in the same style as II., but in some places the sculptor had merely begun, or rather indicated, the letters, and had left them unfinished without excavating the space around them properly; this is the cause of the indistinctness appearing on the facsimile (reduced

# LABEAN INSCRIPTIONS.

E.

occurs also in line 8, and further as

urs also in V. 5, from which the  
; can be completed, thus

is line occurs also in another  
; it is taken for a man's name at the  
ed one by Hal'vy. *Saba* is  
"sabal," in another inscription

## II.

inches; reduced by me to one third.  
d the four sides are  
and a line on the facsimile

יהוה כחדי כח	1.
אני כח עמ	2.
ד (ק) עמ	3.
ע כח כח	4.
ה בני חזקת	5.
ד חס חלח	6.
אנחם אהח	7.
נא על חזק	8.
דח יהוה קע	9.

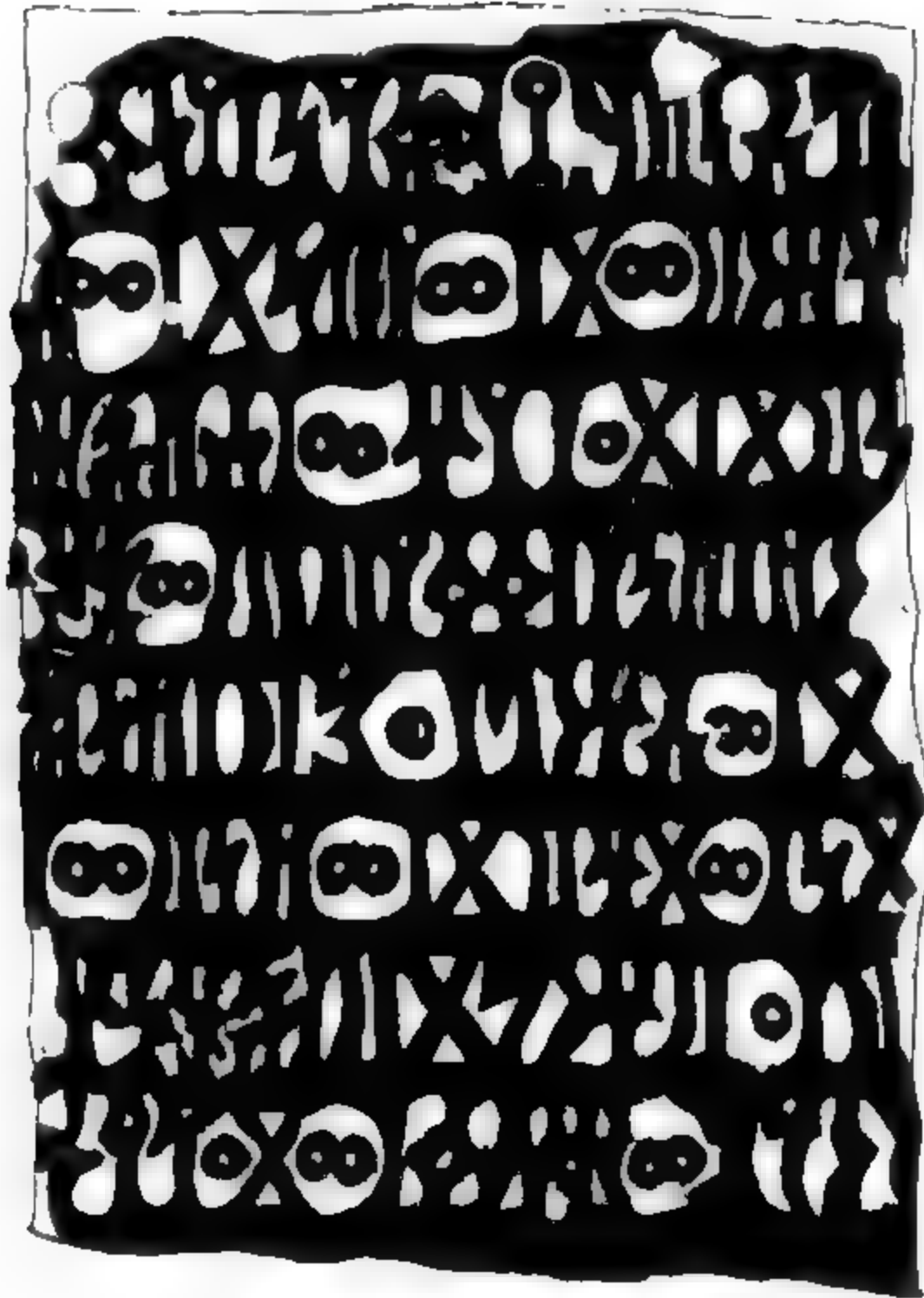
Here, the letters *כ*, *ב*, *ו* are common  
especially *נ* and *י* also in other  
her than the more common ones  
here nevertheless the locality  
man's name "Alah son of"  
untry, and the root *נ-ח* can be read  
8, and 10.

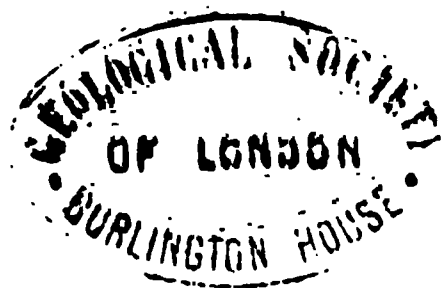
## III.

and 13.5 broad, incomplete on the  
the same style as II., but in some parts  
or rather indicated, the letters, and in  
avating the space around the proper  
tness appearing on the facsimile



III









48410Π) 414Π  
 0 8180Ψ 0ΠΠ  
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 70ΠΠΠ 0ΠΠ 0Ψ( )  
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by me to one-fourth), especially at the end of the penultimate line. This fragment is nevertheless interesting, as every line contains the names of localities or persons.

- |                               |    |
|-------------------------------|----|
| ..... לכן מהדאגן ינק .....    | 1. |
| ..... הדרמות וימנה וא .....   | 2. |
| ... הדמת תע ידו סבא ד .....   | 3. |
| ..... רב בני קקים מואה .....  | 4. |
| ..... ת וסדורל עסם בן א ..... | 5. |
| ..... תן ותהמת ובנמ .....     | 6. |
| ..... מ עמהלתם אהנה .....     | 7. |
| ..... רי וחקסק והעני .....    | 8. |

1. Here we have לכן מהדאגן [מ] "Our king Marsadajan," the initial מ being supplied by me.

2. Names of the provinces הדרמות "Hazramout" and ימנה "Yemen."

3. Town of סבא Saba.

4. Name of the tribe בני קקים "Beni Kaikim."

5. Proper noun א סדורל עסם בן א "Saharal A'sm son of A."

6. Name of the low-country תהמת Tahamah, as in II. 8, and בנמי "their sons."

7, 8, contain no words known to me.

#### IV.

This inscription, although fragmentary like the preceding one, looks wonderfully fresh, with all the letters expressed sharply and distinctly ; it must have been entirely preserved from atmospheric influences and contact with moist soil ; it is 18 inches long and 11 broad, and was reduced by me to one-fourth of its original dimensions. Here the reading goes alternately from right to left *et vicissim*, as marked by the arrows.

- |                            |     |
|----------------------------|-----|
| ..... בן ארבע אמי .....    | 1.  |
| → ..... אב כדעש הלש .....  | 2.  |
| ..... לן נון בסב .....     | 3.  |
| → ..... תדה עבסו נבק ..... | 4.  |
| ..... מ ולכר בן ספר .....  | 5.  |
| → ..... נבק ולדנ ח .....   | 6.  |
| ..... אל נהלן נקבן .....   | 7.  |
| → ..... תלא תעלא שב לא ... | 8.  |
| ..... כתבת סמעה יקב .....  | 9.  |
| → ..... בה נב רמאכלה נ ... | 10. |

1. Contains only three words ; the two first are easily recognized as designating "son" and the numeral "four;" the third is imperfect.
2. Here  $\text{שלֵּה}$  "and three," one of the forms in which that numeral sometimes occurs, can be recognized, but  $\text{שעדה}$  is obscure to me.
3. This line appears to contain only one entire word, namely,  $\text{סר}$ .
4.  $\text{נקבן}$  ( $\text{نقب}$  *perfodit*), as in I. 6,  $\text{וסבז}$  "and seven;" the last word is incomplete.
5.  $\text{לכרֵ בן ססר}$  "and Lakaz son of Safar."
6. Again  $\text{נקבן}$   $\text{מהלן}$ . Conf. I. 6 and V. 5.
7. Exactly the same words again, but preceded by  $\text{א}$ .
8. In this line the lozenge-shaped  $\text{ב}$  is perhaps to be read as *waw*.
9. Here we meet with three words whose roots appear to be  $\text{نبت}$   $\text{قام}$  and  $\text{عومع}$  but there is also a goddess called  $\text{ססר}$ .
10. Here the words "Halkámar son of Tab..." plainly indicate the direction of the reading, and the usual one would give no sense.

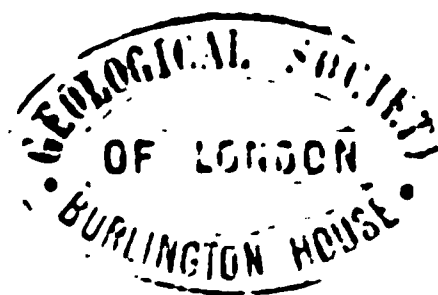
## V.

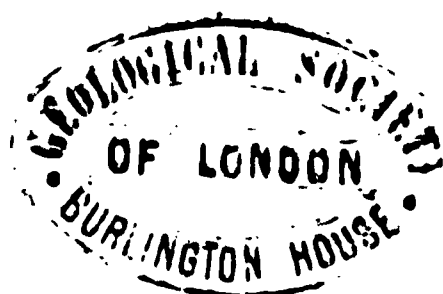
This inscription, which is likewise damaged on the sides, but the letters whereof are extremely distinct, measures 18 inches in length and 14 in breadth ; it was reduced by me to one-fourth of its dimensions from my original estampage. Fashion of reading precisely as in IV.

... $\text{נען}$ $\text{לנהלן}$ $\text{נען}$ ...	1.
→ ... $\text{נינולא}$ $\text{חעלא}$ $\text{בקעה}$ ...	2.
... $\text{בעל}$ $\text{נהלן}$ $\text{נקבן}$ $\text{סבכ}$ ...	3.
→ ... $\text{נהואו}$ $\text{הנבקש}$ $\text{ו}$ ...	4.
... $\text{בין}$ $\text{מהלנהן}$ $\text{נקבן}$ $\text{ונ}$ ...	5.
→ ... $\text{רבע}$ $\text{זוכל}$ $\text{זוענ}$ ...	6.
... $\text{נען}$ $\text{אנהנן}$ $\text{מדה}$ ...	7.
→ ... $\text{קנו}$ $\text{זוענ}$ $\text{הנלהנ}$ ...	8.
... $\text{בן}$ $\text{כל}$ $\text{עשרם}$ $\text{וארכם}$ ...	9.

1. The word  $\text{נען}$  occurs here also in lines 6, 7, and 8, nearly always in connection with  $\text{נהלן}$ .
2. The root  $\text{נקב}$  is no doubt the same with  $\text{عقب}$  and  $\text{نقبت}$  occurs also in IV. 8.









3. Here the first word is the well-known בַּל the god Ba'l, lord, husband, owner, inhabitant; the second and third are exactly as in IV. 6, 7.

4. Here וַעֲבַדוּ is of the same root as in line 2. Again אֵהָן as in line 7 and I. 8.

5. בִּן מַלְחָה נִקְּבָן nearly as in line 6 and IV. 6.

6. Again נִעַן as in line 1 and the עַ of I. 1.

7. Again נִעַן with the אֵהָן of I. 8.

8. The mutilations of this line are to be supplemented as follows:—  
לְמַלְחָה נִעַן וַעֲבַדוּ

9. Here both עַר (*pulverem sparsit*) and אֵרַם (رَقَرَق *origo in tenui, tantum, tantillum, q. d. tenue quid*) appear to refer to something slight.

## VI.

This inscription, 18 inches long and 12 broad, was reduced by me, from my original estampage of it, to one-fourth. The large initial ר enclosed in a quadrangle, and standing out *in relief*, is a peculiarity. One corner of the inscription is lost, but a few lines are complete, as may be easily seen below in lines 11 and 12 from the words בְּהֵלֵם הַנָּהָר “in the vicinity of our town.”

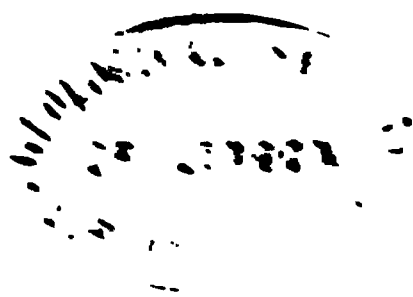
רַם רַם יְהֵם	1.
ן וְשִׁדְעֵלִי הַל	2.
רַחֵן אֲדָם מֶלֶךְ הַקֵּץ	3.
הַמִּזְרָא אֶלְמֶקָה בַּעַל אֶרְעֵלְצִו	4.
מִן וְדִהֲבֵן הַמִּדָּם בֵּית הַמִּזְרָא	5.
אֶלְמֶקָה בְּמִסְאֵלָהּ לִסְבָּא וְ	6.
כִּי הָא אֶלְרַם בַּעַל שַׁעֲבֵן סַבָּא ו	7.
שַׁבֵּן וְתַקְדִּימָהּ שַׁעֲדִתְאֵלְבֵּד	8.
דָּנָם יוֹם מִכְּזוֹ וְצִבְנָא עֲדִי ס	9.
רַחֵן וְהָא אֶדְמֶר אֶלְמֶקָה עַבְדֵּהּ	10.
אֶלְרַם הַל אֶסֶם בַּעַל בְּהֵלֵם הַ	11.
נָהָר מִדִּימָתָם וְעֵסֶם שִׁנִּים ו	12.
מִלְתָּם דִּהֲרִצִּימָהּ וְהִמֵּד א	13.
לֶרַם חַל וּמֶקֶם כִּדְאֶדְמֶר אֶלְ	14.
בֵּית הַנָּהָר .....	15.

1. The word “Ras” often designates a promontory, but it is very doubtful whether it has that signification here.



2. שדחא may be the name of a person, or perhaps even of a locality.
3. אדם כלן "the servants (men) of our king;" דקנ wants only a *yod* to mean "he dedicated," but this or some other termination is broken off.
4. The peculiarity of this line is that it contains only one stroke of separation, and that the name of the divinity "Almaqqahu" is melted into one word with בל and אדלח.
5. Here we have the locality. Z Z Haban as in X. 1, and the goddess of Hamran דת דמן.
6. Again, the divinity "Almaqqahu" with the town "Saba" and the words אלקד במלחא לבא would mean "Almaqqahu in her grace for Saba."
7. אדם may just as plausibly be read אד and occurs also in lines 11 and 14. The words בל דמן אדם mean "by our people (of) Saba."
8. שדחא requires a stroke of separation between ל and ח; there is no doubt that שדחא Sa'datel (felicity of God) is a man's name, and in that case ח must be "son."
9. The phrase : דמ דמ דמ דמ דמ דמ is to be translated: "and Sa'datel son of Danm attacked them on the day Matow with the army."
10. The words אד אלקד דמ are intelligible singly, but the sense of the phrase is obscure to me on account of the obscure word אד which precedes them.
11. Again אד or אד with several unknown words.
12. Here only the words, already mentioned above, "In the vicinity of our town" are intelligible to me.
13. Unintelligible. M. Halévy reads ד by "fueron" and ד by "non dicitur."
14. ד Here the inscription terminates the word "majesty."
15. ד By





tence; and, as will be observed from the line passing through the facsimile, the right-hand upper corner is broken off.

..... תבם (?) הוחרשלת	1.
..... רבחת יחבל בנו חצ	2.
..... יהודם הקניו שים	3.
... חאלב רמם עדי חרעת	4.
..... צגמן הלן סחולחו ע	5.
..... הו נשארב בן תצה	6.
..... נמי יהחון טרמעת	7.
..... תצה בן מרז מרז בי	8.
..... ם ך יקנימו צלם	9.
..... ם ודמהו ודמהם זה	10.
..... נשארב חממו ח	11.
..... חמם בדת אמו (?) ח	12.

1. Only one stroke of separation occurs in this line, and therefore the second word is rather long. Both words are fragments apparently.

2. Yahaqbel is a man's name, and so is Tazah, the last letter of which is wanting, but the word is complete in lines 6 and 8.

3. Here the only word "he has dedicated" is complete.

4. The word חאלב occurs also in X. 6 and *ibid.* line 8. רמם with the mimation occurs also in VIII. 1.

5. סחולחו a verb of the 10th conjugation with pronominal suffix; it would be better to read חלן for חלן to make it "because."

6. Plainly "Neshákarib the son of Tazah."

7. Wholly unintelligible to me.

8. This is again distinct; the first letter is no doubt the final *nun* of the word בן and the reading of the whole line is "(he was the) son of Tazah son of Marz; Marz (was the) son of..." the last wanting letter was also probably *nun*, although the facsimile shows *ya* indistinctly.

9. Here we have יקנימו "they have dedicated or presented it;" the word צלם is no doubt connected with ظلم &c.

10. The root ذبح may be twice discovered in the words ודמהו ודמה.

11. Again "Neshákarib," as in line 6 and חממו.

12. The same root חמ as in the preceding line, but with mimation.

The lower portions of the letters are wanting, but the words **רַיִם** **נִח** are entire.

## VIII.

This inscription, 20 inches long and 6·7 broad, is complete, and was reduced by me to one-fifth :—

הַשְׁעִיתָ הַחֵהוּ וְנִחְמִי בְנוֹ רַיִם הָהִי	1.
הָהִי לְבַעַל בְּחֵהְמוֹ מִדֶּן הָקָן קִהְמוֹ ב	2.
מִסְאֵלָה לְשִׁחְמוֹ וְעַיִ אֶקְהֵמוֹ הָהִי	3.
זִשְׁחֵמוֹ נִחְמֵם	4.

1. In **הַשְׁעִיתָ** the final **ה** is not necessarily a feminine termination, and I prefer to consider it as a masculine. All the other words are well fixed, and *Ruim* occurs also in VII. 4.

2. The most plausible letter to fill in the first lacuna of one character appears to me to be **ר**, and about the second there can be no doubt, as the upper part of it is perfect.

3. M. Halévy has (*J. A.* 1873, p. 321 *seqq.*) for **לְשִׁחְמוֹ** “*qu’il les bénisse,*” and elsewhere for **לְשִׁחְמוֹ בְּחֵהְמוֹ** “*pour le salut de la maison de Silhin ;*” accordingly I do not hesitate to supply the lacuna of one letter which occurs in this line by the letter **ו** and the word will be **וְעַיִ**.

4. **אֶקְהֵמוֹ** with pronominal suffix, is the plural of **קָהֵ** “property, possession, acquisition;” for the only word of this inscription **וְעַיִ** obscure to me, which ought to present no very great difficulty on account of its well-known surroundings, I am nevertheless unable to propose a better approximation than **ضاعف** “to double, to augment.” Or **אבסcondit**.

*Translation :—*

Hofa’sat and his brother, with their sons the Benu Raim, have renovated to Ba’l their house Madfan (lit. sepulchre), because he has heard them in his grace ; May he bless and protect (or save) their possessions, in order to augment their prosperity !

## IX.

This fragment is extremely distinct, and appears to contain a caligraphical vagary in the enormous size of the last letter of the first, and the entanglement of the same in the second line. It is 12 inches long and 8 broad, and was reduced by me to one-fourth.

יִשְׁחֵמוֹ הָהִי	1.
וְעַיִ בְּחֵהְמוֹ	2.











1. Here only the word וּשְׁ "and stone" is complete.
2. Only מִמָּחָן is complete ; the word מִמָּח occurs in VI. 9 as the name of a day.

X.

This metal tablet is perfect, as well as the two following ones, with which it seems to be contemporaneous, as the style of writing is exactly the same in all three, only the letters are somewhat smaller in XII. This tablet is 10·8 inches long and 8·4 broad, and my facsimile is one-fourth of these dimensions.

שִׁלְמָן דִּדְ הַבֵּן דִּב	1.
קִדְם יִבֵּן וּמִשֵּׁל	2.
מִן דְּמִישַׁע דִּדְ הַב	3.
ן וּחִקְדִם מִעֲדָרִים	4.
אֵלֶן מִדְּעִתָּן בָּה	5.
גִּב מוֹצֵחַ חֲאֵלֵב ו	6.
יּוֹם חִקְדִם מִמָּחַ מ	7.
קִלְחִם עֵדִי קִדְם כ	8.
וּחֵן יּוֹם הַעֲדִיב	9.
אֲדִם חִדְקֵן עֵדֵי ד	10.

1. The word ZZ Haban occurs in lines 3, 4, and also in VI. 5. דִּב which occurs also in the last line of XI., has, it appears to me, not yet obtained a fixed signification : it may be "to, towards, near."

2. שִׁלְמָן has, according to the *Z. d. D. M. G.* XXIV. p. 189, the meaning of "statue, title, monument."

3. מִישַׁע is a locality.

4, 5. חִקְדִם and מִדְּעִי both occur in another inscription in the following phrase :—יּוֹם חִקְדִם מִדְּעִי צִוְּמָן וּמִדְּעִי קִבְלָחֵן rendered by Prætorius : *Am Tage da kämpfte das Dorf jener Feinde von uns und das Dorf unseres Stammes.*"

6. For הַב we have גִּבָּו "*ils ont fait invasion*" (Halévy).

7. מִמָּח is 100 according to Halévy 598-4 ; 466.

8, 9, 10. For עֲדִיב Halévy gives the meaning of "*réparer, recompense,*" but renders the phrase עֲדִיב מִמָּח by "*il se retira d'elle :*" accordingly we have here two meanings for a word the signification of which does not appear yet well settled.

*Translation:—*

Monument of Z Z Haben near Qadim Yabin (or Eastern Yabin) and monument of Z. My'a' Z Z Haben. And Ma'hr attacked our village at the invasion of Moses Takh. And the day of the attack is the one hundredth Maqar: near Qadim Koren (or Eastern Koren); and the day of the reparation, or retreat, is Adaf Habagan A.H. D.

## XI.

Bronze tablet the size of X, also reduced by me to one-fourth.

ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	1
ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	2
ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	3
ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	4
ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	5
ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	6
ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	7
ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	8
ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	9
ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ	10

In this inscription there are several new unknown words and those which are not in the Sigeur as far as yet well fixed. One of these is ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ which is by M. Elliott rendered by "repairing" and also by "retiring;" and in the latter meaning also P. Jacquier agrees with him, as he translates the phrase ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ in X. like him by "or hielt von ihr ab."

Of ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ M. Elliott says: "Le signification de ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ est obscure, le sens de ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ est connu dans le plus grand des cas où il se présente." *Journal Asiatique* 1874, No. 7, Octobre, p. 122. The same ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ is in the Z. & H. M. G. XXIV. translated by "Festung," e. g. ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ "we haben geschrieben diese Inschrift in dieser Festung."

It is a phrase where also the locality mentioned in X 3 appears to be with the addition of ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ translated by "vicinity, environs:"

ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ "Istina Sina der Schöpfung hat  
a ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ der Sina der Inschrift von Ma'hrat mit dem

In the Z. & H. M. G. p. 23, the same word is  
translated: "Sie haben geschickt

It is the present inscription and the word so

translated (or surrounded)," as is custom-

ary also in India, where the walking round a temple also constitutes an act of devotion. **מַרְרַם סַבָּא** is by M. Halévy translated "*la plaine (cultivée) de Saba*," and in the *Z. d. D. M. G.* by "*Der starke (geehrte) von Seba*."

As the interpretation of this inscription is sure afterwards to become a subject of controversy, I cannot venture to give one.

## XII.

This is a votive tablet 6·5 inches long and 4·3 broad, reduced by me to one-fourth of its original dimensions. It is remarkable for the occurrence of proper names of men and of idols, among which that of A'star, the Semitic Astarte, occurs twice. The frequency with which the mimation is used here is also remarkable. The A'star of Kabazm might mean "the Egyptian A'star."

קדמם ומע	1.
דָּרַם עֵתָם ו	2.
הָפָר וּבֶלֶק	3.
ס כַּעֲזָרָרִי	4.
קבֹּדִם וּד	5.
ס וּנְטָרָהִים	6.
וּשְׁתָּרִי	7.
דַּק וְדָתָן	8.

### *Translation :—*

(This tablet was dedicated by) Kadmm and Ma'zrm and A'sm and Sakar and Balakm to (the honour of) A'star of Kabazm and (to) Voddm and (to) Nakrahm and (to) A'star of Haraq and (to) the goddess of N.

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ART. XIV.—*Explanations and Facsimiles of eight Arabic Talismanic Medicine-Cups.* By E. REHATSEK, M.C.E.

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Read 21st March 1874.

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A TALISMAN, <sup>س/و</sup> طلسم Τέλεσμα, is a magic figure carved on metal or stone under certain favourable conjunctions of some planets or horoscopes, said to impart peculiar efficacy to the object thus treated. In the present instance this object is a brass cup inscribed with various magic figures, amulets, sentences from the Qorán, and also certain “hocus-pocus” words in a pretended secret character, which on a closer examination appears to consist of very few signs, often repeated, and apparently used only *ad terrorem populi*, although each of these signs may possibly represent the initial or the whole name of some holy personage, since, according to the علم حروف or science of letters, almost every letter of the alphabet may in writings of this kind represent the name of some well-known sacred person. Thus the first letter *Alef*, which is a perpendicular stroke, expresses the name of God as the granter of wishes. The letters ب and ت represent Amed and Mahmood as names of Muhammad, خ A’li, ط David, &c. This treatment of a cup imparts to it great virtue, and enhances its price far above its intrinsic value as a little brass vessel. Cups of this kind are common enough in Muhammadan countries, but, as far as I am aware, none of them have ever been described or represented by drawings, and translations of their inscriptions and magic figures in any European language, and may therefore be considered a novelty. The eight cups in the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society I now proceed to describe as follows —

I.

This cup is the smallest, and only 3·2 inches in diameter and 1·1 deep. The hexagonal star which occurs here four times, namely, once in the trilingual amulet (to be described immediately) in the shape of two triangles intersecting each other, and thrice close to it, also forming a similar hexagonal star, but drawn all in one piece and marking four points near the two magic circles intersecting, is well known over the whole world, seems to be very ancient, originally of Eastern origin, and

# FACSIMILES of EIGHT TALISMANIC MEDICINE CUPS.

BY E. REHATSEK

## I. Concave Side.





is a Masonic symbol likewise ; in German it is called “*Drachenfuss*,” the dragon-foot, and in India it is called *Svastika* in Sanskrit,\* but among Moslems it is known as the seal of Solomon the son of David.

The first character of the so-called trilingual amulet, worn also on the arm to ward off all diseases and all kinds of misfortunes, is the just-described seal of Solomon the prophet. This amulet is also believed to contain the ineffable name of God, but the strangest of all is that, although short, it is stated to contain 5 verses from the Pentateuch, 5 from the Qorán, 5 from the Psalms of David, and 5 from the Evangel, i.e. New Testament. If the amulet engraved on this cup be compared with its description in books, which is as follows, it will be found to be a perfectly faithful representation :—“The seal of Solomon, three perpendicular strokes, the letter م, a ladder with three cross bars, then four perpendicular strokes, the letter s in the shape of a blacksmith’s bellows with the spout turned downwards, and lastly the letter و upside down with its tail prolonged over the whole upper part of the amulet, leaving a break only over the ladder.” To the right of this amulet are the two intersecting magic circles already mentioned, inscribed with characters known probably to the maker of the talisman only, but more likely having no meaning whatever, and intended only for a “hocus-pocus.”

The numbers inscribed on the two magic squares between which an incantation (to be explained presently) is inserted are such that their

6	7	2
1	5	9
8	3	4

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

sum in any direction makes fifteen. A magic square is in Arabic called *Shakal turábi* شكل تراي and its numbers may, by means of the Abujad, easily be converted into letters,

but on doing so with the squares here shown no sense will appear, unless some mystic signification be attributed to the words so formed. Thus the second of the above squares gives بطد رهج واح without any sense, unless we insist on interpreting these artificial words according to the “science of letters” alluded to above, in which case بطد will mean *Ahmed* (another form of the name of Muhammad), *Davud*, and *Hasan*, and so on, each letter being understood to represent a name. Magic squares were unknown in Europe before the 14th century.

\* The mystic cross is also called by this name. See *Ind. Ant.* May 1873, p. 135.



The incantation inscribed between the two magic squares is as follows :—

سارا سارا راي سارا سارا كا را تور بور و نوي تابن ياما  
ارما اصاد يا طوطوطو طو صامورن ايلمورس يا سرکاي کاهن  
طو طو ايلموس کا يا و نوداس ومن يتوکل علی الله فهو حسبه  
ان الله بالغ امره والصلاة والسلام علی سيدنا محمد و اله الطاهرين

Translation :—

Sára Sára rái sára sáraká rá iur [*or tur or bur*] iur wa nui iabin [*or tabin or batin &c.*] iá má ársá ásád ia [*or ta, &c.* and so of all the other words having no points and no sense] tu tu tu tu katu sámurn ailmurs iasrkái kahn tu tu ailmús kaia wa iudás, “and who trusts in God, He will be his sufficient support ; verily God will cause him to attain his object (*Qorún*, LXV. 3)” benediction and salutation to our lord Muhammad and to his pure family.

The gibberish of this incantation is believed to consist of Syriac or Hebrew words ; and the word Sára, which occurs several times, is considered to refer to Sarah the wife of Abraham, who obtained a happy childbirth in her old age, and after despair.

After the incantation just described comes the following passage :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحمان اذا السما انشقت و اذنت لربها و حقت  
و اذا الارض مدت و اقلت ما فيها كذلك تلقى الحامل [sic]  
الجنين سالما باذن الله والله يخرجكم اخراجا فان مع العسر يسرا  
ان مع العسر يسرا انعرف ايها القولنج بانوح تنوح كلوخ كلخ الم  
المر الح م ع س ق ك ه ي ع ص ط ه ط س م ي س ن

Translation :—

“In the name of God, the merciful, the clement ! When the firmament shall be split, and shall obey its Lord, and shall be capable thereof, and when the earth shall be stretched out and shall cast forth what is therein (*Qorán*, LXXXIV. 1—3)” in the same way shall a pregnant woman cast forth the embryo safely by the permission of God, and God will deliver you with a deliverance. “Verily with a difficulty there will be relief, verily with a difficulty there will be relief [XCIV. 5 and 6].” Depart, O colic ! With wailing thou shalt wail Kalúkh Kalakh. Alm. Almr. Alr. H. M. A'. S. Q. K. H. Y. A'. S. T. H. T. S. M. Y. S. N.

The letters which terminate this passage are mystic, and have not yet been satisfactorily explained by any one, nor ever will. They are prefixed to certain chapters of the Qorán, which they are also here intended to designate. The engraver has written some of these letters disjointed, and I here transcribe them, as they occur in every copy of the Qorán, the numbers of the respective chapters whereof thus designated I also append:— الم (II. and III.) الر (XIII.) (X., XI.), XII., XIV., XV.) حم عسق (XL.) ك (L.) كهيعص (XIX.) LXVIII.) ن XXXVI.) يسس (XXVI.) طسم (XX.) طه. Attempts are not wanting purporting to explain the signification of these letters; but as they are based on mere suppositions, and do not agree with each other, it would be useless to insert any.

The only writing which remains to be noticed is a spiral incantation beginning with the words *Sara Sara* in the smallest spiral, and of the same kind as between the two magic squares transcribed above; it contains no sense. The same is the case with the Arabic characters under the amulet, and with the talismanic letters over the right magic square.

The quadruped represented in the centre of the cup is evidently intended for a mad dog, with its tongue hanging out, but the tail curled upwards is a sign of health, and not of hydrophobia. Here also a scorpion and a serpent (to be alluded to presently in the inscription of the convex side) are portrayed, but I have no idea what the two beasts with their curiously intertwined tails are intended to represent. There is nothing more on the concave side.

As the convex side of the cup merely contains one inscription, and nothing more, I considered it useless to give a facsimile of it. The inscription is as follows:—

تذفع هذا الطامة المباركة للسعة الحية و العترب و لعطة [for لعضة]  
الكلب الكلب و لعسر الولد و لقطع الرعاف و المغل و للقولنج شرب  
بها الملسوع او رسوله ثلاث مرات يبرا باذن الله و لعسر الولد ماء زعفران  
و لقطع الرعاف و المغل يذشق بالماء منه و للقولنج ينجرع منه ماء حار  
صحيح مجرب

Translation:—

This blessed cup is useful against the sting of a serpent, a scorpion, and the bite of a mad dog; for difficult childbirth, hæmorrhage, belly-

ache and colic. The person stung, or his messenger, is to drink thrice from it, and he will get well by the permission of God. For difficult childbirth, saffron-water; for stopping hæmorrhage and belly-ache, water; and for the colic, hot water, is to be sipped from it. This is correct and tried.

## II.

This cup measures 5·2 inches in diameter and one inch in depth. The concave side contains six circles, each with a drawing, and the letters in these look as if they were Hebrew, and the word over the horse, which may also represent a donkey, might easily be read *והח*. These kinds of words are also on the four sides of the square at the bottom of the cup. The magic word in secret characters written in the smaller circle is repeated six, and that in the larger circle eight times. Each of the six compartments between the circles containing the talismanic figures of animals contains an Arabic inscription which I now proceed to transcribe and to translate:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ولقد نادانا نوح فنعم المجيبون فنجينا  
واهلك من الكرب العظيم

“In the name of God the merciful, the clement! Noah called out to us and we heard him graciously; and we delivered him and his family out of the great distress (XXXVII. 73, 74).”

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اذا السما انشقت واذنت لربها وحقت  
واذا الارض مدت والقت الحامل وادها

“In the name of God, the merciful, the clement! When the firmament shall be split, and shall obey its Lord, and shall be capable thereof, and when the earth shall be stretched out (LXXX. 1-3)” and the pregnant woman cast forth her child. (The last line is illegible, as may be seen from the facsimile.)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال اتقها يا موسى فالتقاها فاذا هي حية  
تسعى قال حذها ولا تخف

“In the n. o. G. t. m. t. c. ! *God* said: Cast it down, O Moses, and he cast it down, and lo, it was a serpent, which ran about. *God* said:

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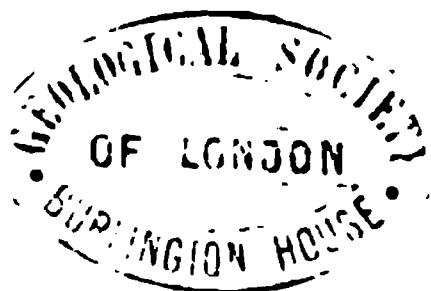
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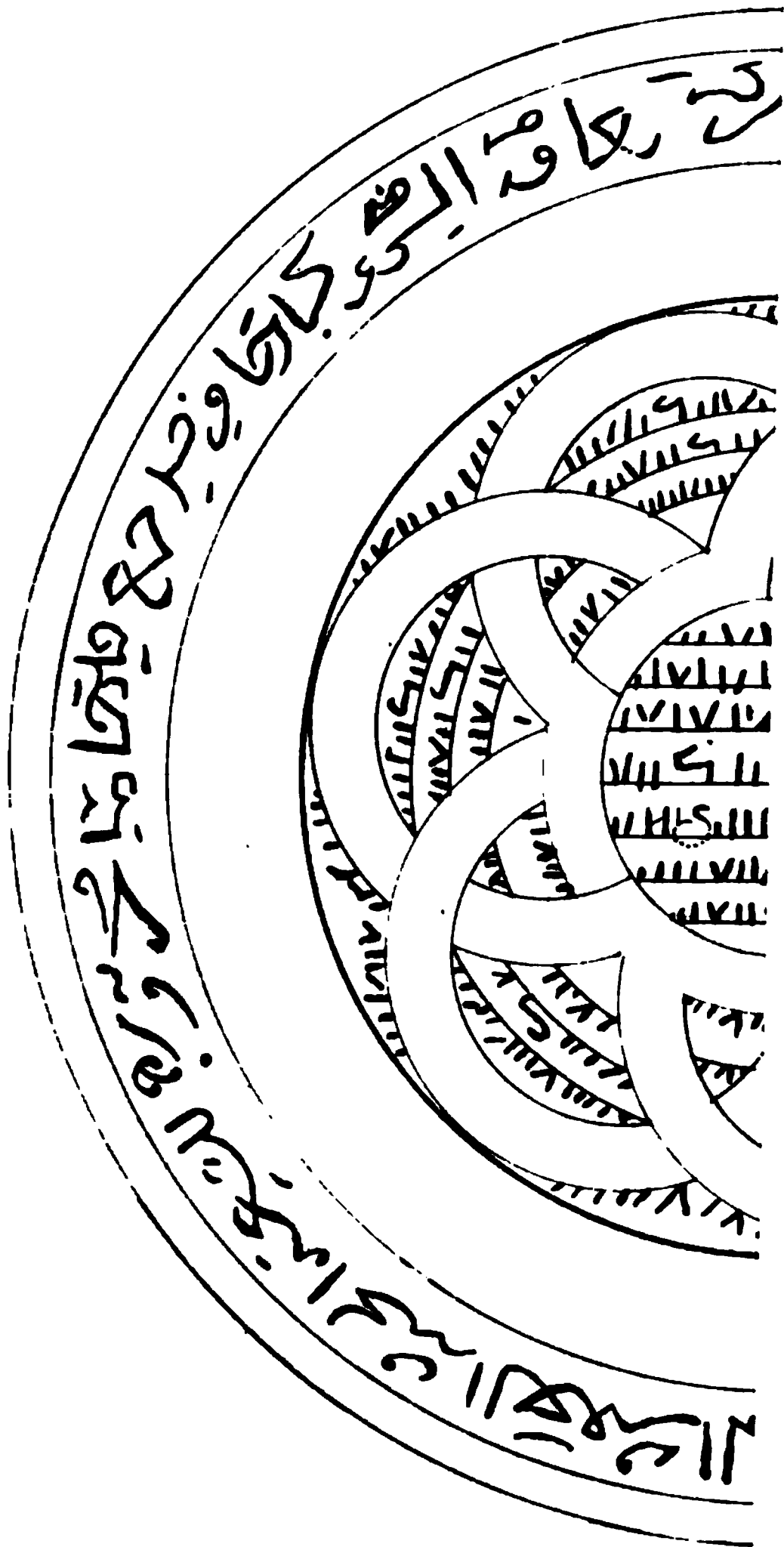
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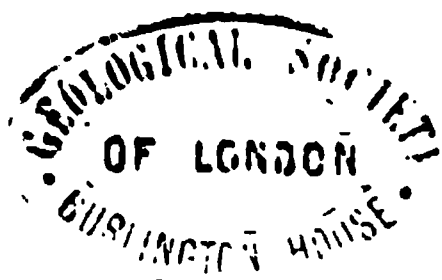
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Take hold of it and fear not [XX. 20-22]". (Here the last line is in secret characters.)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم سارا سارا راکا سارا کا طا کا طوا  
واسلام على نوح فى العالمين

In t. n. o. G. t. m. t. c. ! Sárá sárá ráká sáráká tá ká tua "and salutation to Noah in both worlds (*i.e.* in this and the next). [XXXVII. 77.]"

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الم تر الى الذين خرجوا من ديارهم  
وهم الوف حذر الموت فقال لهم الله موتوا ثم احياهم

"In t. n. o. G. t. m. t. c. ! Hast thou not seen those who went out of their country, although they were thousands, for fear of death? and God said unto them, Die! then he revived them. (II. 244.)"

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الم تر الى كيف مد اظلى و لو شاء  
لجعلها ساكنا

"In t. n. o. G. t. m. t. c. ! Dost thou not look unto thy Lord, how he extended the shadow? but had he pleased, he would have made it stationary (XXV. 47)."

Besides the magic writing, nothing occurs on the convex side (of which I made no facsimile) except the following inscription:—

هذا الطاسة المباركة تتاوم السموم كلها وقد جمع فيها اشيا مجربة  
وهي للسعة الحية والعقرب والكلب والكلب والمطنقة والقولنج و  
المغل واللوقة ويشربها الملسوع او رسوله

Translation:—

This blessed cup counteracts all poisons, and verily it comprises various tried qualities, which act against the stings of a snake and scorpion, against a mad dog, against abdominal pains connected with childbirth or colic and distortion. The person stung, or his messenger, is to drink from it.

### III.

This cup is 4·3 inches in diameter and 1·4 deep. It contains, besides the circular writings, twelve compartments surmounted by arches, six of which are likewise thus treated, but the remaining six are filled with figures (see III. concave side). The concave side bears in a circle the

following inscription, which is patched up of verses from various *Surahs* of the *Qorán*, as will be seen below in the English translation:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اذا السماء انشقت واذنت لربها وحققت واذنا  
الارض مدت واثقت ما فيها وتخلت واذنت لربها وحققت وان منها  
لما يهبط من خشية الله ومن يتوكل على الله فهو حسبه ان الله بالغ  
امره قد جعل الله لكل شيء قدرا سيجعل [الله] بعد عسر يسرا وننزل  
من القرآن ما هو شفا ورحمة للمؤمنين ويشفي [يشف for] صدور قوما  
[قوم for] مؤمنين قل هو للذين آمنوا هدي وشفاء الله الشافي

“I. t. n. o. G. t. m. t. c. ! When the firmament shall be split asunder, and shall obey its Lord, and shall be capable thereof; and when the earth shall be extended and cast forth its contents, and shall remain empty, and shall be capable thereof [LXXXIV. 1-5]. And verily there are some of them who fell prostrate from the awe of God [II. 69]. And who trusteth in God, He is his support, because God will cause him to attain his object. Verily God hath appointed unto everything a determined period [LXV. 3]. God will cause relief after hardship [LXV. 7]. And we send down of the *Qorán* that which is a healing and a mercy unto Believers [XVII. 84]. And he will heal the breast of the people who are Believers [IX. 14]. Say: It is unto those who have believed, guidance and a healing [XLI. 44]. God is the healer.”

The convex side of this cup, as may be seen from the facsimile, contains at the bottom a circle surrounded by ten compartments, all filled with unmeaning characters purporting to have talismanic efficacy. The Arabic circular inscription detailing the medical properties of this cup is as follows:—

هذا الطاسة المباركة تقاوم السموم كلها وجمع فيها منافع مجربة  
وهي للسهة الحية والعقرب واللكم والمطلة والمغل والكلب والكلب  
واللعض والقولنج وللشقيقة والظربان والابطال السحر ولومي الدم  
والعين و

Here the cup is soldered and a few words covered, but they can easily be supplied from the context of all the other cups; and the last word *المسروع* is misspelt for *المسوع* “the bitten person.”

Translation:—

This blessed cup counteracts all kinds of poisons, and contains well-tried advantages, which are:—Against the sting of a serpent and a



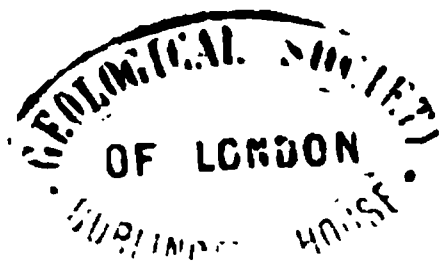
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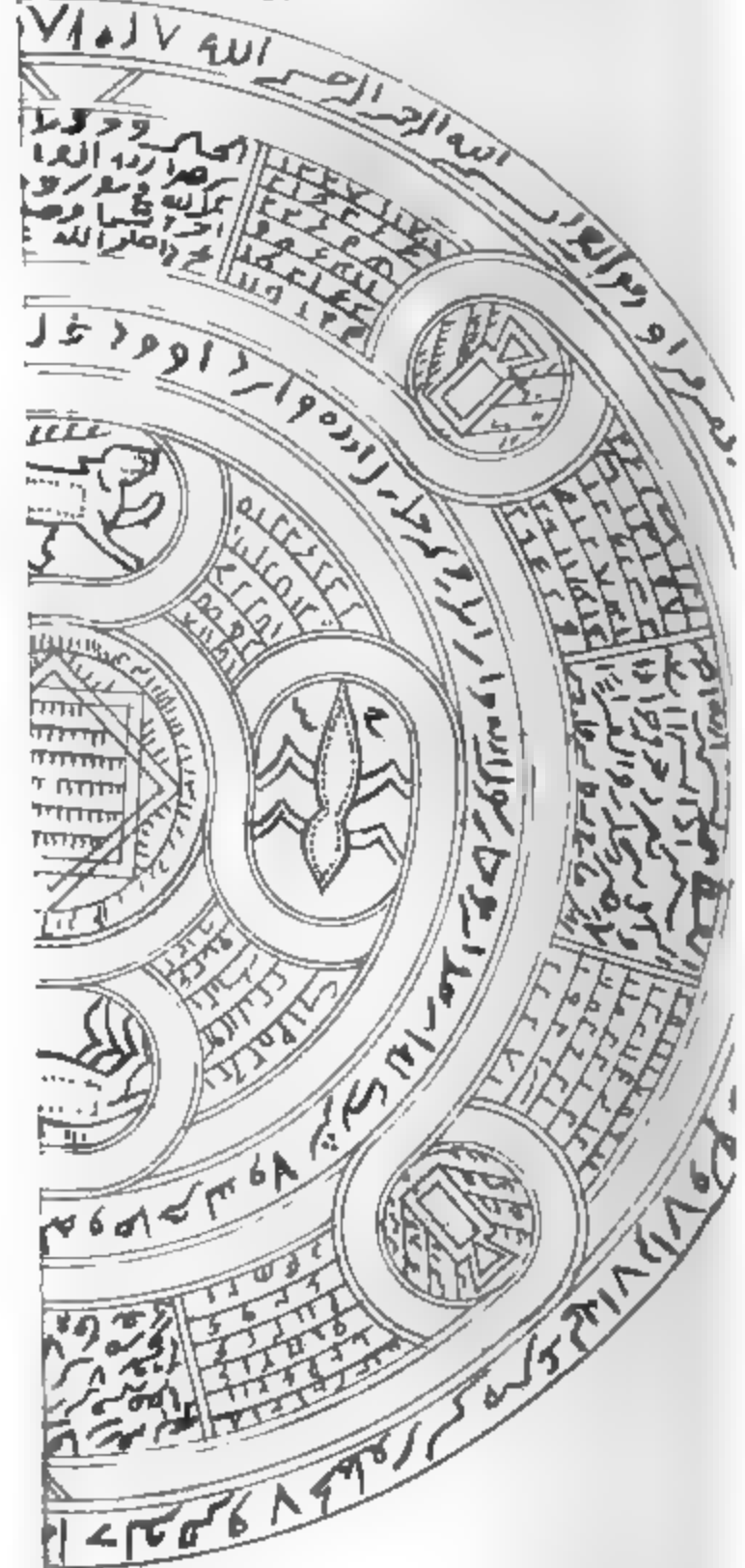
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Concave Side.



scorpion ; against fever, abdominal pains of childbirth, bites of mad dogs, gripes and colic, hemicrany, pain in the joints, nullification of sorcery, blood-spitting, the evil eye [and by drinking therefrom the bitten person will be healed].

## IV.

This cup measures 5·3 inches in diameter, and 1·3 in depth. Besides the four compartments containing the figures of a serpent, a dog, a horse, and a lizard, it contains four others with medical phials, and is crammed full of writing. The bottom of this cup appears to have been damaged or perforated for the purpose of placing it on the lips of a sick person to sip in the medicine in a recumbent posture.

First I shall give the large circular inscription, which is the celebrated *Ayyat-ul-kursi* or "Throne verse," and then those of the four compartments :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذه  
 سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الارض من ذا الذي يشفع  
 عنه [عنده for] الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشي  
 من علمه الا بما شاء ومع كرسيه السماوات [السموات for] والارض  
 ولا ياروده [يوده for] حفظهما وهو العلي [II. 256]

The last word العظيم *the mighty*, of this verse, is placed in one of the compartments to show where the reading of the compartments begins, and going regularly through all of them the final word of the last compartment is العلي the same as in the above verse, so that the العظيم must again be supplied, and thus the reading may be continued chain-fashion *ad infinitum* :—

Translation :—

I. t. n. o. G. t. m. t. c. ! God ! There is no God but He ! The living, the self-subsisting ; neither slumber nor sleep seizeth him ; His is whatever is in heaven or on earth. Who is he that can intercede with Him, except by His permission ? He knows what is between their hands and what is in their rear [*i. e.* the present and the past], and they can encompass nothing of His knowledge except as much as He willeth. The extent of His throne embraces the heavens and the earth, and the preservation of both is no burden unto Him. He is the high. . . .



The compartments are only partly Qoranic, and the one I shall now give begins with the word العظيم wanting above, and a part of Ch. LXXXIV., but the end of it is of the writer's own composition:—

العظيم بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اذا السما انشقت واذنت لربها  
وحقت واذ اارض مدت و القت من [sic] ما في بطنها من

The mighty. In t. n. o. G. t. m. t. c ! When the firmament shall be split asunder, and shall obey its Lord, and shall be capable thereof; and when the earth shall be extended and cast forth [LXXXIV. 1-3], that which is in its womb. . . .

الجنيين وخرج الى ارض الله الواسعه بعز عن الله نور وجه الله  
خرج كما وضعت محمدا صلى الله عليه و

The embryo; and it issued upon the broad earth of God in honour from God. The light of the countenance of God issued as it was delivered of Muhammad, the benediction of God be on him and. . . .

سلم الم تر الي ربك كيف مد الظل و لو شاء لجعله ساكنا و له ما  
ساكن في الليل والذهار و هو السميع العليم بسم الهي

Peace. Dost thou consider thy Lord, how he extendeth the shadow? Had He pleased, He would have made it stationary (XXV. 47). To Him belongs whatever is stationary in the night and in the day; and He heareth and knoweth very much. In the name of my God. . . .

الشافي الله فاشفي بسم الله المعافي الرحمن فعافي بسم الله الذي  
لا يمرض من اسمه شى فى الارض ولا فى السما و هو العلى .

The healer! God! Recover therefore in the name of God, the restorer, the merciful! Be therefore restored in the name of God, by whose name nothing falls sick on earth nor in heaven, and He is the high. [After this the operator again completes the passage by continuing in the next compartment to read *the mighty* العظيم and going on as long as he likes.]

The smaller circular inscription is, like the above ones, also not in the words of the Qorán, but in the spirit of it, and as we would say “scriptural.” It is as follows:—

بسم الله تعالى الاعلا الذي لا واد له ولا واد له و [لا] صاحب له ولا  
شريك له اشهد ان نوحا رسول الله و ابراهيم خليل الله و ان داود  
[sic.] خليفة الله و ان موسى نجى الله و ان على [عيسى ?] العظيم

IV. *Convex Si*

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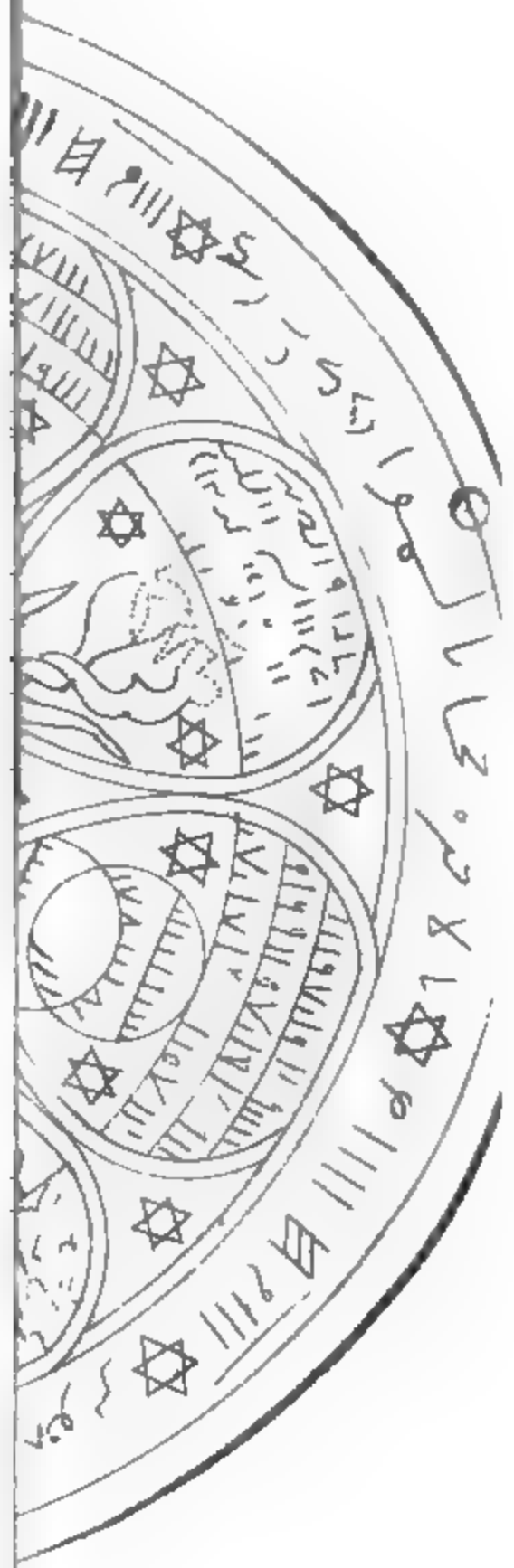
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In the name of God the most high, who neither has a son, nor a father, nor a companion, nor a partner. I bear witness that Noah is an apostle of God, and Abraham the friend of God, and David the Khalif of God, and that Moses is the confidant of God, and that A'li [Jesus ? ] is great. [The word admits of both readings, as may be seen in the facsimile.]

The convex side of this cup contains magic squares and writings with two circular inscriptions, as follows :

الحية و العقرب و الكلب الكلب و المطلقه و الفرس المغول و  
للراصف و للوقه و للصدع و للشقيقة و الظربان و للطحال و المغص و القولنج

Against a serpent, a scorpion, a mad dog, pains of pregnancy, the bellyache of a horse, hæmorrhage of the nose, distortion of features, cephalalgia, hemicrania, pain in the joints, pain of the spleen, griping in the belly, and colic.

The small circular inscription of this side is partly indistinct, and therefore unintelligible ; some of it, however, can be made out as follows :—

واللهما الباردة و الحبيثة.....للمسوع الح  
malignant fever.....for a bitten person, &c.

# V.

This cup is 6 inches in diameter, and 1·5 inch deep. In the uppermost circle of the concave side the celebrated amulet (described in I., concave side) occurs four times, and the intervals between the amulets are filled with catch-words from the Qorán, *i. e.* with the beginnings of certain verses which inform the operator that he is to recite them ; but unfortunately the cup is so worn out (probably by rubbing and scouring it many times to remove traces of pungent or sticky medicines) that most of the writing is illegible. The only sentence which can be made out with certainty is :—“ و اذا قرأت القرآن ” and when thou readest the Qorán [XVI. 100].” After this the word جعلنا “ we have placed,” occurs, which is the beginning of some other verse. The same is the case with the oviform compartments, four of which are in Arabic characters and contain the beginning of Ch. LXXXIV. given already in several of the cups described, and also the magic formula beginning with *Sárú Sírú Sárúká*, &c. ; the four other oviform compartments are filled with magic writing, and the lower moiety of every compartment is filled with magic squares or animals, as may be seen

from the facsimile (V., concave side). The seal of Solomon occurs many times, and occupies also the 14 triangular spaces between the oviform compartments.

The convex, *i. e.* outside of the cup, not having been rubbed, is in a better state of preservation. It contains an accumulation of arithmetical numbers within a circle which encloses magic squares; as scarcely any other numbers except 111, 121, 118, 182, 171 and 714, occur in more than 50 of these little squares, I deemed it superfluous to make a facsimile of this side, but I here transcribe and translate the inscription constituting two circles around the border, and besides this inscription nothing else occurs:—

هذا الطاسة المباركة للحية و العقرب و الكلب الكلب يشرب  
هو او رسوله و العض و القولنج يجرع بها صحت و الرعاف مغل  
و حما و المطلقة و الحمة تشرب

Larger circle:—

This blessed cup is against a snake, a scorpion, and a mad dog. He drinks it, or his messenger. Those who have griping or colic sip from it. Health. And [persons afflicted with] hæmorrhage, belly-ache and fever, and pains of childbirth and fever, drink from it.

Smaller circle:—

و حما و البغامي هو الدم تغالي و الحمة البرد تشرب  
منها و الطحال تشرب منها و الوجع الراس تشرب منها و عملت  
في شهر رمضان سنة ستة و اربعين

And [those afflicted with] phlegmatic fevers and loss of flesh [*lit.* blood] and cold fever drink from it; and splenetics drink from it; and who suffer from headache drink from it. And it [the cup] was prepared in the month of Ramazan in the year forty-six. [This is, no doubt, false.]

## VI.

This cup is 5·7 inches in diameter and 1·2 in depth. The inside of it is of a bright yellow colour, and as it differs from the others in shape I have also given a *side view* of it. It contains fourteen compartments, one half of which are filled with the usual figures, *i. e.* the dog, the scorpion, the serpent, the horse, and two persons afflicted with abdomi-





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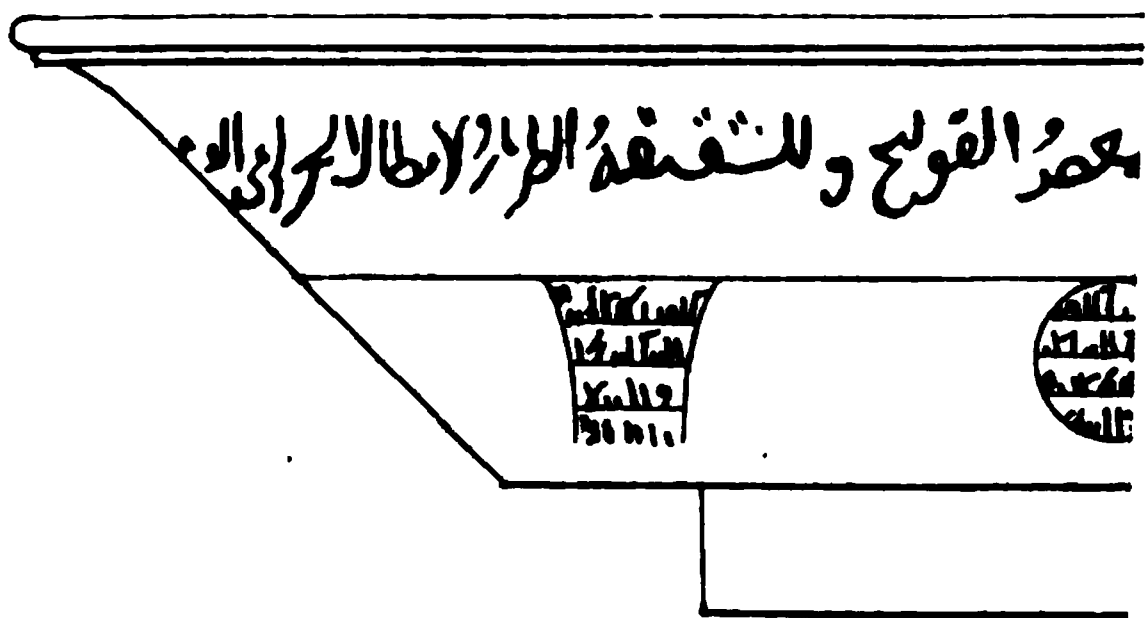
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VI. *Si*



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VI. Si

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## II. Concave Side.



inal complaints; one figure, however, is entirely new, and seems to represent some fabulous bird, perhaps the A'nka. All the characters are magic, except the circle at the bottom, which is very indistinctly engraved and appears to consist mostly of gibberish. Only the *Bismillah*, &c., and the last portion, which consists of the commencement of Ch. LXXXIV., can be made out with certainty.

The convex part of the cup contains five little circular and five quadrangular pieces filled with magic writing *ad terrorem populi*; and the circular Arabic writing, which is very distinct, is literally the same as on III. (which see), and contains only a few words more, probably with the intention of completing the circle only; but, curiously enough, this is the only cup in which the inscription detailing its properties does not begin with the expression of *This blessed cup*, but with the words *These blessed Talismans*, هذه الطلسمات المباركة which (like some of the expressions used in IV. by the writer) is a little ungrammatical.

#### VII.

This cup measures 5·4 inches in diameter and 1·3 in depth. It contains ten compartments around the circle on the bottom, and they are, as usual in these cups, alternately filled with figures of animals and with talismanic characters. The only Arabic inscription is in a circle. On comparing this with III., concave side, it will be found exactly the same; only here the space was not sufficient to insert the whole of it. Accordingly the writer has inserted into the little space left between the *Bismillah* and the last expression شفا لنا رحمت المومنين the words شفا لنا فيه therein is healing for us, which terminate the inscription.

As the convex side contains only ten little compartments with a circle at the bottom, all filled with talismanic writing, and one Arabic circle detailing the properties of the cup, I considered it superfluous to give a facsimile of it. The inscription is exactly the same as on III. (which see), barring a few additional words of no great consequence, inserted merely to complete the circle.

#### VIII.

This is the heaviest and largest cup; it measures 8·2 inches in diameter and 2·8 in depth. The bottom is occupied by the seal of Solomon, surrounded by circles filled with figures of animals. The upper part of the cup is adorned in the same way, only that talismanic writings and magic squares are inserted between the circles containing

the figures of the animals. The four Arabic inscriptions in the compartments around the seal of Solomon are as follows :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال القها يا موسى فالتاها فاذا هي  
حية تسعى قال حذها ولا تخف سنعيدها سيرتها

This is the same as on Cup II., i.e. Ch. XX., 20-22, but there the two words of the verse *سنعيدها سيرتها* “we shall reduce it to its former condition” are omitted.

The next inscription is likewise as in Cup II. (which see). It begins with *Sara Sara*, &c., and terminates with “Salutation [*or* Peace] be unto Noah in both worlds!” [XXXVII. 77.]

The next is the beginning of Ch. LXXXIV., with a little addition of the writer’s own composition, as may be seen from the facsimile.

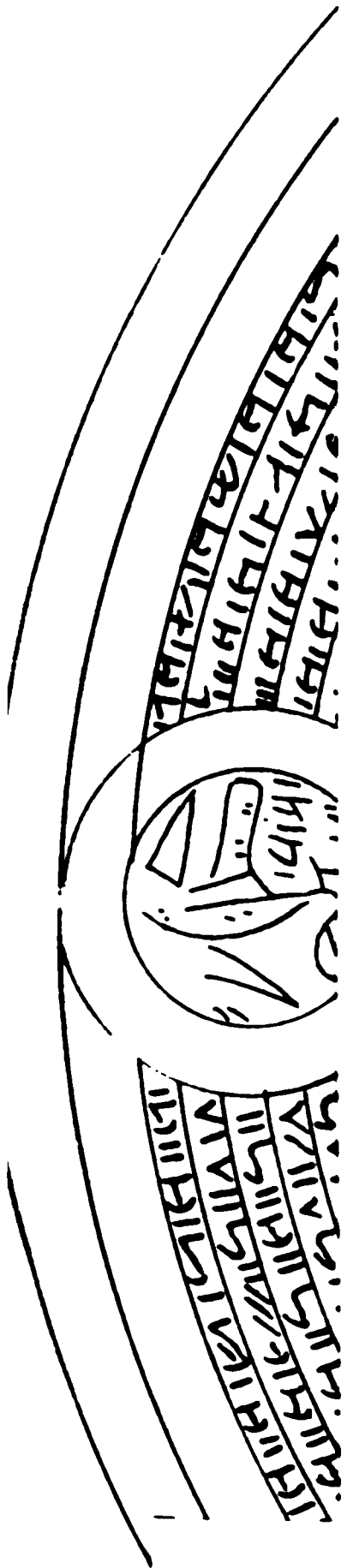
The last has also occurred already on Cup II. and is XXV. 47 ; here, however, the words of that verse which are wanting there are fully added, and complete the same with v. 48 as follows :—

ثم جعلنا الشمس عليه دليلا ثم قبضناه اينا قبضا يسيرا

“Then we placed the sun thereon as an indicator, then we attracted it to us with a gentle attraction.” [It may be observed that in the translation of this and of some other verses of the *Qorán* I take the liberty slightly to deviate from Sale’s rendering, which I think is the best we as yet possess.]

The convex side of this cup is also adorned with the seal of Solomon, surrounded by magic writing, which is merely placed there, like all the unknown characters on the other cups, to impose upon ignorant persons. Accordingly I made no facsimile of this side.

The Arabic inscription on the convex side is the same with that on III. as far as the word *الحية*. After that, however, the rest of the inscription is the same as on Cup IV., detailing all the medical properties in the same order.







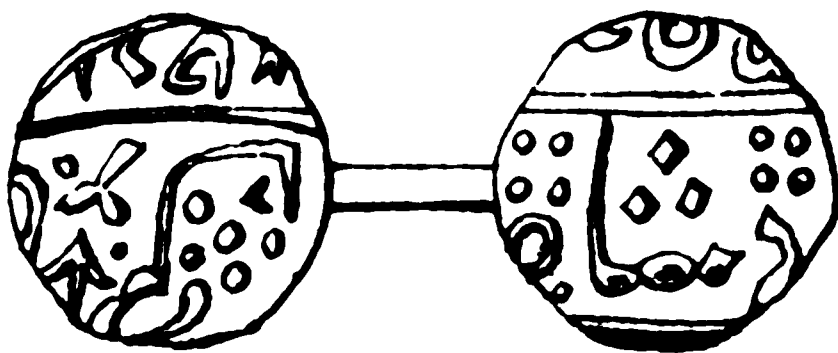
**ART. XV.—*Facsimiles of Muhammadan Coins.* By E. REHATSEK,  
M.C.E.**

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Read 21st March 1874.

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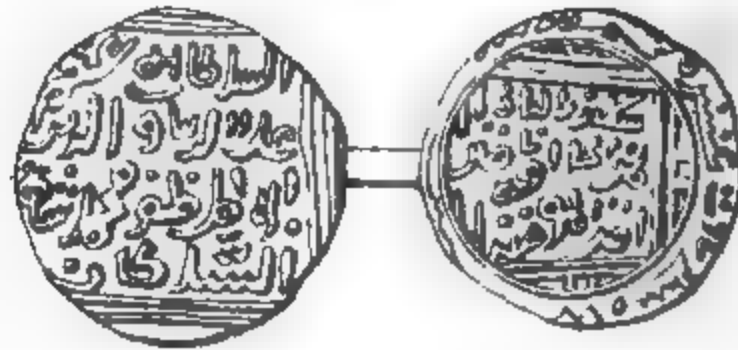
The seven silver coins forwarded to the Secretary of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, with a letter from the Khándesh Collector's Office, dated Dhulia, 23rd August 1873, signed by the Treasury Officer, are of modern make, and are coined in the same style as still practised with some princes of this country. A bar stamped with the required letters and symbols on both sides is given into the hands of each workman, who chops off the coins from it, until he has thus cut up the whole bar. The locality where these coins were found is Dhankeda, Táluka Pimpalner, Zillá Khándesh ; but, as no indications on the coins themselves about the district where they were current exist, it would be hazardous to conjecture anything, and I would only remark that in shape and workmanship they look exactly like the current rupee of H.H. the Holkar of Indore, whose mint I visited some years ago. The word جلوس "reign" also occurs on the Holkar's rupee, as here ; but it contains also an effigy of the sun, which is wanting in these coins. They have, moreover, the word بادشاه "Bádesháh" on the reverse, which does not occur on the Indore rupees. Each of these coins or



rupees now before me is, as is usual with such pieces, not exactly like the others ; in some the initial, and in others the final letters are either imperfect or entirely wanting, in consequence of the chopping process, by which they are produced. It also happens often that the legend of the obverse is upside down, whilst that of the reverse is placed in the proper way. Such is the case also in the subjoined facsimile, where

the word بادشاه is straight, and the جلوس is upside down. This arises from the stamps on the silver bar, from which the coins are chopped off, being entirely independent of each other, as to regularity, on both sides. The words over بادشاه and under جلوس are very fragmentary, and I give it only as a conjecture that over the former the fragment induces me to conclude that the expression must have been شاه عالم شاه غازی

Where the eleven silver coins now to be described were found is not stated in the above letter, which only mentions that the Huzur Deputy Collector and Magistrate, 1st Class, had forwarded them, and does not give the name of the locality. Ten of these coins are entirely the same in their legends, but five of them are somewhat smaller in size. All of these coins are more or less worn, and may perhaps also have been scraped in former times; but as the larger ones contain scarcely any traces of a circular legend around the border, I select one of the smaller ones for a facsimile, because this legend, although likewise indistinct, is better than in the others. The style of caligraphy in all the eleven coins is entirely the same, and they must have been struck not only in the same mint, but possibly also at the same time.



It will be observed that both the legends in this facsimile are regular; but I have thus represented them only for the sake of convenience. One ought to be upside down, as above, or nearly so.

The legend on the obverse is as follows:—

السلطان الامظم ملا الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان

“The greatest Sultán ‘Alla al-dunya wa al-dyn Abu al-Muxaffer Muhammad Sháh the Sultán.”

The legend on the reverse is as follows:—

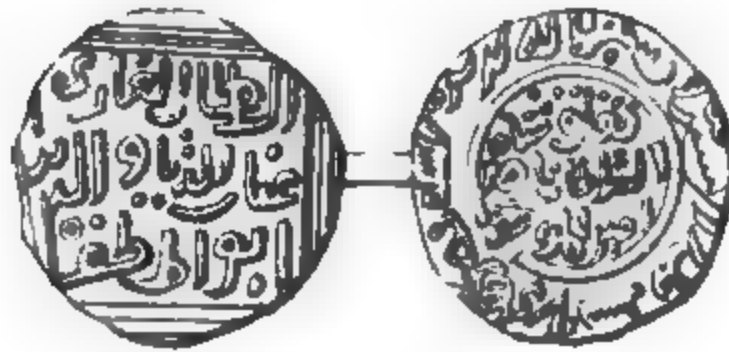
سكندر الثاني امين الخلافة ناصر امير المومنين

"Alexander the second; confidential minister of the Khalifate; assistant to the Commander of the Faithful."

Words round the margin :—

سنة ثلاث عشر و مئتين

"The year 713;" but supposing the **ين** of the word **عشرين** to have been above (as in the eleventh coin now to be described), and to have been worn away, the number would be 723=A.D. 1323, i. e. the coin would be ten years younger.



The obverse of the eleventh, i. e. the last, of these silver coins, bears the following legend :—

السلطان الغازي فيث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر

"The victorious Sultán, protector of the world and of the Faith, Abu Almuzaffar."

The reverse bears this legend :—

تغلق شاه السلطان ناصر امير المؤمنين

"Toghlaḳ Sháh the Sultán, assistant to the Commander of the Faithful."

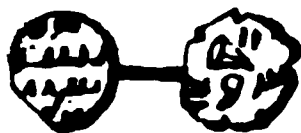
The margin bears the words :—

جديد السكة ف ضرب دهلي في سنة ثلاث عشرين و سبع مائة

"Of new coinage and struck at Dehli in the year seven hundred twenty-three."

The five coins now to be described were found in the ruins of Vinjrote, an old city on the Indus Valley (State) Railway. The ruins of Vinjrote are marked on the Revenue Survey Map of Sindh. They are about half a mile from the Reni Nallá, and two from the boundary of Bháwalpur. More information on this, and a few other ruins of

interest in the Indus Valley, with the objects of antiquity discovered there, may be found in the "Translation of Report No. 2879, of the 16th June 1873, from the Muktiárkár Ubaura, to the address of the Collector of Shikárpur," and in the "Memo. on the Ruins of Vinjrote, Indus Valley (State) Railway, Rehti Division." The concluding portion of the last-mentioned document contains the following brief note, dated Rehti, 15th August 1873, and addressed to the Collector of Shikárpur, by Mr. Fred. Robertson, C.E., Officiating Executive Engineer, Rehti Division, in which he states that he "forwards five coins found at Vinjrote, as requested in Collector's No. 2605, dated 1st August. Some of the same kind, but rather more legible, have been sent to the Chief Engineer, Indus Valley (State) Railway, who has sent them to General Cunningham."



There is no doubt that these are five ancient Muhammadan silver Dirhems with Kufic legends, but as those which are more legible have been sent to so celebrated an archæologist as General Cunningham is, he will no doubt be able to give a good and correct account of them. I cannot venture to be positive as to what I am going to state:—The obverse appears to bear the words ظفر السند سنة ٨٨ "Conquest of Sind in the year 88," but also this date, I am sorry to observe, is indistinct and dubious, and I give the whole merely as a conjecture. The reverse, which is notched, bears letters, but mostly symbols, *i.e.* abridged expressions of the value, and perhaps also of the maker's name. As it would scarcely have been worth the while to give facsimiles of all five of them, I considered it proper to draw only one. The cone-like figure in the reverse can scarcely be meant to represent a letter, nevertheless each of these five Dirhems bears it on the reverse in a more or less distinct form.

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ART. XVI.—*A Series of Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum, copied from the originals and edited, with translations, notes, and remarks, by J. F. FLEET, Esq., Bo. C.S.*

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Presented August 17th, 1874.

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The Ratta or Ratta chieftains of Vêṇugrâma or Vêḷugrâma,—the modern Belgaum,—and of Sugandhavarti,—the modern Sâvandatti or Saundatti, the chief town of the Parasgaḍ Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District,—are known as yet only from a brief and incomplete notice of them at the end of Sir W. Elliot's *Essay on Hindu Inscriptions*. I now beg to lay before the Society a series of Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions relating to this family, and embracing a period of about three and a half centuries from the time when they were first raised from the rank of priests or spiritual preceptors to the position of chieftains, and noticing incidentally two other families of local importance, the lords of Banihaṭṭi and Kôlâra and the Yâdava princes of Hagaratage. And I take this opportunity of expressing my sense of the obligations under which I lie, for assistance in the matter of translating these and other inscriptions, to Messrs. Veṅkaṭ Raṅgô Kaṭṭi and Gaṅgâdharayya Maḍivâḷêśvara Tûrmari, of the Educational Department in the Southern Division. It was the former gentleman whose aid first enabled me to acquire a knowledge of the Old Canarese language as used in inscriptions, and the latter, especially, has ever been most ready to assist me in deciphering the meaning of such passages as presented special difficulties to me; without his coöperation many of the more obscure and imaginative passages would have remained altogether unintelligible to me.

No. I. of the inscriptions now brought to notice is the only one that is entirely in Sanskrit from beginning to end. It is a fragment from a stone slab built into the wall of a Jain temple at Mulgund, in the Dambaḷ Tâlukâ of the Dhârwaḍ District, and was copied for me some time ago by Mr. E. J. Ebdon, of the Bombay Civil Service. With this exception all the inscriptions now edited were copied by me with my own hand, and, unless I distinctly state the contrary, this will be

understood to be the case with any future inscriptions that I may lay before the Society. The stone is a fragment, and the remaining portion of it could not be found, though a careful search was made for it. Fortunately, however, the fragment contains all the important part of the inscription, and probably the remainder of it, if forthcoming, would be found to consist only of a few of the usual verses declaring the merit of continuing, and the sin of revoking, religious grants. The inscription is engraved in Old Canarese letters of an old type, *i.e.* of a type not very far removed from that of the Cave-alphabets; the form of 'ś,' for instance, is identical with that of the 'ś' of the Cave-alphabets, and the method of expressing the vowels 'ê' and 'u' is very similar; and, which is a remarkable and antique peculiarity, the form of 'l' when subjoined to another 'l' is identical with the usual form of 'l' of the Cave-alphabets, though the 'l' to which it is subjoined is in each instance the usual Old Canarese 'l,' obtained by rounding off the angular points of the 'l' of the Cave-alphabets. The inscription records the building of a Jain temple at Mulgunda, in the Dhavala district, by Chîkârya, the son of Chandrârya, of the Vaiśya caste, and the making of certain grants of land on behalf of that temple in the Śaka year 825\* (A.D. 903-4), being the Dundubhi *samvatsara*, while the most illustrious king Kṛishṇavallabha was ruling the whole earth. I have not been able to satisfy myself as to what part of the country is intended by the name of the Dhavala district; I was at first inclined to look upon it as being the same as, or perhaps an older name of, the Belvola Three-hundred,† but the expression made use of in line 11

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\* According to the original, "eight hundred and twenty-four years of the era of the Śaka king *having expired*."

† The inscriptions throw much light on the system of administration prevailing at the time to which they relate. In the territorial divisions,—such as the Nêsarige Six, the Sugandhavarti Twelve, the Hubballi Twelve, the Banihatti Eighteen, the Vêṇugrâma Seventy, the Belvola Three-hundred, the Koṅkapa Nine-hundred, the Kûṇḍi Three-thousand, the Palasige Twelve-thousand, and the Banavâsi Twelve-thousand,—and in the different grades of officials,—the Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara or Mahâsâmantâ, the Maṇḍalêśvara or Sâmantâ, and the Commander of the forces, as the local representative of the reigning monarch; the Râjaguru, or royal spiritual preceptor, with his counsellors, as the minister of the preceding; the Nâyaka in subordinate charge of a circle of villages; and finally the Gâvuṇḍu, or village headman, with his council of merchants,—we have the practical application of the system prescribed in the seventh chapter of the *Mânavadharmasâstra*, vv. 113 to 117:—"In order to protect his realm (the king) should ever adopt this arrangement; for that king obtains happiness who has his territory well kept. He should appoint a guard of soldiers to two villages, and to three, and to five, and to a hundred, for the protection of his dominions. He should appoint a lord of one village, a lord of ten villages, a lord of twenty, a lord of a hundred, and a lord of a thousand. In due order the

of the inscription appears to fix the number of towns constituting the Dhavala district at three hundred and sixty. This inscription, short as it is, is of importance. It cannot be doubted that the king Kṛishṇa-vallabha of this inscription is identical with the king Kṛishṇarāja-dêva of the Râshtrakûṭa or Ratṭa family, who on the authority of No. II. was reigning also in the Śaka year 798 (A.D. 876-7), and with the Kṛishṇarāja or Kṛishṇakandhâra who in the opening portion of No. VI., and in others of the later inscriptions, is spoken of as the first of the kings of the Ratṭavamśa. Many doubts surround the succession and the dates of the earlier Châlukya kings, but we find that on three occasions they were brought into direct and deadly collision with the Râshtrakûṭa princes. Jayasimha I., whose date is fixed by Sir W. Elliot as anterior by two generations to Śaka 411 (A.D. 489-90), is spoken of in the inscription of Yevûr as having reëstablished the power of the Châlukyas by overthrowing that of Kṛishṇa the king of the Ratṭa family; in the time of Tailapa I. the son of Kîrttivarmâ, whose date is fixed by Sir W. Elliot as subsequent by two generations to Śaka 655 (A.D. 733-4), there were revolutions in connexion with which we have the name of a Râshtrakûṭa king Gôvindarâja, who was ruling in Śaka 730 (A.D. 808-9); \* and finally Tailapa II., surnamed Vikramâditya, whose date is given by the same authority as from Śaka 895 (A.D. 973-4) to Śaka 919 (A.D. 997-8), is spoken of in the same inscription of Yevûr as acquiring "the little kingdom of the Ratṭakula which had again overspread the land,—a race proud and regardless of their spiritual preceptors, whose kings this sprout of the royal tree destroyed and cut to pieces at Raṇastambha."† Independent notices with dates, such as the present, of kings of the Râshtrakûṭa family will be found of value when sufficiently full materials are available to enable us to reopen with some hope of definitely settling the question

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headman of a village shall himself report to the lord of ten villages, and the lord of ten villages to the lord of twenty, any crimes, &c., that occur in the village; and the lord of twenty villages shall report them all to the lord of a hundred villages, and the lord of a hundred villages shall himself report them to the lord of a thousand." The modern Taraf, Kariyât, Parganâ, Mahâl, and Talukâ now represent the ancient division of the country into circles of specified numbers of villages, and in the hereditary district and village officers we find the development of the lowest of the old grades of functionaries.

\* See Thomas's edition of Prinsep's *Antiquities*, p. 278, note 1.

† See the translation of the Yevûr inscription given in the appendix to Sir W. Elliot's Essay, and also Thomas's edition of Prinsep's *Antiquities*, p. 278, No. 18 of Table B.



of the genealogy and the dates of the earlier kings of the Châlukya dynasty.

No. II. is copied from a stone slab built into the wall to the left of a small Jain temple in the town of Saundatti, the ancient Sugandhavarti.\* The characters of the inscription are somewhat large and slanting, and belong to the period in the development of the alphabet in which the letter 'r,' when it forms the first part of a compound letter the vowel attached to which is some vowel other than 'a,' 'u,' or 'û,' is not yet denoted by a separate and distinct sign, but is expressed by a slight modification of the form of the vowel; this method of expressing the letter 'r' is the peculiarity of the old Cave-alphabets that survived the longest, and the abandonment of it marks, in my opinion, more definitely than anything else, the period of the transition from the Old into the Mediæval Canarese alphabet. The inscription records several distinct grants, and furnishes a good deal of genealogical information. We find that the first of the Raṭṭas who attained the position of a Great Chieftain was Prithvîrâma, the son of Mēṛada, who enjoyed it under the Râshtrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa, and that previous to his elevation he had been only a religious student in the Kârēya sect of the holy saint Maîlâpatirtha. The titles of Kṛishṇarâjadēva in this inscription are analogous to those of the Châlukya kings and are those of a universal emperor, and we learn that in the Śaka year 798† (A.D. 876-7), being the Manmatha *saṃvatsara*, he caused a temple of Jina to be built at Sugandhavarti, and allotted to it eighteen *nirartanas* of land. The inscription, however, must have been engraved at some subsequent period, as the first four lines record a grant, in a *śivaṭa* of Muḷugunda belonging to Sugandhavarti, made on behalf of the god of the circle of twelve villages afterwards known as the Sugandhavarti Twelve, by King Kanna, who is at least five or six generations subsequent to Prithvîrâma. The genealogical portion of the inscription commences with line 21. The first mentioned is king Nanna. His son was Kârtavîrya, the subordinate of the Châlukya

\* i. e. "the city which abounds in sweet odours;" it is, perhaps, as well that the name has been so far corrupted as to give now no clue to its original form and signification, for no one would think of giving so pleasing an epithet to the modern Saundatti. In the prose passages of No. VII. the name occurs twice in a corrupted form intermediate between the old and the modern forms,—in line 82 as Savandhavatti, and in line 76 as Savadhavatti; Savandhavatti is undoubtedly the correct reading in both places.

† According to the original, "seven hundred and ninety-seven years of the Śaka era having expired."

king Âhavamalla, or Sômêśvaradêva I., whose approximate date is given by Sir W. Elliot as from Śaka 962 (A.D. 1040-1) to Śaka 991 (A.D. 1069-70), and we learn here the interesting fact that it was this Kârtavîrya who fixed the boundaries of the country of Kuhunḍi, the Kûṇḍi Three-thousand of the later inscriptions. Three generations follow, and in the fourth we have the name of Kârtavîrya II., the subordinate of the Châlukya king Tribhuvanamalladêva,\* Pêrmâḍidêva, or Vikramâditya II., whose date is fixed by Sir W. Elliot as from Śaka 998 (A.D. 1076-7) to Śaka 1049 (A.D. 1127-8). The list ends for the present with the name of Sêna II., or Kâlasêna II., the son of Kârtavîrya II. In lines 39-41 a grant of twelve *nivartanas* of land by the Châlukya king Pêrmâḍidêva in the Śaka year 1019 † (A.D. 1097-8), being the Dhātu *saṁvatsara*, is recorded. Then follows the record of what must have been an earlier grant by Kanna-kaira,—whether the first or the second of that name is not apparent. And the inscription ends in the usual way, with verses on the merit of bestowing land and confirming the grants of former kings. I shall sum up further on, in the form of a table, the genealogical details of this and the following inscriptions.

No. III. is another inscription from the Jain temple in which is No. II. It gives us the names of the son and grandson of Prithvîrâma and of their wives. A historical fact is mentioned in connexion with Piṭṭaga the son of Prithvîrâma, but I have not been able to ascertain who was the Ajavarmâ whom he conquered. The inscription records a grant of one hundred and fifty *mattars* of land by Sânta or Sântivarmâ, the grandson of Piṭṭaga, in Śaka 903 ‡ (A.D. 981-2), being the Vikrama

\* I take it that the statement in lines 21-26 of the inscription,—before any mention is made of Nanna and his descendants,—that Kârtavîrya was the subordinate of Tribhuvanamalladêva, is intended to apply to the second of that name, and not to the first. Though, as only about seven years intervened, according to Sir W. Elliot's calculation, between the end of the reign of Âhavamalla and the commencement of that of his second son Tribhuvanamalla, there is nothing to render it absolutely out of the question that Kârtavîrya I. could be the contemporary of both, yet an examination of the dates and genealogy of the Rattas shows that it is impossible that this should have been the case; we have in fact, as will be seen further on, Śaka 971 (A.D. 1049-50) as the date of Anka the nephew of Kârtavîrya I. It is a common method in the inscriptions to introduce first the name of the person, whose genealogy is then given in detail.

† According to the original, after the expiration of the Śaka year 1018, which was the twenty-first year of the era established by, and beginning from the commencement of the reign of, the Châlukya Vikramâditya II.

‡ According to the original, "nine hundred and two of the years of the era of the Śaka king having expired."

*saṃvatsara*, to a Jain temple that he had had built at Sugandhavarti, and a grant of the same amount to the same temple by Śāntivarmā's mother Nījikabbe or Nījiyabbe. The characters of this inscription are somewhat more regular and better defined than those of No. II.; the same antique peculiarity in representing the letter 'r' is observed.

No. IV., again, is a fragment, and is from a stone slab which I found half-buried in the courtyard of the temple in which are the preceding two inscriptions. It gives the genealogy from Nanna down to Kārtavīrya II., who is mentioned as the subordinate of the Chālukya king Bhuvanaikamalladêva or Sômêśvaradêva II., whose date is given by Sir W. Elliot as from Śaka 991? (A.D. 1069-70) to Śaka 998 (A.D. 1076-7). It also gives the name of his son, Sêna II., but the chief object of the genealogical part of the inscription is expressly stated in line 7 to be to detail the descent of Kārtavīrya, who was then the representative of the family, and not of his son Sêna, who must have been at that time a mere child. The portion of the inscription containing the grant is lost. The characters of this inscription are of much the same standard as those of No. II., and there is again the same peculiarity in the method of representing the letter 'r.'

Before leaving this part of my subject, I have to notice one more inscription at Saundatti. It is an Old Canarese inscription, engraved in characters of the same standard as those of Nos. II. and IV., on a stone slab built into the wall in the interior of the temple of Aṅkalêśvara. The floor of the temple is below the level of the ground, the door is the only means of lighting up the interior, and the inscription is in such a position that the light admitted by the door does not fall upon it: I could only read it, therefore, by the light reflected from the door by means of a white cloth. To add to this difficulty, the inscription itself has been very much injured, and the temple was so close and foul that I could stop in it for only a few minutes at a time. Accordingly I could not copy this inscription, and had to content myself with taking notes of its contents. It consists of two parts. The first part gives the genealogy of Aṅka, the subordinate of the Chālukya king Trailôkyamalladêva or Sômêśvaradêva I., and records a grant made by him at his capital of Sugandhavarti in the Śaka year 971\* (A.D. 1049-50), being the Sarvadhâri *saṃvatsara*, on Sunday the seventh day

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\* According to the original, "nine hundred and seventy of the years of the era of the Śaka king having expired."

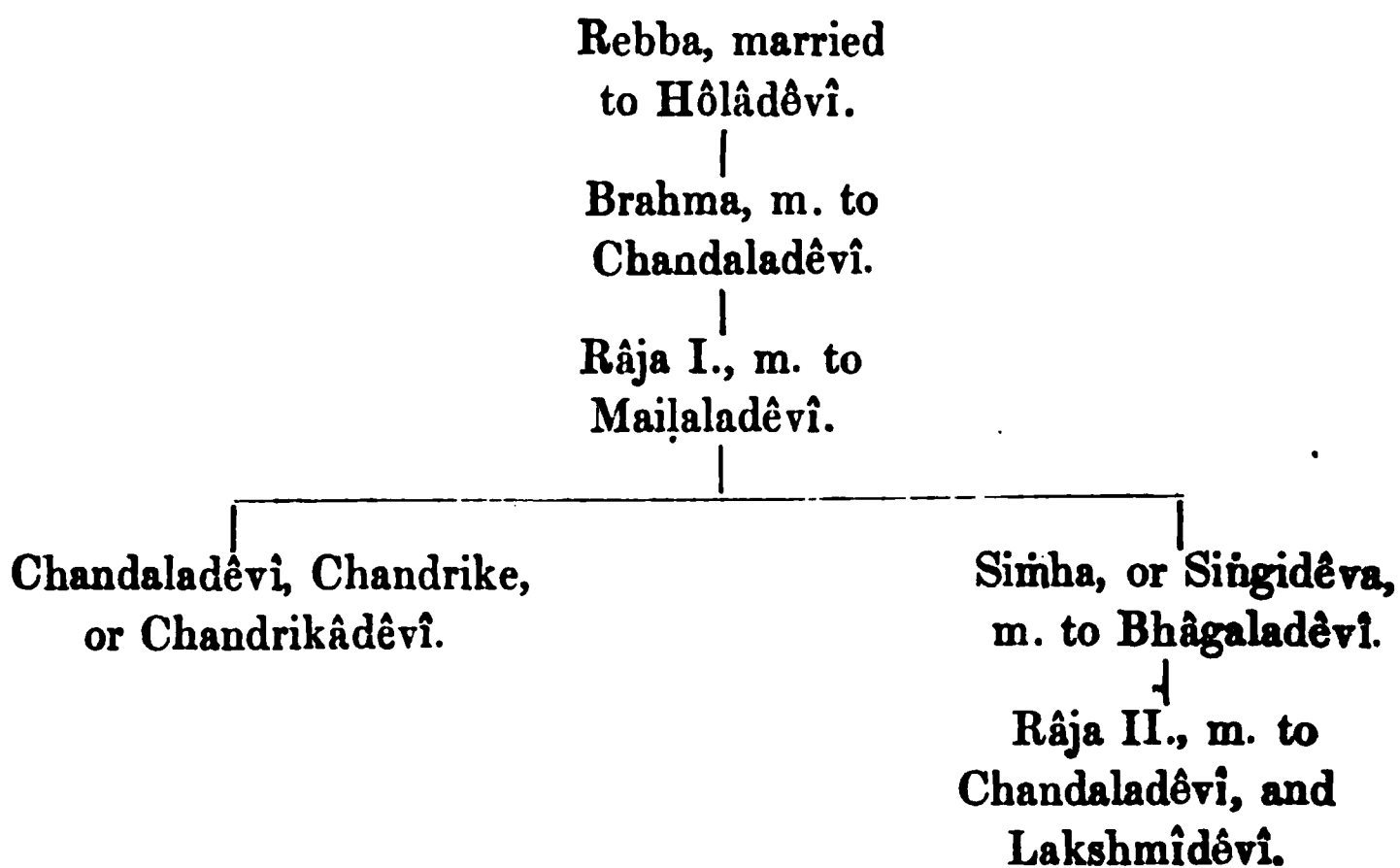
of the dark fortnight of the month Pushya, at the time when the sun was commencing his progress to the north; the portion containing the details of the grant was too much effaced to be read under the circumstances described above. The second part records a grant made by the princess Bhâgaladêvî and her husband, the fortunate great chieftain king Kârtavîrya, the second of that name, in the Śaka year 1010\* (A.D. 1088-9), being the Prabhava *sainvatsara*, on the occasion of a total eclipse of the sun on Sunday, the day of the new-moon of the month Srâvana. The details of this grant, again, could not be clearly made out. As far as I could decipher it, the genealogy given in this inscription corresponds with that given in Nos. II. and IV.; but, at the first opportunity, the contents of lines 8, 9, and 10 should be examined again, with the view of obtaining corroborative evidence either of the name given in line 28 of No. II., or of the name given in line 12 of No. IV., as that of the eldest son and successor of Kârtavîrya I.; when I examined this stone I had not noticed the doubt that exists as to this name, as pointed out in note 5 to the translation of No. IV., or I should have attended more closely to the contents, as far as they can be read, of the three lines indicated.

The characters of the remaining four inscriptions are those of the fully-developed Old Canarese, or, as I would prefer naming it, the Mediæval Canarese alphabet, and the letter ‘*r*’ is, except in No. VIII. in the case of the vowel ‘*i*,’ now expressed by a separate and distinct sign, whatever may be the combination of sounds in which it occurs. The only special remarks that appear to me to be needed are that in Nos. VI. and VII. the dental ‘*t*’ is usually, if not throughout, represented by a peculiar and uncommon form, and one that I have not as yet noticed in any inscription of earlier date,—the figure of a heart with the usual semicircular line above it; that in these inscriptions, and in others of the same period, a greater fancy is shown than in inscriptions of older date for a peculiar form of ‘*rvv*’ differing but very little from that of ‘*ksk*’; and that the second forms of ‘*m*,’ ‘*y*,’ and ‘*v*’ appear to have come into use about this period. It will be seen from the translations that the turgid and diffuse language of these inscriptions differs very considerably from the brief and concise style of the preceding four.

No. V. is from a stone slab let into the wall of an old Jain temple,—now, as is the case with almost all the Jain temples of these

\* According to the original, “ten hundred and nine of the years of the era of the Śaka king having expired.”

parts, converted into a *Linga* shrine,—at Kalholi, the ancient Kalpole, in the Gôkâk Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District. We learn that the capital of the Raṭṭas was now Vêṇugrâma, the modern Belgaum. The first of the chieftains mentioned is Sêna, who must be the second of that name in No. II.; the fact of this identity is not expressly mentioned in any of these four more modern inscriptions, but a comparison of the dates points to this conclusion, and the epithet ‘*bṛihaddaṇḍa*,’ *he who was possessed of a great or mighty army*, applied to Sêna II. in line 38 of No. II., has its counterpart in the first of the epithets applied to Sêna in line 4 of the inscription now under notice. The inscription carries us down to the third generation from Sêna II., and finally records certain grants that were made in Śaka 1127 (A.D. 1205-6), being the Raktâkshi *saṃvatsara*, by and at the command of Kârtavîrya IV., on behalf of a Jain temple that had just been built at Sindana-Kalpole in the circle of villages known as the Kuṛumbetṭa *Kampana*, which was near to, or, more probably, was included in, the district known as the Kûṇḍi Three-thousand. We learn also that Kârtavîrya IV. was assisted in the government by his younger brother the *Yuvarâja* Mallikârijuna. Incidentally the inscription mentions a family of Yâdava chieftains who were governing at that time the district of Hagaratage. I have not been able to determine the locality of this district, or to identify any modern town bearing the same name. This family of Yâdava chieftains is, I believe, now brought to notice for the first time. The genealogy given of them in this inscription is as under :—



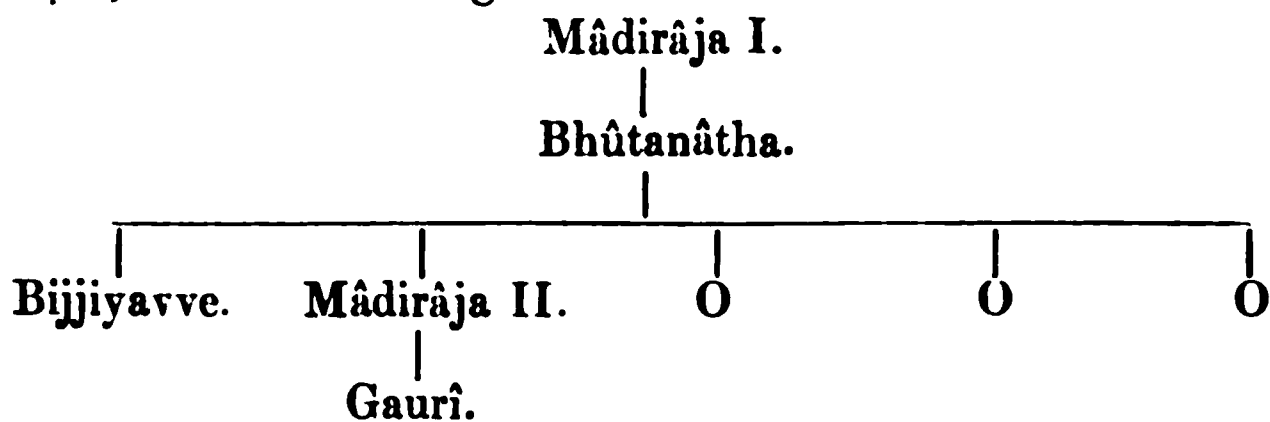
Cbandrikâdêvî, the daughter of Râja I., became the wife of the Ratta chieftain Lakshmana or Lakshmidêva I., and the mother of Kârtavîrya IV. and Mallikârjuna. The Jain temple to which the grants recorded were made was built by Râja II. The priests of the temple belonged to the Hanasôge sect, a division of the original sect of the Kuṇḍakunda; three of them are mentioned here,—Maladhârî, whose disciple was Saiddhântikanêmichandra, whose disciple, again, was Śubhachandra.

No. VI. is from a Lingâyat temple of Basava at Nêsarige,—the modern Nêsargi or, as it is erroneously spelt in the maps, Nelserree,—in the Sampgaum Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District. The first of the Rattas mentioned in it is Kṛishṇarâja or Kṛishṇakandhâra, evidently the same person as the powerful king who is mentioned in Nos. I. and II. The next name is that of the chieftain Sêna II. The genealogy is carried on for three generations further, and ends with Kârtavîrya IV., no mention being made in this inscription of his younger brother Mallikârjuna. The circle of six villages of which Nêsarige was the chief town was administered under Kârtavîrya IV. by a family of Nâyakas of whom only two generations are given; the first mentioned is Habbana or Habbayanâyaka, whose wife was Kâlavve; his sons were Bâcha or Bâcheyanâyaka and Bîreya, the former of whom married Mâyidêvî. A brother of Mâyidêvî named Beddana is spoken of as a man of note. From the phraseology of lines 26 to 28 of the inscription it would seem that Habbana was the first of his family to enjoy the rank of Nâyaka, and that that rank was conferred on him by Kârtavîrya IV. The inscription records the erection of three *linga* temples of Habbêśvara, Mânîkôśvara, and Siddhêśvara at Nêsarige by Bâcheyanâyaka and his wife Mâyidêvî. The priest of the three temples was Honnayya, the performer of the rites of the goddess Kâlâmukhe; his priestly succession is given, but need not be repeated here. The inscription then enumerates various grants of land, tithes, and duties made to these three shrines at the command of Kârtavîrya IV. in the Śaka year 1141 (A.D. 1219-20), being the Bahudhânya *samvatsara*.

‘Nâyaka,’ meaning *chief, head, leader*, is the surname, instead of the Canaresé ‘Gauda’ or the Marâṭhi ‘Pâtîl,’ of many families of village headmen in these parts, and the Watan, or aggregate of the hereditary rights and emoluments belonging to a family of headmen, is then called a Nâyaki-watan instead of a Gaudaki-watan; in such



trakûta family, the supreme lord of the district of Kûṇḍi which was included in the country of Kuntala, carries the genealogy of the Rattas one step further than the preceding inscriptions in the person of Lakshmidêva II., the son of Kârtavîrya IV. and Mâdêvî. This Mâdêvî must be a second wife of Kârtavîrya IV., as in No. V. the name of his wife is Êchaladêvî. We then find that the circle of villages known as the Sugandhavarti Twelve was administered under Lakshmidêva IV. by the royal spiritual preceptor\* of the Ratta chieftains, Munichandra-dêva, and that Munichandradêva's counsellors or assistants in the administration were Śântinâtha, Nâga, and Mallikârijuna. In giving the genealogy of the last-mentioned, the inscription mentions in detail two local families of importance—the lords of a circle of eighteen villages of which Banihatti, which would appear to be a town in the neighbourhood of Jâmkhandi, was the chief, and the lords of Kôlâra, the modern Korti-Kolhâr on the banks of the Kṛishṇâ not far from Kalâdgi. Owing to the failure of male heirs in the latter family, the lordship of Kôlâra passed by marriage into the family of the lords of Banihatti. The family of the lords of Kôlâra sprang from the lineage of the patriarch Vâsisht̥ha, and the following names are mentioned:—

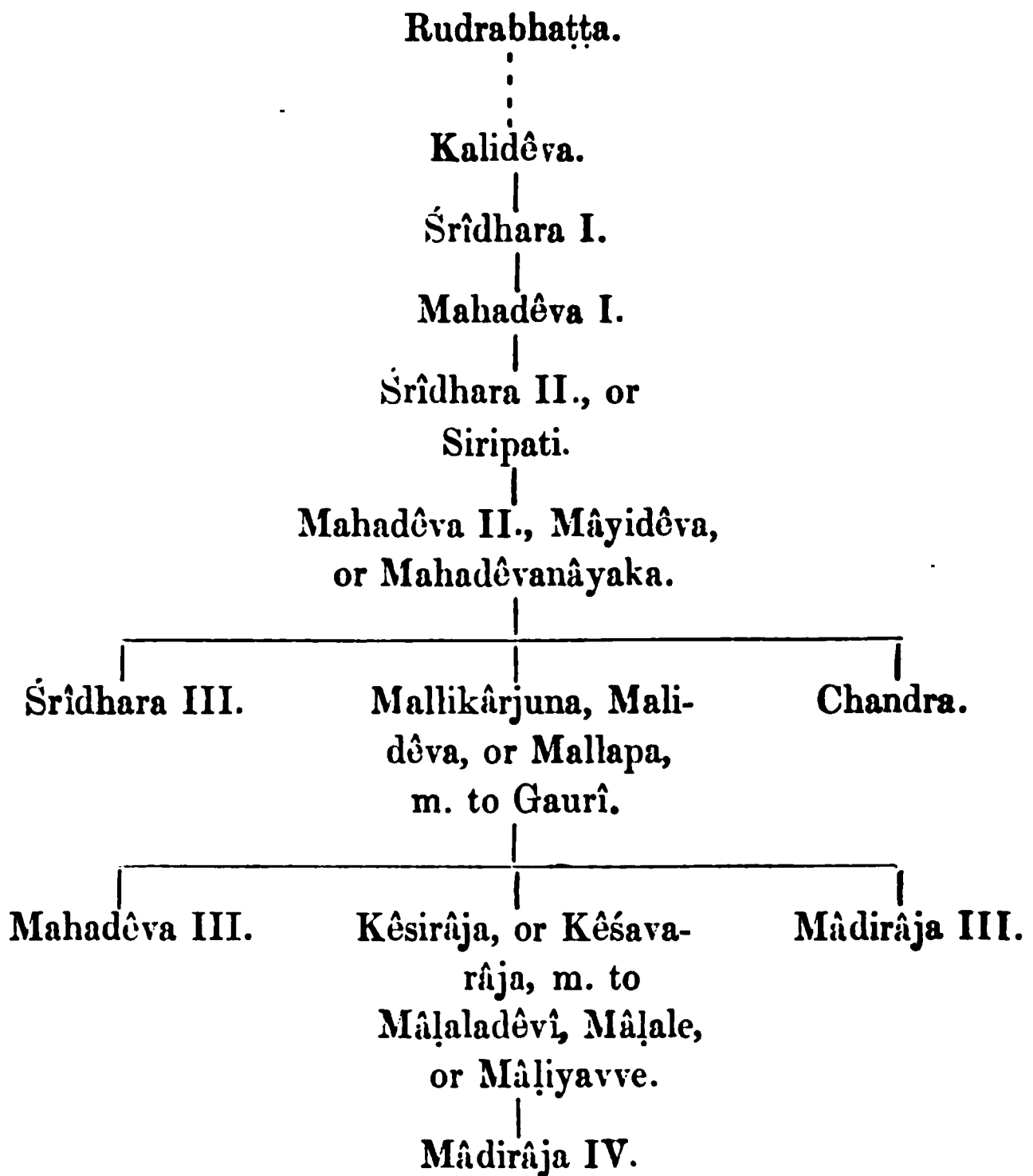


Mâdirâja II. was slain in battle together with his younger brothers, who are not mentioned by name. On his death his sister Bijjiyarve assumed the governorship, and continued it for a short time until it was made the dowry of Gaurî on her marriage with Mallikârijuna of Banihatti. The family of the lords of Banihatti, named the Sâmasigavamśa, was a branch of the Induvamśa which originated with the sage Atri. The first name mentioned is that of Rudrabhatta, a poet, who received the eighteen villages in question, probably as a reward for his proficiency in the art of poetry, from a certain king Kanna, who may have been the first of that name in the race of the Rattas. A wonderful occurrence, as the inscription justly remarks, took place in re-

\* From this and other inscriptions it would appear that the Râjaguru, the royal spiritual preceptor, was frequently a functionary possessed of considerable administrative power.



spect of this same Rudrabhaṭṭa, and in the present day we might search far and wide indeed before finding a Saukâr willing to give a loan of a thousand pieces of gold on the sole security of a letter of a name. The genealogy of this family, as established by the inscription, including the Mâdirâja who is mentioned in line 93 as the son of Kêsirâja, is as under :—



As indicated above, the family, as landed proprietors, originated with Rudrabhaṭṭa. Whether he enjoyed also the position of a local governor, or whether Śrîdhara I. was the first of the family to be invested with that *status*, is doubtful. Śrîdhara II. was slain at Hôlavêre \*

\* Probably Holavêre, and not Hôlavere. In the inscriptions there is no distinction between the short and long forms of 'e' and 'o' respectively. In metrical passages where the verses consist of certain specified feet, no doubt, as a rule, arises from this fact; but in prose passages, and in metrical passages where the verses consist of a certain number of short-syllable instants whether the syllables themselves be long or short, it is sometimes doubtful whether 'e'

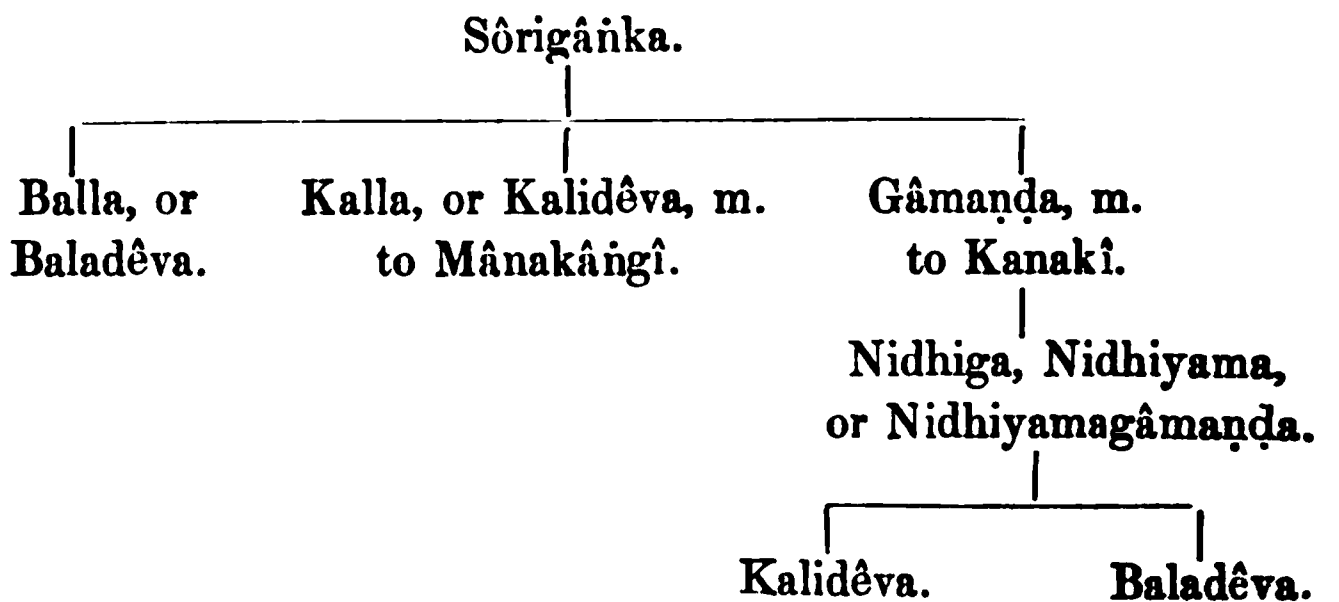
in battle with the inhabitants of the city of Gaganasarôvara; I have not been able to identify either of these two places. On his death, it would appear, the family was dispossessed for a time, for his death was not avenged until his son, Mahadêvanâyaka, had travelled abroad for twelve years, and having amassed wealth, had purchased with it the assistance of the king. On the marriage of Mallikârjuna with Gaurî, Kôlâra became the family residence. The lordship of Kôlâra seems then to have been transferred to Mallikârjuna's son Kêsirâja, while Mallikârjuna himself became one of the assistants of Munichandradêva in the administration of the Sugandhavarti Twelve. The inscription then proceeds to relate how Kêsirâja, having three times visited and vowed strict vows at the *linga* shrine of the god Mallikârjuna at Śrî-Śaila, brought back with him a *linga* made out of the rock of the sacred hill, and set it up in a temple of Mallikârjunadêva or Mallinâthadêva which he erected in the name of his father by the tank of Nâgarakere outside the city of Sugandhavarti. He afterwards gave the post of high-priest of this temple to Liṅgayya, Liṅgaśiva, or Vâmaśakti, the son of Dêvaśiva the son of Vâmaśakti. The inscription then proceeds to record various grants of land and tithes made to this temple in the Śaka year 1151 (A.D. 1229-30), being the Sarvadhâri *saṃvatsara*, at the command of the royal spiritual preceptor Munichandradêva, while the great chieftain king Lakshmidêva was ruling at his capital of Vêṇugrâma. At the end we learn that the inscription was composed by Mâdirâja, the son of Kêsirâja.

No. VIII. is from a stone tablet that formerly stood inside a Jain temple at Koṇûr, the ancient Koṇḍanûru, in the Gôkâk Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District. There being objections to my entering the temple, the tablet was brought outside for me to copy it, and it still stands outside in a safe position. The historical part of the inscription commences with the mention of the Châlukya king Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramâditya II., and the next name given is that of Jayakarna, his son. This name does not occur in Sir W. Elliot's list of the Châlukya kings nor in Mr. Wathen's summary as given in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Anti-*

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or 'ê' is intended and 'o' or 'ô.' In the present instance the metre is the Kanda, which is regulated by the number of short-syllable instants in a line, and Hôlavere would suit the metre just as well as Holavêre; judging, however, from the rhythm, Holavêre is probably the correct form. Where this word occurs in the prose passages, in lines 66 and 67, it appears to mean a *black-soil field*, being compounded of 'hola,' *field*, and 'ere,' *black-soil*, and in this case both the 'o' and the first 'e' are short.

*quities.* But the name of the successor and alleged son of Sômêśvara-dêva III., who succeeded Vikramâditya II., was not ascertained by Sir W. Elliot, and only his title, Jagadêkamalla, is known. Nor does Sir W. Elliot mention the authority on which he states that Sômêśvara-dêva III. was succeeded by his two sons successively. It may be that his immediate successor was a younger brother Jayakarna, and not his eldest son; or, again, it may be that Jayakarna, being the elder brother of Sômêśvaradêva III., was invested with a share in the government as Yuvarâja during the lifetime of his father, Vikramâditya II., and died before his father. The inscription then mentions two subordinate governors of Jayakarna,—Châmaṇḍa, the Daṇḍâdhipa or commander of the forces, who was governing the country of Kûṇḍi, and the Maṇḍa-lêśvara or chieftain king Sêna, whose administration is not specified. The Sêna introduced here is probably the second of that name in the list of the Raṭṭas. The inscription then proceeds to enumerate the members of a family or sect called the Baḷatkâragana who held the position of high-priests at Koṇḍanûru, and then introduces the Hiḷḷeyaru, a family the members of which held the position of at least headmen of villages under Sêna. Except that the family of the Hiḷḷeyaru is said to be a branch of the Baḷatkâragana, nothing is stated as to the origin of Sôrigâṅka, the first whose name is mentioned. The following names of members of this family are given :—



The first grant recorded is one made by Nidhiyamagâmaṇḍa, to a Jain temple that he had had built at Koṇḍanûru, in the Śaka year 1009 (A.D. 1087-8), being the *Prabhava samvatsara*.\* At the same time a grant was made by the great chieftain king Kanna, the second of that name, who had come to do worship at that same temple of Jina. The

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\* See note 18 to the translation, No. VIII.

second grant is one made in the Śaka year 1043 (A.D. 1121-2), being the Plava *samvatsara*, by Jayakarna, the beloved son of the fortunate emperor Vikrama, during his father's reign. The last two lines of the inscription record a third grant, consisting of a house together with one hundred and fifty *kammas* of land in the circle of Kûṇḍi, made by Nidhiyamagâmaṇḍa.

Another inscription at Koṇûr requires to be noticed here. It is in the Old Canarese characters and language and is contained on a stone tablet built into the wall on the right of the entrance of the shrine of a *liṅga* temple of the god Taṭêśvaradêva or Mahâliṅgêśvaradêva which stands almost on the edge of the falls of the Ghaṭaprabhâ. The emblems at the top of the tablet are :—In the centre, a *liṅga* and officiating priest ; to the right, a crooked knife beyond which are a cow and calf ; and to the left, a seated figure similar to the usual representations of Jinêndra on other tablets. The surface of the stone has been very much worn away, and almost presents the appearance of having been wilfully ill-used. In many places the letters have more the appearance of detached and arbitrary marks than of regular and connected writing, and, by way of adding to the difficulty of reading the inscription, some one more ingenious than intelligent has made ink or paint marks over the writing with the view of converting the old characters into the modern ! Traces of fifty-eight lines remain, but the last five or six lines show only a letter or two here and there, and it is not possible to prepare a connected copy of this inscription. Line 1 contains the usual Śaiva formula :—*Namastuṅgaśiraśchumbi*, &c. Line 2 runs :—*Viśuddhajñānadêhâya tricêdadiryachakshushê Śriyaḥ prâpanimittâya namaḥsômârddhadhârîṇê* ;—another Śaiva invocation. Line 3 opens with an apparently Jain invocation :—*Paramânandayaśa-(-śaḥ-)-sudhâb-dhimathanâ*, &c. The inscription records grants made by Râyanayanâyaka, Marayyanâyaka, and other Nâyakas at Koṇḍanûru, a town near to or included in the Kundarige *Kampaṇa* which was part of the Kûṇḍi Three-thousand, on behalf of the hall with beautiful pinnacles of the temple of Mahâtîrthataṭêśvaradêva, while the fortunate great chieftain king Kârtavîrya, punishing the wicked and protecting the good, was governing the Kûṇḍi Three-thousand amidst the delights of listening to pleasing stories. Amongst the titles of this great chieftain king Kârtavîrya the Ratta family is mentioned, and his titles correspond more closely to those given in lines 15 to 18 of the Kalholi inscription than to those of the earlier Ratta inscriptions. In line 43 of the

present inscription his name is given as Kattamadêva, and, since, as will be seen in the genealogy given further on, this form of the name Kârtavîrya is given only to Kârtavîrya III., \* it is probably Kârtavîrya III. who is intended in the present inscription. The date, which appears to have been that of the reign of Kârtavîrya, and not of the Śaka era, was contained at the end of line 33, but it is effaced and quite illegible; this is to be regretted, as it is the only instance in this series of inscriptions of the date being thus recorded, and, had it been ascertained, it would have proved a useful guide. Lines 33 and 34 run thus;—*Śrīmatkârttavîryyachakravarttiya* [three letters effaced] *lladêvara vi-[-jayarâjyada* (two letters effaced)] <sup>34</sup> *samvatsarada pushya śuddha 11 sômaṣṭradal, &c.*

There are several other small and interesting temples, of considerable antiquity, round the edge of the falls, but, though I examined them closely, I could not find any other inscriptions. These temples, as well as that of Tatêśvaradêva, were probably originally Jain shrines. There are remains of other Jain temples in the town itself and on the road to the falls, but none of them appear to contain any inscriptions. In some fields lying to the right of the road from the town to the falls there are a number of dolmens, some of them in a very fair state of preservation; the popular tradition is that they were built by Jain saints as places in which to perform their penances, and any visitor to Koṇûr who wishes to see them should ask for “the small stone houses of the Jain Rishis which are in the jungle.” Koṇûr seems, in fact, to have been in old times a place of importance among the Jains, and the post of hereditary headman of the village is still held by a Jain family in conjunction with a Liṅgâyat family.†

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Three other inscriptions relating to the Raṭṭa chieftains are known to me from rough transcriptions of them which I have perused; they may be noticed here, though the transcriptions are useless for purposes of editing, and I shall hope to complete the series hereafter with accurate copies of them.

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\* In line 6 of the Kalholi inscription, No. V.

† This is a somewhat rare instance of a Watan being held by two Banas or Takshims of different castes and religions. Other instances of this are Belgaum itself, where the post of hereditary headman is held by a family of Jains in conjunction with a family of Marattas, and Bonâdi in the Chikôdi Tâlukâ, where it is held by a family of Liṅgâyats in conjunction with a family of Marattas.

The first is from Raibâg, the ancient Bâge or Hûvinabâge, a town in one of the Native States which interlace with the Belgaum Collectorate. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit throughout, but whether the characters of the original are Sanskrit or Old Canarese I do not know; the copy is in the Canarese characters. It opens with the mention of king Kṛishṇa, by whom the Rattavamśa was made glorious. The next mentioned is king Sêna, the second of that name in the list of the Rattas. The genealogy is then continued down to Kârtavîrya IV. and Mallikârijuna. A contemporary of Kârtavîrya IV. was a certain king Rebba of the Yâdava race, the lord of the city of Kopanapura; in the copy made for me the name is spelt Rechcha, but in the Kalhoḷi inscription the reading is Rebba, and undoubtedly the same name must be intended here, though it cannot be the same person. The inscription then proceeds to record certain grants made in the year of the era of the Śaka king 1124, being the Durmati *samvatsara*, on the occasion of a *vyatīpāta* on Friday the day of the full-moon of the month Vaisâkha, by king Kârtavîryadêva, for the purposes of the Jain temple of the Rattas which had been built by his mother, Chandrikâmahâdêvî, to the high-priest Śubhachandrabhattachârakadêva. In defining the boundaries of the grants the names of many towns and villages are mentioned, but in respect of the spelling of proper names the copy cannot be relied on at all. \* In passing I may conveniently mention here another inscription at Raibâg of which I received a copy together with the preceding. The copy is headed "The tablet of the Jain temple of Narasiṅgaśeṭṭi in the village of Râyabâge." The language is partly pure Sanskrit and partly Old Canarese; as in the case of the preceding, I do not know whether the original is in the Sanskrit or in the Old Canarese characters, but the copy is in Canarese characters. It is a Châlukya inscription, and records grants made by the Daṇḍanâyaka,

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\* A translation of this inscription is given at pp. 415 to 417 of a Statistical Report on the Principality of Kôlhâpûr, No. VIII. of the New Series of Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government. The original inscription is not given. The translation contains many inaccuracies, notably the statement that "Chandrikâdêvî, the wife of Lakshmidêva, died of the disease called Ghatasarpa (*Cynanche maligna*);" the same epithet, slightly amplified to suit a different metre, is given to her in line 27 of the Kalhoḷi inscription, No. V., and means simply that she overcame pride or vanity, which is in its deadly effects like a venomous serpent (*sarpa*) safely ensconced in the interior of an earthen vessel (*ghaṭa*); the same epithet, modified again for metrical reasons, is applied to her in the first of the two Belgaum inscriptions noticed further on.

or leader of the forces, Dāsīmarasu, when the sun was commencing his progress to the south, on Monday the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight of the month Āshāḍha of the Siddhārthi *saṃvatsara* which was the second year of the reign of the king Jagadēkamalladēva, for the purposes of the Jain temple of Narasiṅgaśeṭṭi at Hūvinabāge. Two of the Chālukya kings have the title of Jagadēkamalla in Sir W. Elliot's list,—Jayasīma II., whose approximate date is given as from Śaka 940 to Śaka 962, and the unnamed successor of Sōmēśvaradēva III., whose date is fixed as from Śaka 1060 to Śaka 1072. The Śaka year 942, as well as the Śaka year 1062, was the Siddhārthi *saṃvatsara*, and accordingly the date of the present inscription is doubtful; but probably Śaka 1062 (A.D. 1140-1) is the true date.

The remaining two inscriptions are in the Old Canarese language, and are from two stone tablets which formerly stood near an old Jain temple in the fort at Belgaum, but are now, I believe, in the Society's collection at Bombay. The original inscriptions are probably in the Old Canarese characters. The copies shown to me, contained in a book belonging to the library of the London Mission Society's establishment at Belgaum, are very inaccurate, and cannot be relied on in respect of the spelling of proper names. The first inscription commences with the mention of king Sēua, the second of that name, born in the Rāshtrakūṭa race. The genealogy is then continued down to the brothers Kārtavīrya and Mallikārjuna. Mention is then made of a certain king Bīcha and of his sons, but I cannot satisfy myself as to the names of the latter. The inscription then proceeds to record grants made in the Śaka year 1127 (A.D. 1205-6), being the Raktākshi *saṃvatsara*, when the sun was commencing his progress to the north on the second day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya, while the great chieftain Kārtavīryadēva and his younger brother the Yuvarājakumāra Mallikārjunadēva were exercising imperial sovereignty at their capital of Vēṇugrāma, to the high-priest Śubhachandrabhaṭṭārakadēva for the purposes of the Jain temple of the Raṭṭas which had been built by king Bīcha. The lands granted were at the village of Mambaravāṇi (?), in the *Kampaṇa* of Kōravalli which was included in the Kūṇḍi Three-thousand. The second inscription, the historical portion of which is of the same purport, records grants made on precisely the same date, to the same person, and for the same purposes. In this case the lands granted were at Vēṇugrāma itself. In this inscription the name of the wife of Kārtavīrya III. is given as Padmā-

vatî,—the Sanskrit form corresponding to the Canarese form Padmala-dêvi of the other inscriptions.

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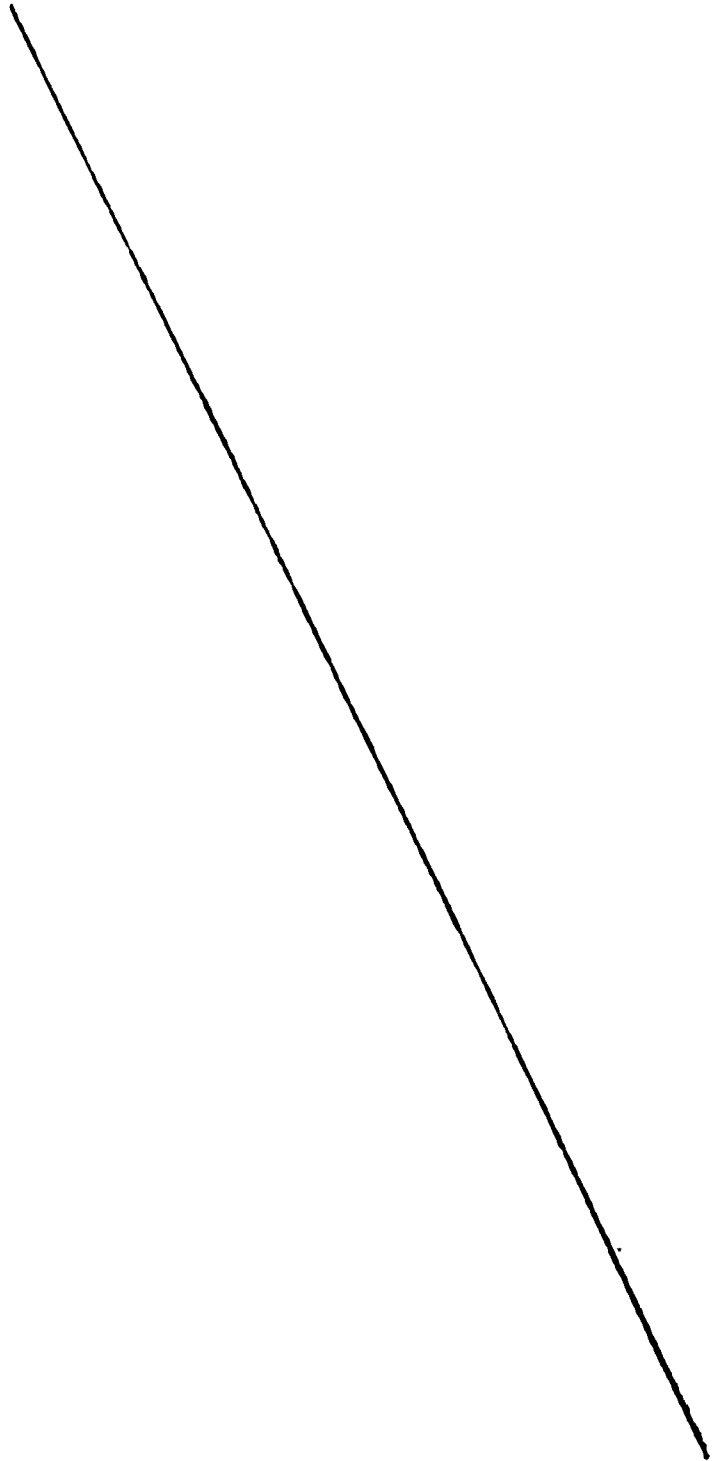
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We have now to sum up the genealogical results of this series of inscriptions so far as they relate to the Rattas only, and to note such historical facts as are forthcoming.

Excluding the succession of priests given in the first few lines of No. II., we have the following genealogy. The only break in the line of descent is between Śântivarmâ and Nanna ; not more than one generation can have intervened, and probably Nanna succeeded Śântivarmâ, though possibly he was not his son :—





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The following table will be found useful as showing at a glance the chronology of the Rattas as far as it can be determined at present :—

Name of Ratṭa.	To whom subordinate.	Dates established by these inscriptions.
Prithvirâma .....	The Râshtrakûṭa Kṛishnarâja, who was ruling in Śaka 798 and in Śaka 825.	About Śaka 800.
Śântivarmâ .....	The Châlukya Tailapadêva II., Śaka 895 to 919.	Śaka 903.
Kârtavîrya I. ....	The Châlukya Sômêśvaradêva I., Śaka 962 ? to 991 ?	.....
Aṅka .....	The Châlukya Sômêśvaradêva I.	Śaka 971.
Kanna II. ....	.....	Śaka 1009.
Kârtavîrya II. ....	The Châlukya Sômêśvaradêva II., Śaka 991 ? to 998, and the Châlukya Vikramâditya II., Śaka 998 to 1049.	Śaka 1010.
Sêna II. ....	Jayakarna, son of the Châlukya Vikramâditya II. Afterwards independent.	About Śaka 1050.
Kârtavîrya IV. and Mallikârijuna.	Independent.....	Śaka 1124 and 1127.
Kârtavîrya IV. alone.	Ditto .....	Śaka 1141.
Lakshmidêva II. ....	Ditto .....	Śaka 1151.

The chief titles borne by each member of the family are “The great chieftain who has attained the five great *śabdās* ; \* the supreme lord of

\* In Professor Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary '*Mahāśabda*' is given as meaning any official title commencing with the word '*mahā*' (great) ; '*pañchamahāśabda*,' therefore, would mean five titles of honour such as Mahāmaṇḍalêśvara, Mahārâja, &c. This seems a more reasonable explanation than that previously suggested to me (see Vol. IX., No. XXVII., of the Society's Journal, page 307, note †).

the city of Lattalûrpura or Lattanûrpura ;\* the owner of the banner that bears a representation of a golden Garuḍa ; he who is announced in public by the sounds of the musical instrument called Trivali ; he who has the mark of vermilion." Some of them bore special titles also ; thus Kârtavîrya II. is called Sēnanasiṅga, and Lakshmidēva II. Boppanasiṅga.

We find that the Raṭṭas of this family were first raised to the position of chieftains by Kṛishṇarâja, who was probably the last of the monarchs of the great Râshṭrakûṭa race, of which their own family was a minor branch.

Prithvîrâma held that post as a subordinate of Kṛishṇarâja, but, as we find that his grandson, Śântivarmâ, held the country under the Châlukya king Tailapadēva II., and his successors down to Sēna II. continued to be the subordinates of the Châlukya dynasty, it would appear that it was during this period,—the latter part of the ninth century A.D.,—that the Châlukyas recovered their ancient possessions in this part of the country, and the sway of the Râshṭrakûṭa monarchs ceased in it. This corroborates the statement of the Yevûr inscription which has already been quoted. During this time the capital of the Raṭṭas was Sugandhavarti, and their authority was limited to the district known as the Kûṇḍi Three-thousand.

With Sēna II. another period in the history of the Raṭṭas commences. The power of the Châlukyas had reached its culminating point under Vikramâditya II. His successors Sômêśvaradēva III. and Jagadēkamalla succeeded for a time in maintaining the supremacy of their race, but in the time of Tailapadēva III., the successor of the last-mentioned,—Śaka 1072 to 1104,—it was completely subverted by his rebellious general Vijjala, of the Kalachuri race.† It is plain that the Raṭṭas took advantage of the confusion that preceded and accompanied this event, and that Sēna II., by means of the army for which he was renowned, established the independence of his family. From that time,

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\* This indicates the town from which the Raṭṭas originally started, and in which the predecessors of the present family probably exercised lordship. In a similar manner, one of the titles of the Kâdambas of Goa is "the supreme lord of the city of Banavâsîpura ;" another branch of the family was governing at Banavâsî contemporaneously with at all events the first few members of the Goa branch. The author of the translation of the Raibâg inscription alluded to in a preceding note reads Atunpoor, and conjectures therefrom that the Raṭṭas were kings of Athanî, the chief town of the tâlukâ of the same name in the Belgaum Collectorate !

† Sir W. Elliot's *Essay on Hindu Inscriptions*.

though the Rattas continued to bear their original title of Mahâman-dalêśvara or Great Chieftain, the inscriptions acknowledge no dynasty in supremacy over them. Inscription No. V. and the Belgaum inscriptions distinctly assert that Kârtavîrya IV. and Mallikârijuna enjoyed '*Sâmrâjya*' or *paramount sovereignty*, and the Kârtavîrya who is mentioned in the inscription in the temple of Tatêśvaradêva at Konûr is called a '*Chakravartî*,' or *universal emperor*; these expressions are, of course, exaggerations, but, in connexion with other circumstances, they indicate plainly enough what the position of the later Rattas really was. It was probably about the same time,—the early part of the twelfth century A.D.,—that the Rattas acquired by force of arms from the Kâdambas of Goa, who then held it,\* the district known as the Vêṇugrâma Seventy, and transferred their capital from Saundatti to Belgaum.

I have as yet found no notice of any Rattas subsequent to Lakshmi-dêva II. He seems, indeed, to have been the last of the race and to have succumbed to the power of the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri, which began to rise towards the end of the twelfth century A.D. From the Bâgavâdi copperplate already published by me† we learn that in Śaka 1171 (A.D. 1249-50) the Kûṇḍi or Kuhunḍi district was in the hands of the Yâdava king Kṛishṇarâja or Kanharadêva.‡ And a copperplate inscription, from Bêhatti in the Hubballi Tâlukâ of the Dhârwad District, dated Śaka 1175 (A.D. 1253-4),—not yet published,—tells us that it was Vîchana, one of the generals of Kanharadêva, who with ease acquired for his master the countries of, amongst others, the Rattas, the Kâdambas who were glorious in the Konkana, Pândya, and the turbulent Hoysana.

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\* See the Gulhalli inscription at page 296 of Vol. IX., No. XXVII., of the Society's Journal.

† Vol. IX., No. XXVII., of the Society's Journal, pp. 246 et seq.

‡ Śaka 1169 to 1182.

## No. I. \*

ಶ್ರೀಮತೇ ಮಹತೇ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರೋ(ದೈವ್ಯ) ಶ್ರೀಯನೇ ವಿಶ್ವವೇದಿನೇ [ | ] ನಮಃ(ತ್ವಂ)ದ್ರಪುಞಾ-  
 ಖ್ಯಾಯ ಜೈನಶಾಸನವೃದ್ಧ(ಧ್ವ)ಯೇ [ || ] ಕಕನೃಪಕಾಳೇ ಪ್ಪ(ಪ್ಪ)ಕತೇ ಚತುರುತ್ತರವಿಂಶದು(ತ್ವು)ತ್ತರೇ  
 ಸಂಪ್ರಸತೇ ದುನ್ಮುಖಿನಾಮನಿ ವರ್ಧೇ <sup>3</sup> ಪುವರ್ತ್ತಮಾನೇ [ | ] ಜನಾನುರಾಗೇತ್ಯರ್ಥೇ ಶ್ರೀಕೃಷ್ಣ ವ-  
 ಲ್ಲಭನೃಪೇ ಪಾತಿ ಮಹಿಂ ವಿಶತಯಶಸಿ ಸಕಳಾಂ ತಸ್ಮಾತ್ <sup>4</sup> ಪಾಳಯತಿ ಮಹಾಶ್ರೀಮತಿ ವಿನ-  
 ಯಾಂಬುಧಿನಾಮ್ನಿ ಧವಳವಿಷಯಂ ಸರ್ವಂ [ | ] ತಸ್ಮಿನ್ ಮುಳ್ಳನ್ದಪ್ರೇ ನಗರೇ ವರವೈಶ್ಯ-

\* The numerals over the text of each inscription mark the commencement of each line of the original. Corrections, emendations, and doubtful points are shown in ordinary brackets,—( ), and letters supplied, when effaced or illegible in the original, from conjecture or from other sources, in square brackets,—[ ]. I have followed as the standard of orthography for Sanskrit words Pandit Rāmjasan's abridgment of Professor Wilson's dictionary, and for Canarese words the Rev. D. Sanderson's enlarged edition of the Rev. W. Reeve's dictionary. It should, however, be borne in mind that my use of the ordinary brackets is in many instances intended to draw attention to what are probably local or dialectic peculiarities of spelling and pronunciation rather than to stamp the practice of the inscriptions as wrong. The Old Canarese letters ೆ and ೇ are reproduced in my transcriptions wherever they occur in the originals, and, when transliterated, are represented by 'r' and 'l' respectively. Further researches and more ample materials for comparison will, I think, show that these letters have important etymological bearings, even in connexion with the derivation of some Sanskrit words; it is important, therefore, that they should be preserved, and, as a matter of fact, they are not adequately represented by the second forms ರ and ಲ or ಳ. The importance of this point has already been acknowledged and attended to by the editor of the *Sādhanaśāstra*, or Grammar of Kāśirāja, and the *Canarese Anthology* published at the Basel Mission Press at Mangalūr.

† It would appear as if this letter was first omitted in the original and then inserted over the line to which it belongs.



No. I.<sup>1</sup>

Reverence to him who bears the name of Chandraprabha, who is fortunate, who is great, who is tranquillity itself and eternal happiness, who is omniscient, and who is the (cause of the) diffusion of the sacred writings of Jina !

Eight hundred and twenty-four years of the era of the Śaka king having expired, in the year Dundubhi, while the most illustrious king Śrī-Kṛṣṇavallabha, who was full of affection for mankind, was ruling the whole earth, and therefore while he, the most fortunate one, bearing the name of The Ocean of Affability, was protecting all the district of Dhavaḷa :—

In that (district) in the city of Muḷgunda (there was) the celebrated Chandrārya<sup>2</sup>, born in the excellent Vaiśya caste. His son, Chīkārya, caused a lofty temple of Jina to be built. His son was named Nāgārya. His younger brother was Arasārya, well versed in morality and in the sacred writings, ever inclined to charity and other (good deeds), intent upon propriety of conduct. He, adorned with the decoration which was his knowledge of the sacred writings, at the direction of the merchants of the city, purchased for a great sum and gave to that chief of wise men, Kanakasēna,—who was of the lineage of Sēna and who was the disciple of Mīkhavīrasēna, the chief of saints, and of Kumārasēnāchārya, whose feet were worthy to be worshipped by men, kings, and ascetics,—a field of the measure of (i.e. capable of containing) one thousand betel-plants, measured out according to the cubit of Ka.....<sup>3</sup> iyammānā, in the field of Kandavarmamāḷa at Chandrikavāṭa.....<sup>4</sup>, for the benefit of the temple of Jina that his father had had built.

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<sup>1</sup> This inscription is from a broken stone built into the wall of a Jain temple at Muḷgund in the Dambal Tālukā of the Dhārwad District. The remaining portion of the stone cannot be found. The letters of the original are of a very old type, approaching, though they are well-developed Old Canarese letters, in some respects very closely to the Cave-characters from which the old and modern Canarese alphabets, as well as the Dēvanāgarī alphabet, are derived.

<sup>2</sup> As to the forms of this and the following names, see note † to line 5 of the text.

<sup>3</sup> See note § to line 10 of the text.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of the word 'ĕṛṛkamāṇavakanakulāryyā,' which belongs to this sentence, is not apparent.

To that same temple of Jina four headmen of guilds, belonging to (the district that consists of) three hundred and sixty towns, gave a field of the measure of one thousand betel-plants in the field of Pillagarē.

And to that same temple of Jina the Brāhman̄s of the family of Bellāla, with the consent of two thousand merchants, gave a field of the measure of one thousand betel-plants in that same field of Kanda-varmamāla.

Thus (there were given, free from) all opposing claims, altogether three fields of betel-plants.

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## No. II.

ದ್ವಾದಶಪ್ರಮಾಧಿಧ್ಯಾನಸ್ಯ\* ಸುಗಂಧವರ್ತಿಸಮ(ಸಂಖ್ಯ)ನ್ನಿಧಿ || ಗ್ರಾಮೇ ಮುಳುಗುನ್ದಾಪ್ಯೇ | ಸೀವಟೀ  
 ದ್ವಿಧಿವರ್ತನಂ | ದೇವಸ್ಯ ಚರವೇ ದತ್ತಂ | ನಮಶ್ಯಂ(ಸ್ಯಂ)<sup>3</sup> ಕನ್ಯಭೂಭುಜಾ || ತಸ್ಯ  
 ದಕ್ಷಿಣೇ ಭಾಗೇ | ತಿಂತ್ರಿಣೀವೃಕ್ಷಯೋರ್ಧ್ವಯೋಃ | ಮಧ್ಯೇ<sup>4</sup> ಯಾ ಸ್ಥಿತಾ ಭೂಮಿದ್ವ(ದ್ವ)ತಾ  
 ಶ್ರೀಕನ್ಯಭೂಭುಜಾ || ಸುಗಂಧವರ್ತಿಯ ಸೀಮೆಯುನ್ದ ಪದು(ದು)ವಲ್ ಪಿರಿಯಕೋಲಲ್ ಮತ್ತರ್ ೬ ||  
 ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪುರಮಗಂಭೀರಸ್ಯಾಧ್ಯಾದಾಮೋಘಲಾಂಛನಂ [ | ] ಜೀಯಾಶ್ರೈ(ಶ್ರೈ)ಕೋಕ್ಯನಾಥಸ್ಯ ಕಾಪನಂ ಜಿನ-  
 ತಾಸನಂ || ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಯೈ<sup>6</sup>ಳಾಪಶೀರ್ಥಸ್ಯ ಗಣೇ ಕಾರೇ(ಕೇ)ಯನಾಮನಿ [ | ] ಖಭೂವೋಗ್ರತಫೋಯುಕ್ತಃ  
 ಮುಳ್ಯಭಟ್ಟಾರಕೋ ಗಣೇ || ತಚ್ಚೈ<sup>7</sup>ದ್ಯೋಃ ಗುಣಾನ್ಯಾರಿಃ ಗುಣಾಕೀರ್ತ್ಯಮುನೀಶ್ವರಃ [ | ] ತಸ್ಯಾಧಾಸೀಂ(ಸೀದಿಂ)ದ್ರ-  
 ಕೀರ್ತಿಸ್ಯಾವಿ ಕಾಮಮದಾಪಹಃ || ತಚ್ಚಾತ್ರಃ ಪೃಥ್ವೀರಾಮಃ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀರಾಮಾವಿರಾಜಿತಃ [ | ] ಸತ್ಯರತ್ನ-  
 ಪ್ರರೋಹಾದ್ರಿಃ ಮಿ(ಮೀ)ಱದಸ್ಯಾಗ್ರನಂದನಃ || ಶ್ರೀಶೃ<sup>9</sup>ದ್ವ ರಾಜದೇವಸ್ಯ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿ ತವಕ್ಷಸಃ [ | ] ನಮ್ರಭೂಪಾಳು-  
 (ವೃ)ನ್ದಸ್ಯ ಪಾದಾಂಖುರ್ಹ(ರುಹ)ನೀವಕಃ || ಯಸ್ಯ ಬಾಳಪ್ರತಾಪಾ† ಗ್ನಿಜ್ವಾಳಾನಿಕರಶೋಷಿತಸ್ಸಮುದ್ರಿ(ದ್ವ)ಪ್ತಾಸುಹೃ-  
 ದ್ವರ್ಪರಸೋ ನಿಶ್ಯೇದಕೋ ಯಥಾ || ಯಸ್ಯ ರಾಜನ್ಯತೀ ಭೂಮಿಜ್ವೀತಾನಂದಕರೈಃ ಕರೈಃ [ | ] ರಾಜೇ<sup>12</sup>  
 ಯೋ ಧೀಮತೋ ನೀತಿಮಾಗ್ನೋ ದುರ್ಗಭಯಂಕರಃ || ಯಸ್ಯ ಸಂಕ್ರೀಡತೇ ಕೀರ್ತೀಹಂಸೀ ಲೋಕಸರೋ-

\* It will be seen that in this inscription the metres are somewhat irregular, and that the marks of punctuation are very badly placed, occasionally, as in line 29, separating the component parts of a word.

† This letter in the original is inserted below the line,

ವರೇ [ | ] ಯದ್ವಾಕ್ಯಂ ಪ್ರಶ್ನ(ಸ್ರ)ತಂ ಜಾತಂ ಪೂಜಾರಾಶಿಭೂಪತೀಃ || ಸಪ್ತಸ(ಶ)ತ್ಯಾ ನವಶ್ಯಾ ಚ  
 ಸಮಾಯುಕ್ತ(ಕ್ತೇ)ಸ(ಮ) ಸಪ್ತಸು [ 1 ] ಸ(ಶ)ಕಾಳೇಶ್ವ(ದ್ವ)ಶೀತೇದು ಮನ್ಮಥಾಹ್ವಯವತ್ಸರೇ || ಗ್ರಾಮೇ  
 ಸುಗಂಧವಶ್ಯೋಶ್ಯೇ ತೇನ ಭೂವೇನ ಕಾರಿತಂ [ | ] ಜಿನೇನ್ದ್ರಭವನಂ ದತ್ತಂ ತಸ್ಯಾಢ್ಢಾ<sup>15</sup>ದಶ-  
 ನಿವರ್ತನಂ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾಶ್ರಯಂ ಶ್ರೀಪೃಥ್ವೀವಲ್ಲಭ(ಭಂ) ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ(ಜಂ) ಪರ-  
 ಮೇಶ್ವರ(ರಂ) ಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಂ ರಾಢ್ಢೈಕೂಟಕುಳಿಕಕಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಕೃಷ್ಣ ರಾಜದೇವವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯಮುತ್ಪರೋತ್ತರಾಭಿ-  
 ವೃದ್ಧಿಪ್ರವರ್ಧಮಾನಮಾಡಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕತಾರಂ<sup>17</sup> ಬರಂ ಸಲುತ್ತಮಿರೆ [ || ] ತತ್ಪಾದಪದ್ಮೋಪಜೀವಿ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ  
 ಸಮಧಿಗತಪಂಚಮಹಾಶಬ್ದಮಹಾಸಾನುಸ್ತಂ ವಿರಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಶಾನ್ತಂ ವಿರೋಧಿಸಾನುಸ್ತನಗವಜ್ರದಣ್ಣಂ ವಿದ್ಯಜ್ಞನಕಮಳಮಾತ್ಮಣ್ಣಂ  
 ಸುಭಟೂಡಾಮಣಿ ಭೃತ್ಯಚಿಂತಾಮಣಿ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಸಾನುಸ್ತೇನ<sup>18</sup> ಪೃಥ್ವೀರಾಮೇನ(ಣ) ಸ್ವಕಾರಿತಜಿನೇನ್ದ್ರಭವನಾಯ  
 ಚತುರ್ಮ ಸ್ಥಳೇದು ಸ್ಥಿತಮದ್ಭಾದಶನಿವರ್ತನಂ ಸರ್ವನಮಶ್ಯಂ(ಸ್ಯಂ) ದತ್ತಂ || ಪೃಥ್ವೀರಾಮೇನ(ಣ)  
 ಯದ್ವತ್ತಂ ನಿವರ್ತನಂ ಕಾರ್ತವೀರ್ಯೋಣ ಭೂಯಃ ಸ್ವಗುರವೇ ದತ್ತಂ ಸರ್ವಃಖಾದಾ(ಧಾ)ವಿವರ್ಜಿತಂ ||  
 ಸೂರ್ಯೋಪರಾಗಸಂಕ್ರಾಂತೋ(ನೌ)<sup>21</sup> ಕಾರ್ತವೀರ್ಯಾಗ್ರಗ್ರಾನ್ತಯಾ | ಶ್ರೀಭಾಗಲಾ(ಲಾಂ)ಬಿಕಾದೇವ್ಯಾ ನಮಶ್ಯಂ(ಸ್ಯಂ)  
 ಕೃತಮುಷ್ಣಾಸಾ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾಶ್ರಯ(ಯಂ) ಶ್ರೀಪೃಥ್ವೀವಲ್ಲಭ(ಭಂ) ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ(ಜಂ) ಪರಮೇಶ್ವ-  
 ರ(ರಂ) ಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಂ | ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಳಿಕಕ(ಕಂ) ಜಾಳುಶ್ಯಾಭರಣಂ ಶ್ರೀ[ಮ]†ಶ್ರೀಭುವನಮುಲ್ಲದೇವವಿಜ-

\* The construction here changes abruptly from Canarese to Sanskrit.

† In the original this letter is omitted altogether, no space being left for it.



ರಾಜಕೀ ಭೂಮಾ | ಸರ್ವಶಾಸ್ತ್ರವಿಶಾರದಃ | ಕನಕಪ್ರ[ಭ]ಸಿದ್ಧಾನ್ತದೇವೋ<sup>33</sup> ಗಣಧರೋಪಮಃ ||  
 ಕನಕಪ್ರಭದೇವೇಭ್ಯಃ | ಸಂಶ್ರಾಂತೋ(ನೌ) ಸತ್ತಿಥಾ ತದಾ | ನಿವರ್ತ್ತನಂ ದ್ವಾದಶಂ(ಶ) ದತ್ತಂ |  
 ನಮಶ್ಯಂ(ಸ್ಯಂ) ತನ್ನಭೂಭುಜಾ || ತಸ್ಯಾನುಜಃ || ಗಂಭೀರೇಣ ಸಮದೋ ಸಿ | ಗೌರವೇಣಾಸಿ  
 ಮನ್ದರಃ [ | ] ಶ್ರೀಕಾರ್ತವೀರ್ಯಃ ಲೋಕಾ[ನಾಂ] ಕಲ್ಪವೃಕ್ಷೋ ಸಿ ದಾನತಃ || ತಸ್ಯಾ-<sup>36</sup>  
 ಗ್ರನನ್ದನಃ || ವೃತ್ತ || ಶ್ರೀರಾಗತಾಮಳಯಶೋವನಿತಾ ಸುಯಾತಾ ತತ್ರ ಸ್ಥಿತಾ ಜಯವಧೂ  
 ತವ ಮಣ್ಮಾಳಾಗ್ರ(ಗ್ರೀ) || ಧಾರಾಪಥೇ ಸುಭಟಮಾಣ್ಯಾಃ || ಶ್ರೀಸೇನಭೂಪ ಕಥ-  
 ಮಸ್ಥಿಳನೇನ ಚಿತ್ರಂ || ಕ್ಷೀಣ<sup>37</sup> || ಸುಗಂಧವರ್ತ್ಯಾಹ್ವಕೇ ಗ್ರಾಮೇ | ಧರ್ಮಜ್ಞಜನತಾವೃತೇ |  
 ಶ್ರೀಕಾಳಸೇನಭೂಪೇನ ಕಾರಿತಂ ಜನಮಂದಿರಂ || ನಿವರ್ತ್ತನಂ ದ್ವಾದಶಂ(ಶ) ತಸ್ಮೈ | ಜಿನಗೇಹಾಯ  
 ಭಕ್ತಿತಃ | ಖೃಹದ್ವಗ್ಧೇನ ಸಂದತ್ತಂ | ನಮಶ್ಯಂ(ಸ್ಯಂ) ಸೇನಭೂಭುಜಾ || ವಚನಂ ||  
 ವಿರವಿಕ್ರಮಕಾಳನಾಮಧೇಯಸಂವತ್ಸರೈಕವಿಂಶತಿಪ್ರಮಾತೀದ್ಯತೀತೇದಮ | ವರ್ತ್ತಮಾನಧಾತುಸಂವತ್ಸರೇ ಪುಷ್ಯಖತುಳತ್ರಯೋ-  
 ದಶ್ಯಾಮಾದಿವಾರೋತ್ತರಾಯಣಸಂಕ್ರಾಂತೋ(ನೌ) | ಶ್ರೀವೀರಪೇರ್ಮ್ಯಾಡಿವೇನ<sup>41</sup> ಕಾರೇ(ರಿ)ಯಬಾಗುನಾಮಧೇಯಸ್ಯಸೀವಟೀ-  
 ದಾದ್ಯಶನಿವರ್ತ್ತನಂ ಸರ್ವನಮಶ್ಯಂ(ಸ್ಯಂ) ದತ್ತಂ || ತಸ್ಮಿನ್ನೇವ ಸೀವಟೀ | ಶ್ರೀಕನ್ನಕೈರೇಣ  
 ಸ್ವಗುರವೇ ದ್ವಾದಶನಿವರ್ತ್ತನಂ ನಮಶ್ಯಂ(ಸ್ಯಂ) ದತ್ತಂ || ತಸ್ಯ ಸೀವಾ | ತಾವರ್ವಸ್ಯಾಂ  
 ದಿಸಿ(ಶಿ) | ಹಲಸಯ್ಯಸೀವಟಾದ(ದಾ)ರಭ್ಯಃ ಪುಲಗೇಷವಳ್ಳಸ್ರಾಮಸ್ಯ ಸೀವಾ | ದಕ್ಷಿಣದಿಗ್ಭಾಗೇ | ಸುಗಂಧ-<sup>44</sup>  
 ವರ್ತ್ತಿಗ್ರಾಮಸ್ಯ ಸೀವಾ | ಪಶ್ಚಿಮದಿಗ್ಭಾಗಯೇ ಕುಕ್ಕುಂಟಾಳುಗ್ರಾಮಸ್ಯ ಸೀವಾ | ಉತ್ತರಸ್ಯಾಂ

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INSRIPTIONS RELATING TO THE

<sup>45</sup>ದಿಶಿ | ಮಳಹಾರೀನದೀ ಸೀಮಾ || ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯೋ ಯಂ ಧರ್ಮನೀತುರ್ನೃಪಾಣಾಂ | ಕಾಳೀ  
 ಕಾಳೀ <sup>46</sup>ಪಾಳನೀಯೋ ಭವದ್ಭಿಃ | ಸರ್ವಾನ್ಯೇತಾನ್ಭಾವಿನಃ ಪಾರ್ಥಿವೀಂದ್ರಾನ್ | ಭೂಯೋ ಭೂಯೋ  
 ಯಾಚತೇ ರಾಮಭ(ಚಂ)ದ್ರಃ || ಬಹುಭಿರ್ವಸುಧಾ ಭುಕ್ತಾ | ರಾಜಭಿಸ್ಸಗರಾದಿಭಿರ್ಯಸ್ಯ ಯಸ್ಯ ಯದಾ  
 ಭೂಮಿ | ಸ್ತಸ್ಯ ತಸ್ಯ ತದಾ ಫಲಂ || ಸ್ವದತ್ತಾಂ ಪರದತ್ತಾಂ ವಾ | ಯೋ  
 ಹರೇತಿ ವಸುಂಧರಾಂ | ಷಷ್ಟೀರ್ವರ್ಷಸಹಶ್ರಾ(ಸ್ರಾ)ಣಿ | ವಿಷ್ಣಾಯಾಂ ಜಾಯತೇ ಕೃಮಿಃ ||  
 ವೃತ್ತ || ಇದನಾನಂದದೀನೋದಿ ಪಾಳಿಸಿದವಂಗಳ್ಯಂ ಕುಭಂ ಮೃಗಂ | ಮುದಮುತ್ಸಾಹಮು-  
 ಶೇಷಸಾಖ್ಯಮೇನಿವಾಯುಂ ಶ್ರೀಯುಮನ್ತಲ್ಲದಿನ್ತಿದಿ ತಾನೇಕೇಗ\* .....ನೃ ಘಣ್ಣ ಕಿಡಿಸಲ್ಯಂದಿರ್ವು ಕಪ್ಪಂ(ಪ್ಪು)-  
 ನ್ನಿಗೋದ(ದಿ)ದೋಡ್ಕೇರ್ನ(ನ್ದು)ಗಲುಳ್ಳನಂ ವಿಷಮದುಃಖಾವಾಸಮಂ ಘಿಣ್ಣಗು ||† .....ನೃ || ಗಂಗಾ-  
 ಸಾಗರಯಮುನಾಸಂಗಳಮದೊಳ್ ತೀರ್ಥಂಗಳೊಳೋ[ತು]ಕುಳದ್ವಿಜಪುಂಗಳನೋಕುಳಮನಳದಂನಿ-  
 ದನಳದರ್ || ವಿರಪಮಾರ್ಕಡಿದೇವಸ್ಯ ಜಿನಾಲಯಂ ||

\* One letter effaced; the vowel 'e' or 'é' is discernible above the line. † Two letters effaced.

No. II. <sup>1</sup>

A grant, to be respected by all, of six *nivartanas* <sup>2</sup> was made by king Kanna in a *śvata* <sup>3</sup> in the village of Muḷugunda, belonging to Sugandhavarti, for the purpose of providing oblations of *ghee* for the god who presides over the twelve villages. <sup>4</sup> King Kanna gave that portion of land which is situated between two tamarind trees to the south of that (village). Six *mattars* <sup>5</sup> in Piriyaḱōlu, to the west of the boundary of Sugandhavarti.

May victory attend the command of the lord of the three worlds ; —the command of Jina, which has an effectual mark consisting of the most profound word “*Syāt*” ! <sup>6</sup>

Muḷlabhaṭṭāraka was a teacher, full of fierce penances, in the Kārēya sect of the holy Maḷāpatīrtha. His disciple was the virtuous and learned Guṇakīrti, the chief of sages, and his again was Indra-kīrtisvāmī, who overcame the infatuation of desire. His disciple was Prithvīrāma, resplendent with the beautiful woman Fortune, a very mountain for the production of the jewel of truth, the eldest son of Mēṇaḱa, the worshipper of the lotuses which were the feet of Śrī-Kṛishṇarājadēva, whose breast bore the mark of Lakshmī <sup>7</sup> and before

<sup>1</sup> This inscription is from a stone slab built into the wall to the left of a Jain temple at Saundatti in the Paragad Tāluka of the Belgaum District. The emblems at the top of the stone are :—In the centre, a seated figure of Jinēndra ; to the right of it, a crooked knife beyond which are a cow and calf ; and to the left, the sun, with the moon above it.

<sup>2</sup> ‘*Nivartana* ;’ an ancient land-measure said to be equal to two hundred square cuḷits. It occurs also in the older Halsi copper-plate inscriptions ; see *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX., No. XXVII., pp. 229 *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of this word is not known ; as used in these inscriptions it is, of course, not the same as the Old Canarese ‘*śvata*,’ ruin, destruction, an enemy. In these inscriptions it is occasionally spelt ‘*śivatta*,’ and this may justify the suggestion of the etymology and explanation of the word being possibly ‘*śmeya vatta* (*paṭṭa*),’ that which has acquired boundaries, an enclosure.

<sup>4</sup> i. e. the god of the circle of villages known as the Sugandhavarti Twelve : see No. VII., lines 53 *et seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> ‘*Mattar* ;’ an ancient land-measure the value of which is not now known.

<sup>6</sup> ‘*Syādvādti*,’ *asserter of possibilities*, is one of the names applied to a member of the sect of the Jains ; see H. H. Wilson, *Essays on the Religion of the Hindus*, vol. I., p. 316.

<sup>7</sup> The goddess of fortune ; kings and others of high rank are supposed to have various marks about their persons indicative of their noble birth and fortunes.

whom kings prostrated themselves. The brilliance of his <sup>†</sup> dawning might completely dried up the juice of the pride of his haughty foes. Through his hands <sup>†</sup> which conferred joy upon those that had been conquered by him, his country was in him possessed of a good king <sup>†</sup>. The line of policy which in his wisdom he adopted was hard to be withstood and very terrible: his glory, as if it were a swan, disports itself in the lake of mankind: having overcome the hostile kings, his commands were published abroad. Seven hundred and ninety-seven years of the Śaka era having elapsed, in the Manuṣṭha samvatsara, that king caused a temple of Jina to be built in the village of Sugandhavarti and allotted to it eighteen *nivartanas*.

Hail! While the victorious reign of the prosperous Kṛishnarājadēva, —the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the glory of the race of Kāshtrakūṭa,—was flourishing with perpetual increase so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last; he who subsisted (as if he were a bee) on the lotuses which were his feet<sup>10</sup>, (namely):—Hail! the fortunate Mahāsāmanta Prithvirāma, the great chieftain who attained the five great *śabdas*, the beloved of the goddess Bravery, a very thunderbolt to the mountains which were the hostile chieftains, the sun of the white lotuses which were learned men, the best of good warriors, the granter of all the wishes of his servants,—gave, as a grant to be respected by all, eighteen *nivartanas*, situated in four different places, to the shrine of Jinendra that he himself had had erected.

The *nivartanas* that were given by Prithvirāma were given again, free from all opposing claims, by Kārtavīrya to his own spiritual preceptor. On the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, Śrī-Bhāgalāmbikā-

<sup>†</sup> i. e. Kṛishnarājadēva's, to judge from the nature of what follows; but the construction of the original is bad, and the relative pronoun, necessarily rendered in the translation by the personal pronoun, might be taken to refer to Prith-  
as an      is to Kṛishnarāja.

<sup>10</sup> is a      upon words here, which consists in 'rājan' meaning king or  
and      tend or ray of light.

technical expression for the relation of a subordinate  
paramount sovereign. The simile is that of a  
the favour of his sovereign, as a bee is  
juices or the fragrance of the

dêvî, the chief wife of Kârtavîrya, verily made a grant to be respected by all.

Hail! While the victorious reign of the prosperous Tribhuvanamal-ladêva <sup>11</sup>,—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the glory of the family of Satyâśraya, the ornament of the Châlukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last; he who subsisted on the lotuses which were his feet (was):—Hail! the fortunate Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara, king Kârtavîrya, possessed of the glory of the names of “the great chieftain who has attained the five great *Śabdās*, the supreme lord of Lattalûrpura, he who is sung to with the musical instrument called Trivaḷi, the ornament of the Ratta family, he who is possessed of the mark of vermillion, he who excels in discrimination<sup>12</sup>, the owner of the banner of the golden Garuḍa<sup>13</sup>, he who naturally resembles Kâma-dêva.”<sup>14</sup>

Born in the race of the Rattas, illustrious, the son of king Nanna, dependent on the lotuses which were the feet of the fortunate Âhava-malla<sup>15</sup>, famous as him of the thousand arms<sup>16</sup>,—such was the mighty Kârtavîrya; he, when king, fixed the boundaries of the country of Kuhunḍi.<sup>17</sup> In king Dâvari<sup>18</sup> his people became possessed of a good ruler; his younger brother was the mighty king Kannakaira. His eldest son, king Erâga, shines in the earth, being acquainted with the science of music; his younger brother is king Aṅka. The eldest son of him who was acquainted with the science of music (Erâga) was the king Śrî-Sêna, whose chief queen was the noble Maḷalâdêvî. The eldest son of the king Śrî-Kâlasêna was the famous king Kannakaira, skilled in dancing, music, &c. His religious preceptor Kanakapra-

<sup>11</sup> The Châlukya king Vikramâditya II., or Pêrmâdirâya,—Śaka 998-1049.

<sup>12</sup> Lit. *he who is a very Viriñcha (Brahma or Vishṇu or Śiva) in respect of his discrimination.*

<sup>13</sup> The bird and vehicle of Vishṇu, something between a bird and a man.

<sup>14</sup> Lit. *he who naturally resembles him whose standard bears the emblem of an alligator.*

<sup>15</sup> The Châlukya king Sômêśvaradêva I.,—Śaka 962 ?—991 ?

<sup>16</sup> Kârtavîrya, a Purâṇic hero slain by Paraśurâma.

<sup>17</sup> The name is usually spelt Kûṇḍi; it occurs in the form in which it is spelt here, Kuhunḍi, in the Bâgavâdi copper-plate; see *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX., No. XXVII., pp. 246 *et seqq.*

<sup>18</sup> See No. IV., translation, note 5.



bhasiddhântadêva, acquainted with the three Vêdas, versed in all the sacred writings, resembling a Gaṇadhara<sup>19</sup>, is resplendent in the earth. King Kanna, on an auspicious lunar day, being the occasion of a *Samkrânti*<sup>20</sup>, gave twelve *nivartanas*, as a grant to be respected by all, to Kanakaprabhadêva. His younger brother :—O Śrî-Kârtavîrya !; a very ocean art thou in profundity, a very Mandara<sup>21</sup> in majesty, in liberality a very tree of plenty to mankind. His eldest son :—Fortune has approached thee; the lovely woman Spotless Fame has come; thy bride, Victory, has stationed herself at the head of thy troops;—O king Śrî-Sêna, esteemed the first among good warriors and chieftains in the path of war!, how can we wonder at thy success? In the village of Sugandhavarti, full of virtuous people, the king Śrî-Kâlasêna had a temple of Jinêndra built; and to that shrine king Sêna, who was possessed of a mighty army, gave in his devotion twelve *nivartanas* as a grant to be respected by all.

Twenty-one of the years that bear the name of the era of the brave Vikrama<sup>22</sup> having elapsed (*i e.* in Śaka 1019), in the Dhātu *samvatsara*, on Sunday the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight of Pushya, at the moment when the sun was commencing his progress to the north, the brave Pêrmâḍidêva<sup>23</sup> gave, as a grant to be respected by all, twelve *nivartanas* in his own *sîvaṭa* named Kârēyabâgu. In the same *sîvaṭa* Kannakaira gave to his own religious preceptor twelve *nivartanas* as a grant to be respected by all. Its boundaries are :—On the E., the boundary of the village of Puligerevallî commencing from the *sîvaṭa* of Halasayya; on the S., the boundary of the village of Sugandhavarti; on the W., the boundary of the village of Kukkumbâlu; on the N., the boundary is the river Maḷahârî.<sup>24</sup>

“ This general bridge of piety of kings should ever be preserved by you ; ”—thus does Râmachandra make his earnest request to all future princes. Many kings, commencing with Sagara, have enjoyed the

<sup>19</sup> A member of a particular class of the Jain priesthood.

<sup>20</sup> ‘ *Samkrânti*,’ the actual passage of the sun or other planetary bodies from one sign of the zodiac into another.

<sup>21</sup> The mountain which was used as a churning-stick by the gods and demons when they churned the ocean.

<sup>22</sup> “ Having set aside the ancient Śaka, he” (Vikramâditya II.) “ established the Vikrama-Śaka in his own name.”—Elliot on Hindu Inscriptions.

<sup>23</sup> The Châlukya king Vikramâditya II.

<sup>24</sup> Also called Malaprahârî; the modern name is Malaprabhâ.

earth ; he, who for the time being possesses it, enjoys the benefit of it. He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born for sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure. May prosperity ever attend him who, joyfully reading this, preserves it, and joy, pleasure, perfect happiness, health, and fortune ; but if any one reads it with the evil resolve of destroying it, may he go to the awful abode of misery for as long as the sun and moon may last. Those who destroy this (grant) (sin as much) as those who destroy cats or Brâhmaṇs or bulls or cows at the junction of the Gaṅgâsâgara and the Yamunâ, or at the sacred shrines of Vâraṇâsi or Gaye. The Jinâlaya of the brave Pêrmâḍidêva.

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## No. III.

ರಟ್ಟಕುಳಾನ್ವಯನ್ಯಪರುಂ ಪಟ್ಟದ ಪತವಮ್ಮ ನೆಗಳನಿವ ಗಾವುಂದುಗಳುಂ ಬಿಟ್ಟಜ್ಞೇನೇಂದ್ರಳುಜೆಗೆ  
 ನೆಟ್ಟನೆ ಧಾನ್ಯಂಗಳೊಳಗೆ ಪೊಂದಿದ ಕುಳಮುಂ || ಉಟ್ಟ(ಟ್ಟ)ರ ಪಟ್ಟಜಿನಾಲಯಕೆಟ್ಟಳವಾದಯ್ಯತೊಕ್ಕಲನುಮತೆ-  
 ದಿಂದಂ ಕೊಟ್ಟಜ್ಞೇನೇಂದ್ರಳುಜೆಗೆ ನೆಟ್ಟನೆ \*.....ಫ(ಃ;ಪಂ?) || ದೀಪಾವಳಯು [ಪ]ವ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ದೇವರ  
 ಸೊಗರಿಂಗೆ ಗಾಣದಲೊಮ್ಮನೆಣ್ಣೆ || ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪರಮಗಂಭೀರಸ್ಯಾದ್ಯಾದಾಮೋಘಲಾಂಛನಂ [ | ] ಜೀಯಾ-  
 ತ್ರೈ(ತ್ತೈ)ಳೋಕ್ಕನಾಥಸ್ಯ ಕಾನನಂ ಜಿನಶಾಸನಂ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ನಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾತ್ರಯಂ ಶ್ರೀಪ್ರಿ(ಪ್ರ)ಥ್ವೀವ-  
 ಲ್ಲಭಂ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜಪರಮೇಶ್ವರಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಂ ಸತ್ಯಾತ್ರಯಕುಳತಿಳಕಂ ಜಾಳುಕ್ಕ(ಕ್ಯಾ)ಭರಣಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪ್ರೈ-  
 ಲವದೇವರ ವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯಮುತ್ಪರೋತ್ತರಾಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯುಂ ಸುಲುತ್ತಮೀರೆ | ತತ್ಪಾದಪದ್ಮೋಪಜೀವಿ | ಸಮಧಿಗತಪಂಚ-  
 ಮಹಾಶಬ್ದಮಹಾಸಾಮನ್ತಂ ಸಮರವಿಜಯಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಶಾನ್ತಂ<sup>9</sup> ಬೈ(ಃಚೈ)ಸಾನ್ವಯಸರೋಜವನಮಾತ್ಮಗಣ್ಣಂ ನುಡಿದಂತೆಗಣ್ಣಂ  
 ಹಯವತ್ಸರಾಜಂ ರೂಪಮನೋಜಂ ಪರಬಳಸೂಟೆಕಾಲುಂ<sup>10</sup> ವೈರಿಬಂಗಳುಂ ನರಸಂ(ಶಂ)ಕಭೀಮಂ ಚಲದಂಕರಾಮಂ  
 ಗಣ್ಣರ ಗಣ್ಣಂ ವೈರಿಭೇರುಣ್ಣಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪನ್ನಮಂದರಂ<sup>11</sup> ಶರಣಾಗತವಜ್ರಪಂಜರಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಶಾನ್ತಿವಮ್ಮರಸುರ  
 ವಂಶಾವತಾರಮಿಂತೆಂದೊಡೆ [ || ] ಶ್ರೀಮದಮರೇಂದ್ರವಿಭವೋದ್ಧಾಮಂ ಸಂಗ್ರಾಮರಾಮನೂರ್ಜ್ವಿತಶೇಜಂ ಭೀಮಪಾ-  
 ಕ್ರಮನೆನಿಸಿದನೀ ಮಹಿಯೋಳ್ ಪೃಥ್ವಿರಾಮನುಪಮರೂಪಂ || ತತ್ಸುತ<sup>12</sup> || ಆರೂಢ(ಥ)ವತ್ಸರಾಜನುದಾ-

\* Letters equivalent to fourteen short syllables have been effaced here.

ರಸುಣಾ ವಿಸುತಕಂದುಕಾದಿತ್ಯಂ ಶ್ರೀನಾರಿಂಶಾನ್ತಂ ನಿಜ್ಜತವೈರಿಪ್ರಜನೇನಿಸಿ ಪಿಟ್ಟಗಂ ಸತಿ ನೆಗಲ್ದಂ \* ||  
 ವೃ + || ಅಂತಕನಸ್ತೈ 14 ಖಂದಿರೋಳಾಂಶಜವಮ್ಭುನನೋಡಿಸುತ್ತಿ ಮಾಣಾಂಶೂರನೇಕರಂ ತವಿಸಿ ವಸ್ತುಗಳಂ  
 ಮದವಾರಣಾಂಗಳಂ ಕಾನ್ತೈಯಂ 15 ತುರಂಗಚಯಮಂ ಪಿಡಿತೊಡೆ ಮಿಚ್ಚೆರಾಭಯಂ ದನ್ನಿಯನಿತ್ತನಂತದುವೆ ಪೆಂಳವೆ  
 ಪಿಟ್ಟಗ ನಿನ್ನ ಸೆಲ(ಲ್ಲ)ಮಂ || ತದಸ್ತಪತ್ನಿ 16 || ವೃ || ಘೋರಲಳುಂಬಮಪ್ಪ ಚರಿತಂ  
 ಮಿಗೆ ಬಣ್ಣೆ ಸುಬ್ಬ ಸಂಭವಂಗಳಗಣಿತಮಪ್ಪ 17 ರೂಪವಿಭವಂ ಪತಿಭಕ್ತಿಯೊಳೊಂದಿ ಸಜ್ಜನಿಕೆಗೆ ನೆರೆಯಾದ ಮಾಂತನದ  
 ಪಂಪು ಸಮಂತಳವಟ್ಟ ನಿಃ † ಜಿಕ್ಕಬ್ಬರಸಿಗೆ 18 ಸಂದರುನ್ಧತಿ ಪೆಣ ದೊರೆಯಿಂದದೆ ದೋಸ(ದ)ವಲ್ಲದೆ || ತತ್ತನೂಜ ||  
 ಕಂ || | ಶ್ರೀಮದುದಯಾದ್ರಿಶಿಖರೋದ್ಭಾವೋದಯಶಪನವಿಭವರೂಪಂ ಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಶ್ರೀಮಹಿಮಾತಿತಯಂ ಜಯಾಮಾರಮಣಂ  
 19 ಜಿತಾರಿ ಶಾನ್ತನೃಪಾಳಂ || ದಯಿಯಿಂದೊಳ್ಳನ ತೆಳ್ಳನಿಂ ಗುಣಗಣಾಳಂಕಾರದಿಂ ಮಾರ್ಗನಿರ್ಣಯದಿಂ 21  
 ತತ್ವ(ತ್ವ)ವಿಚಾರದಿಂ ಗಮಕದಿಂದಾಹಾರಭೈಷ್ಯಸಾಭಯಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಮಳದಾನದಿಂದಧಿಕನೆಂದೊಳ್ಳನಿಂ ಶಾನ್ತಿವರ್ಮನ ವಿಖ್ಯಾ-

\* The modern form of the verb is ನೆಗಳು, but in these inscriptions we have in the past tense both ನೆಗಲ್ದಂ and ನೆಗರ್ದಂ, and the old form of the verb was certainly ನೆಗಲು; there seems, however, to have been another form, ನೆಗಲು, but I think the reading here is ನೆಗಲ್ದಂ, and not ನೆಗಲ್ದಂ.

† ವೃ; sc. ವೃತ್ತ, i.e. "metre."

‡ In line 40 the name occurs as ನಿಜಿಯಬ್ಬರಸಿ.

§ The 'Prasa' or invariable alliteration of the second letter of each line in Canarese poetry is here violated; one or two further instances of this violation will be met with in this series of inscriptions.

|| ಕಂ; sc. ಕಂದ್ರ—a Canarese metre corresponding to the Sanskrit Āryagiti.

ತಿಯನೊಂದೆ<sup>23</sup> ನಾಳಗಿಯೊಳನ್ನೇ ವಣ್ಣಿ ಪ ಬಣ್ಣಿ ಪ ತದಗ್ರಪತ್ನಿ || ಶ್ರೀವನಿತ ತಾನೆ ಬನ್ದು  
 ಮಹಿಂವನಿತಗೆ<sup>24</sup> ತಿಳಕಮನಿಸಿ ಶಾನ್ತನ ಲಲಿತಶ್ರೀವನಿತೆಯಾದ ವಿಭವಮನೇ ವೊಗಳ್ಬುದೊ ಚಂದಿಕಬೈಯರಸಿಯು  
 ಪೆಂವ || ಯ<sup>25</sup> \* ತಿತಾರಕಾಪರೀತಃ | ಕಣ್ಣೂರಗಣ್ಣೋರುಕನ್ನಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಕರಃ ಬಾಹುಬಲದೇವಚಂದ್ರೋ ಜಿನಸಮಯನಭಸ್ತಳೇ  
 ಭಾತಿ || ವ್ಯಾ<sup>26</sup> † ಕರಣಶೀಕ್ಷ ದಂಷ್ಟ್ರ ಸ್ಪಿದಾನ್ತನಖ(ಖಃ) ಪ್ರವಾಣಕೇಸರಭಾರಃ | ಬಾಹುಬಲದೇವಸಿಂಹಂ(ಹಃ)  
 ಪ್ರವಾದಿಗಜಶೀವ್ರಮದಹರಸ್ಸಂಜಯತೇ || ವೃ || ಅವನೀವಾಳಾನತಶ್ರೀಪದಕಮಳಯುಗಂ ತತ್ವ(ತ್ವ)ನಿರ್ಘ(ಣ್ಣಿ)-  
 ಕ್ತರಾದಾನ್ತವಿದಂ<sup>27</sup> ಚಾರಿತ್ರರತ್ನಾಕರನಮಳವಚ(ಚಃ)ಶ್ರೀವಧೂಕಾಂತನಂಗೋದ್ಭವದರ್ಪುರಣ್ಯದಾವಾಳನುದಿತಲಸದ್ಬೋಧನಂಕುದ್ಧನೇತ್ರಂ  
 ರವಿಚಂದ್ರಸವ್ಯಮಿ<sup>28</sup> ಭವ್ಯಾಂಬುಜದಿನವನಘೋ(ಘಃ)ಘಾದ್ರಿಸದ್ವಜ್ರವಾತ || ಕಂ || ಕಣ್ಣೂರ್ಗಣಾಬ್ಧಿಚಂದ್ರನಖಣ್ಣಿತ್-  
 ಸುತಘೋವಿಭಾಸಿಖಣ್ಣಿ<sup>29</sup> ತಮದನಂ ಡಿಣ್ಣೀರಪಿಣ್ಣು ಸುರವಿಂದಣ್ಣಯಶ್ಚಪ್ಪಿಣ್ಣು ನರ್ಹಣ್ಣಿ ಮುನೀಂದ್ರ || ವೃ || ಕ<sup>30</sup> † ನ್ತುರಾ-  
 ಜಗಜ್ಜೇಂದ್ರಕೇಸರಿ ಭವ್ಯರೋಕಸುಖಾಕರಂ ಕಾಂತವಾಗ್ವನಿತಾಮನೋರಮನುಗ್ರನಿರತಘೋಮಯಂ ಕಾನ್ತಮೂರ್ತ್ತಿ<sup>31</sup> ದಿಗನ್ತಕೀರ್ತಿ  
 ವಿಗಾಜಿತಂ ಕೂಭಚಂದ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಾನ್ತದೇವನಿಳೇಶವಂದಿತಪಾದಪಂಕರುಹದ್ವಯ || ಕ || ನುತಯಾಪನೀಯಗಂಘ್ರಪ್ರತೀತಕಣ್ಣೂರ್ಗ-  
 ಣಾಬ್ಧಿಚಂದ್ರಮರೇಂದ್ರೀ ಕ್ಷಿ<sup>32</sup> ತಿವಳಿ(ಳ)ಯಂ ಪೊಗಳ್ಬನಮುನ್ನತಿಸಿತ್ತಮ್ಘೋ ನಿರ್ದೇವದಿವ್ಯಮುನೀಂದ್ರವ<sup>33</sup> || ಜಿತಕರ್ಮಾರಾತಿಭೂವಾಳ-  
 ಕಕುಳತಿಳಕಾಳಂಕೃತಾಂಘ್ರಿದ್ವಯಂ ರಾಜಿತಭವ್ಯವ್ರಾತಪಂಕೇರುಹವನದಿನಪಂ ಚಾರಿ(ರು)ಚಾರಿತ್ರವಾಗ್ವಾಂಚಿತನೂಕಂ(ಕ್ತಂ) ಕಬ್ಬ-  
 ವಿದ್ಯಾಗಮಕಮಳಭವಂ ಶ್ರೀಪ್ರಭಾಚಂದ್ರಧೇ(ದೇ)ವಖ(ವ್ರ)ತಿ<sup>34</sup> ಪಟ್ಟರ್ಕಾಳಂಕಂಗಳಿಳಿಯನೆ ನೆಗಟ್ಟಂ ಜೈ[ನ]ಮಾಗ್ವಾಬ್ಧಿಚಂದ್ರ ||  
 ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸ(ಶ)ಕನ್ಯಪಕಾಲಾಂತನಂವತ್ಯುಪಶತಂಗಳ[ಳ] § ೧೦೨ನೆಯ ವಿಕ್ರಮಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಪೂಜ್ಯಕುದ್ಧದಕಮಿಾಬ್ಧಿಚಂದ್ರತೀರ್ತ-

\* The metre is the Sanskrit Āryā.

† The metre is Āryāḡiti.

‡ The metre is the not very common one of Mallikāmlā.

§ This letter is omitted in the original.

ರದಾದಿಸುತ್ತರಾಯಣಶಂ(ಸಂ)ಕ್ರಮಣದೋಳ್ <sup>36</sup> ಬಾಹುಬಲಭಟ್ಟಾರಕರ ಕಾಲಂ ಕಟ್ಟಿ ಕಾವ್ತಿವರ್ತುರಸಂ ಸುಗನ್ನಪತ್ತಿಯಲ್  
 ಜಿ ತನ್ನ ಮಾದಿಸಿದ ಖಸದಿಗಾ ಲೂರ ತನ್ನ ಸೀವಟದ ಲೋಲದೊಳಗೆ ಸರ್ವಜ್ಞಾಧಾಪರಿಹಾರಮಾಗಿ ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಮತ್ತನ್ನೊಳ್-  
 ಳುಯ್ಯುತ್ತದಂ ಚತುರಾಳುಟದ ಸೀಮೆಯಾಳುವೆಂದೆದೆ [1] ತದ್ಧರಳಾಲದ ಖದಗಲೋಲದ ಸಂದಿನಲೋಕಾನ್ಯದ ಸುದ್ದೆ |  
 ಅಲ್ಲಿಂ ತೆಂಕಲೆಲೆಯಕೆಡೆಮು ಬಿಳಿಯು ಕಲ್ಲು | ಅಲ್ಲಿಂ ಪರುವಲ್ ಸೀವಟ್ಟದ ಸದ್ವಿನೋಳ್ ನೈರ(ರೃ)ತಿಯ ಸುದ್ದೆ |  
 ಅಲ್ಲಿಂ ಖಡಗಲ್ ಸೀವಟ್ಟದ ತದ್ಧರಳಾಲದ ಸುದಿನಲ್ ವಾಯವ್ಯದ ಸುದ್ದೆ [1] ಮತ್ತಂ ನೀಜಿಯುಪ್ಪರಸಿ  
 ತನ್ನ ಮುಗಂ ಕಾವ್ತಿವರ್ತುರಸಂ ಮಾಡಿಸಿ[ದ] ಪಿರಿಯು ಖಸದಿಗೇ ತನ್ನ ಸೀವಟಂ ಪಿರಿಯಪನ(ಸು)ಣ್ಣಿಗೆ ತೋದ  
 ಖಟ್ಟಿಯಂ ತೆಂಕ ಕಾದಿಯೂರ ಲೋಲದ .....ನೂಲುಯ್ಯತ್ತು ಮ[ತ್ತ]ಕೈಯ್ಯಂ ನಮಸ್ಕರಮಾಗಿ  
 ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಬಾ ಭೂಮಿಯು ಚತುಸ್ಸೀ .....ರ ಕುಕುಂಬಾ[ಳ] ಲೋಲದ ಸಂದಿನಲೋಕಾನ್ಯದ ಸುದ್ದೆ | ಅಲ್ಲಿಂ  
 ತೆಂಕ .....ಕುಕುಂಬಾಳ ಸುಗನ್ನ[ವ]ತ್ತಿಯ ಲೋಲದ ಸದ್ವಿನಲೋಕಾನ್ಯದ [ಸುದ್ದೆ | ] § .....  
 ಗನಕಾದ || .....ಗನೋಳ[ಗೆ ನೈ]ರ(ರೃ)ತಿಯ ಸುದ್ದೆ | ] ¶ ..... ವಾಯವ್ಯದ ಸುದ್ದೆ |  
 ಇನ್ನಿ[ನಿ]ತು ಭೂಮಿಯು .....[ಹಂ]ದೀವ್ಯರುಂ ಪ್ರ[ತಿಪಾಳ]ಸುನರ್ [1] ಪೂಗ .....[ಯ]ಮುನಾಂ  
 ಸಾಗ[ರ] || .....ದವಗ್ಗ .....ಣ್ಣಿನ್ ಭುಗ .....ವನ್ನರಾಂಧಗ ..... ||

\* About seven letters have been effaced here. † About eleven letters effaced. ‡ About fourteen letters effaced.  
 § About seventeen letters effaced. || Two letters effaced. ¶ About twenty letters effaced.  
 \*\* About twenty-one letters effaced. †† The rest of the line effaced.

No. III.<sup>1</sup>

The kings of the lineage of the Rattakula and the headmen of the villages <sup>2</sup> who were esteemed famous .....<sup>3</sup> gave very properly to the worship of Jinendra a great portion of the grain that they had acquired. With the consent of fifty agriculturists ..... gave very properly for the worship of Jinendra a measured portion that had been set apart for the pontifical temple of Jina of the Rattas. (They gave) one *māna*<sup>4</sup> of oil on (each) oil-mill for the lamp of the god at the festival of the Dîpavali.

May victory attend the command of the lord of the three worlds,—the command of Jina, which has an effectual mark consisting of the most profound word “*Syāt*”!

Hail! While the victorious reign of the prosperous Tailapadêva<sup>5</sup>,—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the glory of the Satyâśrayakula, the ornament of the Châlukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase, he who subsisted on the lotuses which were his feet (was) the fortunate king Sântivarma, the great chieftain who attained the five great *Śabdas*, the beloved of the goddess of victory, the sun of the white lotuses of the race of Baisa<sup>6</sup>, the performer of his promises<sup>7</sup>, a very Vatsarâja<sup>8</sup> to horses, captivating in his beauty, the destroyer of the strength of others, the conqueror of his foes, a very Bhîma in causing fear to mankind, a very Râma in the

<sup>1</sup> This inscription is from a stone slab built into the wall to the right of the same Jain temple at Saundatti in which is No. II. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a seated Jina, with two half-figures (a *Yaksha* and *Yakshî*) above fanning him with brushes of peacocks' feathers; to the right, a cow and calf with the sun above them; and to the left, another seated figure with the moon above it.

<sup>2</sup> ‘*Gāvunḍu*’ which the metre here requires to be pronounced as a dissyllable, ‘*gaunḍu*,’ is the old form of ‘*gauḍa*,’ the headman of a village, the *Pāṭṭl* of the Marattas; other forms are ‘*gāmaṇḍa*’ and ‘*gaunḍu*.’ The word is a corruption of the Sanskrit ‘*grāmaḍhya*,’ chief of a village, the ‘*r*’ and the ‘*y*’ being dropped, and the ‘*m*’ being changed to ‘*v*’ and nasalized.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of ‘*paṭṭada patavarma negaḷenipa*’ is not apparent.

<sup>4</sup> An oil-measure equivalent to four *seers*.

<sup>5</sup> Śaka 895-919.

<sup>6</sup> Or, perhaps, Chaisa.

<sup>7</sup> Literally “one who sees as he speaks;” ‘*nuḍida-ante kaṇḍam*.’

<sup>8</sup> Vatsarâja was a hero of tradition celebrated for his skill as a horse-breaker.

fierce fight<sup>9</sup>, the ruler of rulers, a *Bhérunda*<sup>10</sup> to his enemies, possessed of Mandara, a very cage of thunderbolts to (afford protection to) those who took refuge with him,—whose lineage was this:—

Preëminent in power like the glorious Indra, a very Râma in war, most brilliant, of terrible prowess,—such in this world was Prithvirâma, of unequalled beauty. His son:—A very Vatsarâja among horsemen, magnanimous, having the sun for his celebrated playball (?), the beloved of the woman Fortune, conquering the masses of his foes,—Pittaga was most glorious. Coming like Death and driving away Ajavarma who confronted him, destroying numbers that opposed him, and, pacified when they delivered up to him their property, their elephants, their lovely women, and their horses, giving to them an elephant as a pledge of peace (?),—how, O Pittaga, can I describe thy victories? His chief wife:—Her deeds were too great to be described, the excellence of her beauty was too much for even the Lotus-born<sup>11</sup> to estimate, she was virtuous in her devotion to her husband, the extreme height of eminence was her resting-place,—thus was Nîjikabbe, the queen, praised; excepting Arundhati<sup>12</sup>, who alone is equal to her, would it not be a fault to compare any other with her? His son:—Adorned with a power like that of the morning sun set free on the lofty summit of the beautiful mountain of dawn, of exceeding glory and good fortune and greatness, the lover of the lovely woman Victory, the conqueror of his foes,—(such was) the king Śânta. Surpassing all others in compassion, in pure goodness, in the adornment of good qualities, in judgment as to the (right) path (to be followed), in the investigation of truth, in versatility, in temperate diet, in (acquaintance with) the trusty scriptures, and in spotless liberality,—how can one tongue suffice me to describe the fame of Śântivarma? His chief wife:—(It was) as if the lovely woman Śrî<sup>13</sup> herself had come to be the ornament of the lovely woman the earth;—how shall we describe the glory of the queen Chandikabbe who became the lovely wife of Śânta?

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<sup>9</sup> 'Cha(chha)lada-añka' appears to mean much the same as 'masakada añka,' a fierce battle, a determined fight.

<sup>10</sup> A fabulous two-headed bird.

<sup>11</sup> Brahma, who was born from and has his throne in the lotus that sprang from the navel of Vishnu.

<sup>12</sup> The wife of the sage Vasiṣṭha; she is usually regarded as the model of wifely excellence.

<sup>13</sup> Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune.



The moon, which is Bâhubalidêva, shines in the sky of the observances of Jina, surrounded by stars which are ascetics, and causing the increase of the broad ocean of the sect of the Kaṇḍûragana.<sup>14</sup> Victorious is the lion, Bâhubalidêva, destroying the fierce fury of the elephants which are those whose doctrines are opposed to his;—his sharp teeth are Grammar, his claws are Settled Truths, and his mane is Proof. Having kings prostrate before the lotuses which are his feet, acquainted with the pure conclusions of truth, a very jewel-mine of (good) deeds, the beloved of the lovely woman Spotless Speech, a fire to consume the forest of self-conceit, having his eyes purified by the bright wisdom which is manifested in him,—(such is) Ravichandrasvâmi, the sun of the white lotuses which are good people, a thunderbolt to the mountain of sin. The moon of the ocean of the Kaṇḍûrgana, destroying passion with his sword which is the lustre of his uninterrupted and good penances, possessed of an abundance of fame (white) as a mass of foam or as the elephant of the gods,—(such is) Arhaṇandi, the chief of sages. A lion to the lordly elephant Kanturâja<sup>15</sup>, the conferrer of happiness upon worthy people, captivating the lovely woman Charming Speech, full of fierce and brave penances, of calm demeanour, famous to the ends of the earth,—(such is) Śubhachandrasiddhântadêva, whose feet, like lotuses, are worshipped by kings. Great is Maunidêva the chief of holy sages, so that people praise him as the moon of the ocean of the Kaṇḍûrgana which is full of a multitude of celebrated ascetics. Having his feet adorned with the forehead-ornaments of the hostile kings who are the bonds of action which have been overcome by him, the sun of the white lotuses which are resplendent and worthy people, adorning the sacred hymns with the path of his pleasing deeds, a very Lotus-born in (his acquaintance with) the science of words and the sacred writings,—such is the pious Prabhâchandrâdêva;—he shines like him who was without a blemish in (his knowledge of) the six systems of reasoning, being the moon of the ocean of the religion of Jina.

Hail! Nine hundred and two of the years of the era of the Śaka king having elapsed, in the Vikrama *samvatsara*, on Thursday the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Paushya, as the sun was commenc-

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<sup>14</sup> 'Kaṇḍûra' in Canareso means a medicinal herb; but the word here must be a proper name.

<sup>15</sup> Kâmadêva, the personification of passion or the lust of the flesh, which interferes with religious exercises.

ing his progress to the north, king Śântivarma, having washed the feet of Bâhubalibhattâraka, allotted to the Jain temple <sup>16</sup> that he had had built in Sugandhavarti one hundred and fifty *mattars* (of land), free from all opposing claims and as a grant to be respected by all, in the field of his own *śivata*; the boundaries of the four sides of this land are these:—The N.E. heap of stones over a grave <sup>17</sup> in the space between the two fields called Taddarapola and Badagivola; thence to the S., a white stone by the tank called Eleyakere; thence to the W., the S.W. heap of stones over a grave in the space between the *śivaṭṭa* (and what?); thence to the N., the N.W. heap of stones over a grave in the space between the *śivaṭṭa* and the field called Taddarapola.

Also the queen Nijiyabbe<sup>18</sup> gave one hundred and fifty *mattars* of cultivated land, in the field of Kâḍiyûru to the S. of the road that goes to her *śivata* Piriypasunḍi, as grant to the great Jain temple

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<sup>16</sup> 'Basadi,' or, in its modern form, 'basti,' is the popular Canarese name for a Jain temple, and, though it is given in Sanderson's dictionary as a pure Canarese word in this sense as a substantive and in the sense of *populous* as an adjective, it should, I think, be certainly taken to be a Tadbhava corruption of the Sanskrit 'vasati,' *abode, residence*; Sanderson himself regards it as a Tadbhava in the senses of an *abode, a village, a population*.

<sup>17</sup> 'Gudḍe' is a Canarese word for a grave in the ordinary sense of the term, but, as used in connexion with the definition of boundaries and similar matters, it has the technical meaning of a *heap of stones accumulated over a grave by each passer-by adding one as he goes*. In ancient times it was the practice to inaugurate religious undertakings, such as the building of temples, by burying a human being alive in the foundations, and in this place, and in others where the same expression occurs in the inscriptions, I think that we have a clear indication of this practice being deliberately resorted to for the purpose of defining the boundaries of land bestowed as a religious grant; such at any rate is the opinion of Mr. G. M. Tûrmari, whom I consulted as to the meaning of this expression. As a rule, women were enticed away on false pretences from their homes and were made the victims, and, on the principle of the 'ubhayamukhīdina',—the gift of a cow in the act of producing, and therefore apparently possessed of two heads,—being the most acceptable gift, generally a pregnant woman was selected. Local traditions in support of the prevalence of this practice are numerous; as an instance I may mention that people still talk of a woman named Mallavvâ having been sacrificed in this way when the building of the fort at Bail-Huṅgal in the Belgaum District was commenced. And one of the commonest native landmarks in the Canarese country is the 'Koravi-gudḍe,' a heap of stones over the grave of a beggar-woman.

<sup>18</sup> In line 16 of the text the form of this name is Nijikabbo; here, line 40, the reading in the original is distinctly Nijiyabbe. 'Abbe' is the old form of 'arve', 'arva,' *mother*, which is used as an honorific termination of the names of women; see No. VII., line 41, and other places, where Mâliyarve is used as equivalent to Mâlaladēvi of line 36.

that her son Śântivarma had had built. The four boundaries of this land are :—The N.E. heap of stones over a grave in the space between the lands of Kukumbâlu ..... ; thence to the S., the S.E. heap of stones over a grave in the space between the lands of Sugandhavarti and Kukumbâlu ..... (No connected translation can be given of such portions of the remainder of this inscription as are legible.)

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No. IV.

ಭದ್ರಮಸ್ತು ಜಿನಶಾಸನಾಯು || ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪುರಮಗಂಭೀರಸ್ಯಾದ್ವಾದಾಮೋಘಲಾಂಛನಂ || ಜೀಯಾಶ್ರೈ-  
 (ಶ್ರೈ)ಕೋಕೈನಾಥಸ್ಯ ಶಾಸನಂ ಜಿನಶಾಸನಂ || || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾಶ್ರಯಂ ಶ್ರೀಪೃಥ್ವೀವಲ್ಲಭಮು-  
 ಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜಪರಮೇಶ್ವರಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಂ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಲತಿಳಕಂ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಾಭರಣಂ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ಭುವನೈಕಮಲ್ಲದೇವರ  
 ವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯಮುತ್ತರೋತ್ತರಾಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಪ್ರವರ್ಧಮಾನಮಾಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕೃತಾರಂ ಸಲುತ್ತಮಿರೆ || || ತತ್ಪಾದಪದ್ಮೋಪಜೀವಿ || ||  
 ಸಮಧಿಗತಪಂಚಮಹಾಶಬ್ದಮುಹಾಮುಣ್ಣೀಶ್ವರಂ ಲತ್ತಲೂರ್ಪುರವರೇಶ್ವರಂ ಶ್ರೀವಶೇತೂರ್ಯುನಿಗೇರ್ಷ್ಯಾರ್ಥಂ ವೈರಿಕುಲ-  
 ವಿಳಯಾಂತಕವಿಭೀಷಣಂ ಸಿಂದೂರಲಾಂಛನಂ ಸಮಸ್ತವಿದ್ಯಾವಿರಿಂಚನಂ ಸುವರ್ಣಗರುಡಧ್ವಜಂ ವಿದಗ್ಧಮುಗ್ಧಾಂಗ-  
 ನಾಮಕರಧ್ವಜಂ ರಟ್ಟಕುಲವನಜವನನಾತ್ಮಣ್ಯಂ ಕದನಪ್ರಚಣ್ಡಂ ರಿಪುಸಮರವಿರವೈಕೋದರಂ ಪರನಾರಿಸಹೋದರಂ  
 ಸಾಹಸೋತ್ತಂಗಸೇನನಸಿಂಗ ನಾಮಾದಿಸಮಸ್ತಪುಷಸ್ತಿಸಹಿತಂ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮುಣ್ಣೀಶ್ವರಂ ಕಾಶ್ಯಾಪ(ಶ್ವ)ವೀರ್ಯುರಸುರ  
 ವಂಶಾವತಾರಮಿಂತಿದೆ || || ಶ್ರೀರಮಣನತುಲವಿಜಯಶ್ರೀರಮಣಂ ವಿಪುಲವಿಮಲಮುದಿತಕೀರ್ತಿಶ್ರೀರಮಣಂ ಚತುರವಚ(ಚಃ)-  
 ಶ್ರೀರಮಣಂ ನನ್ನಭೂಪನನುಪಮರೂಪ || ಆತನ ತನಯ || ಸ್ಥಿರನುಡಿವಂ ಕಲಿತನದೊಳ್ಳೊರೆದಾಳಂ ಮುನ್ನಮಿ-  
 ಹಿವನೆನ್ನದೆ ಸಕಳೋರ್ವರೆಯೊಳ್ ಕತ್ತನ ಸತ್ಯದ ದೊರೆಗಂ ಕೌರ್ಯ್ಯದ ಘೋರಗಂ ಸಮನೋರೇ || ||  
 ಅನ್ನೆನಿಸಿದ ವೀರಕತ್ತರನನಿಂ ಪಿರಿಯ || ವೃ || ವಸುಧಾಚಕ್ರದೊಳಿಂತು ಬಣ್ಣಿಸುವದು ತನ್ನ(ನ್ನಾ)[ಳ್ಳಿ] ತನ್ನೀಳ್ಳಿ  
 ತನ್ನೆಸಕಂ ತನ್ನ ತನ್ನ ಘೋರಜಿ ತನ್ನೊಪ್ಪಿ ತನ್ನದ್ಭಸಾಹಸವನ್ನತಿಯು ಧರಾವಳಯಮುಂ

ನಾನಾವಿಧ(ಧಂ) ಕೂಡೆ ಮುದ್ರಿಸಿದಂ ರಟ್ಟರ ಮೀರು ಡಾಯಿಮಮಹಿಂಪಾಳಂ ನೃಪಾಳೀತ್ತ[ಮಂ] ||  
 [ತ]ದನುಜ || ಸುರಕುಜಮುಂ ಪಳಂಚಲುಪ[ದಿಃ<sup>13</sup> \* ]ವಗುಣಂ ಸಲೆ ಸುದ ವಜ್ರಪಾಚರಮನನಾಗತಂ ಪಳವತ್ತಿ-  
 ಪ್ಪುದು [ಕಾ]ವಗುಣಂ ಪರಿಣಿ ಸಲ್ಪರಧಯನೆಯ್ದಿ<sup>14</sup> ಹೀಗಪ್ಪದು ತನ್ನ ಗಭಿಃರಗುಣಂ ಸಮಸ್ತದಿಕ್ಕರಿವೃಡ(ಢ)ದೇಳಿಯಂ  
 ನಗುವುದುಧ್ವಗುಣ(ಣಂ) [ಕಲಿ† ]ಕನ್ನಭಾವನ || ತತ್ಪುತ || ಕ || ನಿರುಪಮನಮಸ್ತಕಡೆ† ಯೋಗ್ಯರಸಿಜಭವನೇವ  
 ವಾದ್ಯವಿದ್ಯಾಧರನೋಳ್ಳರನಂಕಸುಂಕರಂ ಕಪ್ಪರವರ್ಷನೇರೆಗೆ ನೆಗರ್ಧ್ವನೇಹಿಗಮಹಿಂಶ || ತದನುಜ || ವೃ ||  
 ಕದನದೊಳಾನ್ರಾತಿಗಹಿ[ಯಲ್ಲ]ದ<sup>16</sup> ರಾಹುವಿಜಾತಿರೂಪನಲ್ಲದ ವಿನತಾನು[ಹ್ರಂಕಿಗಿಯು]ವರ್ವ(ವರ್) ದಳ್ಳುರಿಯಲ್ಲದ ದೇಹಿ-  
 ಕಾಳನಲ್ಲದ ಜವನ||...ಮು(ಃ?)ವಿ(ಃ?)ಕತನಲ್ಲದ<sup>17</sup> ಬಾದವ(ಃ?) [ನ]ನ್ತಮಾನಮಿಲ್ಲಧ(ದ) ರವಿಯಿಂದೊಡಾಂಪದಟಾ[ರು ರಣಾ]-  
 ಗ್ರದೊಳಂಕಭಾವನ || ತದಗ್ರಜನಪ್ಪಿಣಗಭಾವಾತ್ಮಜ || ಅನುಹೃದ್ಯಪತಿರಿಟತಾತಿತಪದಂ ವಿರಾಗನಾಲ್ಕ(ಲಂ)-  
 ಗನೋಲ್ಲಸಿ[ಶಾಂ]ಗಂ ಹರಹಾನಕಾಶತಶಿಕಾನ್ತಾ<sup>19</sup> ಕಾಶಗಂಗಾಜಳಪ್ರಸರಾನೋಘದಿಗಂತಕಿಃತ್ತಿ<sup>20</sup> ತವನಪ್ರದೋಲತನನೂತ್ತಿ ನಂದ  
 ಸು[ಸಾ]ಜದ್ಗುಣದೀವವತ್ತಿ ನೆಗ[ದರ್] ಶ್ರೀ[ನೀ]ನಭಾವಾಳಕ || ತತ್ಪನಯ || ಅರಿಭೂಪಾಳಕೃ-  
 ಶಾಂತನುದ್ಧತರಿಪ್ಪಾಪೂಳನನ್ನೋಹಭೀಕರಕಾಳಾನಳನು(ಃ?)ನಿ<sup>21</sup> \*...ತದಪ್ಪ(ಃ?) ಭಯಂಕರವಿ[ದ್ವಿ]ದ್ಯಹಿಮಾಳಮೀಘ-

\* The vowel 'i' is discernible above the line. † The vowel 'i' is discernible above the line.

† I have probably mistaken ಳ್ for ಟ here ; these two letters are sometimes liable to be confused.

‡ The Anusvāra is discernible above the line. || One letter effaced. ¶ The Anusvāra is discernible above the line.

\*\* Eight letters effaced.

ಲಯಕಾಳೀಶ್ವರವಾತಂ      ಕ್ಷಿ ಶೀಶ್ವರಚೂಡಾಮ[ಣಿ] \*      ..... † ..... [ || ]      ಶ್ರೀವನಿತೇಶಂ  
 † ಕೀರ್ತಿಶ್ರೀನಿತಾಧೀಶನುದಿತಸಂಕುಧ್ಧವಚ(ಚಃ)ಶ್ರೀರಮಣೇಶಂ      ವೀರ[ಶ್ರೀ] ‡ ..... [ || ಜಿನ]ನಾಧಪ      ದೇ-  
 ವನುಧ್ವಚರಿತವ್ವಿಧ್ಯಾವನಃ ..... ಟಾಸನದೇರ್ಮಾ(?)ರುಗಣ್ಯರೋ || ..... 24 ಜನಕನು-  
 ವ್ವೀರ್ಜಾತಿ      25 ಪ್ರತ್ಯಕ್ಷಗೋಮಿನಿ      ತಾಯಿ      ಮೈಳಲದೇವಿಯಿಂದಧಿಕಃ ¶ .....  
 ..... 26 ನೋವುಮತಕೈವರ್ಪ್ಪ(?)ರೀ      26 ಕ್ಷಿತಿಪಶಿಸ್ತಿನಿ(?)ರ      ವಧೂಪ್ರಕರ\*\* ..... ದಿತಿ† ..... ||  
 ಆತನ      ಕುಳಾಂಗನೆ      [ || ]      ಶ್ರೀವನಿತ      ತಾನೆ      ಬಂದು      ಮಹೀವನಿತಗೆ      ತಿಳಕಮಿನಿಸಿ      ಕತ್ತನ      ವಕ್ಷ(ಕ್ಷಃ)ಶ್ರೀವನಿತ  
 ನೆಗರ್ದ್ವ(ರ್ದ)      [ಭಾಗ]ಲದೇವಿ      27 ಜಗಜ್ಜನನಿ      ಸಜ್ಜನಾಗ್ರಣಿಯನಿಕು      ||      ಆ      ದಂವತಿಗಳ್ಳ      |      28 ಗರಿಸುತಗಂ  
 ಹರಂಗಮನುರಾಗದಿ      ಷಣ್ಮುಖನೆಂತು      ಪುಟ್ಟುವಂತ(ತಿ)ರೆ      ನೆಗಡ್ಡೆ(ಡ್ಡೆ)ಯ      ರುಗ್ಗಿ(ಕ್ರಿ)ಣಿಗಮಾ      ಹ[ರಿಗಂ]      29 ಸ್ಮರನೆಂತು  
 ಪುಟ್ಟುವಂತಿರೆ      ಸತಿ      ಕಾನ್ತಿಗಂ      ರವಿಗಮರ್ಕೃತನೇಭವನೆಂತು      ಪುಟ್ಟುವಂತಿರಲಮ್ಗೊ(ಗೊ)ಯ್ತು      ಪುಟ್ಟಿದನು(?)ನೆ† ..... ರಗು(?)ಗಿ? .....  
 30 ಕಲಿ      ಸೀನಭೂಭುಜ      ||      ಅವನೀಪಾಳಾನತಶ್ರೀ[ಪದ]ಕಮಳಯುಗಂ      ತತ್ವ(ತ್ವ)ನಿಣ್ಣೊಕ್ಕರಾದ್ಧಾನ್ತವಿದಂ      31 ಜಾ[ರಿಶ್ರ]ರಶ್ಯಾ-  
 ಕರನಮಳವಚ(ಚಃ)ಶ್ರೀವಧೂಕಾಂತನಂಗೋಗ್ಧವದವ್ವಿರಣ್ಯದಾವನಳನುದಿತಲಸದ್ವೀಧಸಂಕುಧ್ಧನೇಶಂ      ರವಿಚಂ[ದ್ರಸ್ಯಾಮಿ      ಭ]-

\* Twelve letters effaced.

† Two letters effaced.

‡ About ten letters effaced.

§ Two letters effaced.

|| Twenty-two letters effaced.

¶ About nineteen letters effaced.

\*\* About ten letters effaced.

†† Three letters effaced.

‡‡ One letter effaced.

§§ One letter effaced.

ವ್ಯಾಯುಜದಿನಪನಘಾಧ್ರಿಸದ್ವ್ಯಪ್ರಪಾತ || ಕ || ಕ || ಕಣ್ಣೂಗ್ಗಣಾಬ್ಧಿಚಂದ್ರನಖಣ್ಡಿ ತಸುತಘೀವಿಞಾಸಿಖ[<sup>32</sup> ಣ್ಡಿ ತಮದನಂ  
 ಡಿಣ್ಡಿ ಲಪಿಣ್ಡಿ ]ಸುರವೀದಣ(ಣ್ಡಿ)[ಯ]ಶಙ್ಕುಣ್ಡಿ ನರ್ಹಣ್ಡಿ ಮುನೀಂದ್ರ || ಮಲ್ಲಕಾಮಾಲೆ || ಕನ್ತುರಾಜಗಣೇಂದ್ರಕೇಸರಿ  
 ಭ[ವ್ಯಲೋಕಸುಖಾಕರಂ ಕಾಂತವಾಗ್ವನಿತಾನುನೋರಮನುಗ್ರವೀರತಘೀ]ಮಯಂ ಶಾನ್ತಮೂರ್ತ್ತಿ ದಿಗಂತಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿವಿರಾಜಿ.....

(The remaining eight or nine letters of this line are effaced, and the fragment terminates here.)

No. IV.<sup>1</sup>

Prosperity to the command of Jina ! May victory attend the command of the lord of the three worlds, &c. !

Hail ! While the victorious reign of the prosperous Bhuvanaikamalladêva<sup>2</sup>, the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the glory of the Satyâśrayakula, the ornament of the Châlukyas, was flourishing with perpetual increase so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last ;—he who subsisted on the lotuses which were his feet (was) :—The fortunate Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara king Kârtavîrya, who was possessed of all the glory of the names commencing with “ The great chieftain who has attained the five great *Śabdas*, the best lord of Lattalûrpura, he who is sung to with the musical instrument called Trivalî, he who is a very Vibhîshaṇa<sup>3</sup> in dealing death to the families of his foes, he who is possessed of the mark of vermilion, he who is deeply versed in all sciences, he who is the owner of the banner of the golden Garuḍa, he who is a very Kâmadêva to intriguing and amatory damsels, he who is the sun of the white lotuses of the Rattakula, he who is fierce in war, he who is brave as Vrikôdara<sup>4</sup> in fighting with his enemies, he who behaves like a brother to the wives of other men, the most impetuous Sênanasinga.” If you ask his lineage (it is this):—

The husband of Fortune, delighting in the lovely woman Unequalled Victory, the lover of the lovely woman Great and Spotless and Manifest Fame, attached to the lovely woman Skilful Speech ;—such was king Nanna of unrivalled beauty. His son:—Faithful in speech, slaying the multitudes inflated with valour in front of him, who in all the world can rival the truthfulness of Katta and the renown of his bravery ? In succession to the thus famous and brave king Katta,

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<sup>1</sup> This inscription is from a stone slab dug up out of the ground in front of the Jain temple at Saundatti, in which are inscriptions Nos. II. and III. The stone is only a fragment, and the portion subsequent to line 33 could not be found. I have had it placed in safety near the Mâmlatdâr's kachêri. The emblems at the top of the stone are :—In the centre, a seated Jinêndra ; to the right of it, another seated figure with the sun above it ; to the left, a cow and calf with the moon above them.

<sup>2</sup> The Châlukya king Sômêśvaradêva II.,—Śaka 991 ? to 998.

<sup>3</sup> The younger brother of Râvaṇa, the demon king of Lankâ.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. *he who has the stomach of a wolf*, a name acquired by the Pândava prince Bhîmasêna in consequence of his enormous appetite.



(his) eldest (son):—King Dâyima<sup>5</sup>, the Mêru<sup>6</sup> of the Rattas, the best of kings, with his rule, his glory, his brilliance, his fame, his might, his power, and his pleasing energy, in many ways set his mark upon the world; how shall we describe him in the circle of the earth? His younger brother:—The liberality of the brave king Kanna vies with the tree of the gods, his unprecedented attribute of protection puts to shame the cage of thunderbolts, his quality of profundity comparing itself with the ocean surpasses it, his quality of excellence laughs at the splendour of all the regions. His son:—A very Lotus-born in (respect of his acquaintance with) all incomparable accomplishments, charmingly acquainted with the art of music, a good king, having a number of decorations, raining down gifts upon any one who begged of him (?), king Erega was famous. His younger brother:—Except (one who is like) a snake to its foe in war, or one who is a monster like Râhu<sup>7</sup>, or (one who is like) a fierce fire to his enemy bent down before him, or (one who is like) death to mortals, or....., or the sun of infinite glory, who is bold enough to withstand king Añka in war? The son of his elder brother king Erega:—Having his feet struck with the diadems of hostile kings (bowing down before him), having his body thrilled with the embraces of the lovely woman Bravery, possessed of fame (as white) as Hara<sup>8</sup> or laughter or the brilliant Śasikântâ<sup>10</sup> or the water of the heavenly Ganges and fruitful in its effect and reaching to the ends of the regions, having a form as radiant as that of the sun, acting as a torch (to guide mankind) by reason of his truth, the king Śrî-Sêna was glorious. His son:—Slaughtering the hostile kings, terrible as the fire of death to the assemblage of arrogant inimical princes, a very hurricane

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<sup>5</sup> I am not quite certain about the name of the eldest son of Katta; the reading here is certainly Dâyima, but Elliot mentions a Yamabhûpa in the second degree from Nanna, and again in No. II., line 28, the name Dâvari occurs.

<sup>6</sup> The sacred mountain in the centre of the seven continents; the name is frequently used in the sense of *best of*, *preëminent among*.

<sup>7</sup> There seems to be here a play upon Erega's name, 'erege' being a possible dative of 'eravanu,' a beggar.

<sup>8</sup> A demon who was detected by the sun and moon in the act of stealthily drinking nectar when the ocean was churned by the gods. His head was severed from his body as a punishment by Vishnu, and, when eclipses occur, it is supposed to be making futile attempts to swallow the sun or moon, as the case may be.

<sup>9</sup> Śiva, who is always represented as having a pale white complexion.

<sup>10</sup> The moonstone,—a fabulous gem, probably a kind of crystal, supposed to have cooling properties, and to distil water when the rays of the moon fall upon it.

to disperse the clouds which were the formidable rulers who were his foes,....., the crest-jewel of kings,.....The lord of the lovely woman Fortune, of the lovely woman Fame, and of the lovely woman Pure Speech,.....of pleasing deeds, abounding in knowledge,..... was his father; his mother was Mañjaladêvi, a very Earth-born<sup>11</sup> or Gômini<sup>12</sup> incarnate,—conspicuous for these things.....His wife:— As if the lovely woman Śrî had come to be an ornament to the lovely woman the earth, such was Bhâgaladêvi, the mother of the universe, the first of good people, shining as the lovely woman of the bosom of Katta. As to the daughter of the mountain<sup>13</sup> and to Hara was born delightfully Shanmukha<sup>14</sup>, as to the famous Rukmiṇi<sup>15</sup> and to Hari was born Smara<sup>16</sup>, and as to Kânti<sup>17</sup> and to Ravi was born Arkatanûbhava<sup>18</sup>, so to this pair was born.....the brave king Sêna. Having kings prostrate before the lotuses which were his feet, acquainted with the pure conclusions of truth, a very mine of the jewel of (good) deeds, the beloved of the lovely woman Spotless Speech, a fire to consume the forest of self-conceit, having his eyes purified by the bright wisdom which was manifested in him,—such was Ravichandrasvâmi, the sun of the white lotuses which were good people, a very thunderbolt to the mountain of sin. The moon of the ocean of the Kaṇḍûrgaṇa, destroying passion with his sword which was the lustre of his uninterrupted and good penances, possessed of an abundance of fame (white) as a mass of foam or as the elephant of the gods,—such was Arhaṇandi, the chief of sages. A lion to the lordly elephant Kanturâja, the conferrer of happiness upon worthy people, captivating the lovely woman Charming Speech, fierce in his penances, of calm disposition, famous to the ends of the earth,.....(The fragment terminates here.)

<sup>11</sup> Sitâ, the daughter of Janaka and wife of Râma; she sprang from the ground when Janaka was ploughing.

<sup>12</sup> The goddess Lakshmî, the wife of Vishṇu.

<sup>13</sup> Pârvatî, the daughter of Himâlaya and wife of Śiva.

<sup>14</sup> Kârttikêya, the god of war.

<sup>15</sup> The wife of Hari or Vishṇu when he was incarnate as Kṛishṇa.

<sup>16</sup> Kâmadêva, the god of love.

<sup>17</sup> Lustre or brilliance personified as the wife of Ravi, the sun.

<sup>18</sup> The planet Saturn.



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ಸಮಾರಾಧಿತಮಹಾಲಿಂಗನಿದು ವೊದಲಾದನೇಕನಾಮಾವಳಿವಿರಾಜಿತಂ ಶ್ರೀಕಾರ್ತವೀರ್ಯಾದೇವಂ ನಿಜಾನುಜಯುಪಾಜವೀರಮಲ್ಲ-  
 ಕಾಚ್ಚುರ್ನದೇವಂ ಲೇರಸು ವೇಣುಗ್ರಾಮನ್ಯಂಧಾವಾರದೊಳ್ ಸುಖದಿಂ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಯನನುಭವಿಸುತ್ತಮಿರೆ || ಶ್ರೀಕವಿ-  
 ವಿಋಧಸ್ತೀರತ್ನಾಕಳತಂ ಜಳಧಿಯಂದದಿಂ ಯದುಕುಲಕ್ಷೀತಾಂತಂ ಶ್ರೀತಕಮಳಾನೀಕಂ ಹಗರಳಗೆ ನಾಡು  
 ಜಗದೊಳಗೆನಗುಂ || ಆ ನಾಡನಾಳ್ವಂ || ಯದುವಂಶಂ ಶ್ರೀತರಾಜಹಂಸಮಿನಿದಿಕ್ಕರ್ಪಂ ವೈರೋಮದಂತಲ್ಲಯಭ್ಯುದಯಂ-  
 ಲೆತ್ತನುದಾತ್ತವೃತ್ತನುರುತೇಜಂ ಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಭಾಜಂ ಸಮುದ್ಯದಿಳೇಜ್ಯಂ ಸುಮನಱ್ಪುಳಾಜ್ಯನಮಳಸನ್ಯಂತಂ ಜಿತಧ್ವಾಂತನೊಪ್ಪಿದನಾದಂ<sup>21</sup>  
 ಕಮಳಾಧಪಪ್ರಭುತೆಯುಂ ಶ್ರೀಲೆಬ್ಬನುವ್ವೀರ್ಣ್ಯರಂ || ಆ ರೆಬ್ಬಪ್ರಭುವಿಂಗಮಗ್ರವಧುಹೋಲಾದೇವಿಗಂ ಸನ್ಯನ್ವಯೋದ್ಧಾರಂ  
 ದ್ವೀರನುದಾರನುದ್ಧಗುಣಸಾರಂ ಕುಂಭದಂಭೋಧಿಗಂಭೀರಂ ವಾಗ್ಯನಿತಾಸ್ತನಸ್ಥಿಗತಹಾರಂ ಸೌಖ್ಯಸುಂಪಾದಶಾಖಾರಂ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮನವೋ-  
 ಲತಕೈರ್ಮಹಿಮುಂ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಾಹ್ವಯುಂ ಪುಟ್ಟಿದಂ || ಜಳನಿಧಿಗಭೀರಭೃತಭೂವಳಯಚ್ಚುಹ್ಯಂಗಮುಚಿತಪಿಃಳೋಪಮುಚಂದಲದೇವಿಗನೊಗಿದಂ  
 ಮೌಠಳನಾಥಂ ರಾಜನಂದದಿಂ ರಾಜರಸಂ || ಪುದಿದಿರೆ ರಾಗದಿಂ ಸಕಳಮಂಡಳಮಪ್ರತಿಮಪ್ರಸಾದಸಂಪದಮಖಿಳಾಶೆಯಂ<sup>22</sup>  
 ನೆಹೆಯಿ ಲೂರಿಸಿ ಜೈನಮತಾಮೃತಾರ್ಣಾವಂ ಪದೇದಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯಂ ತಳೆಯಿ ತಂನ ಪರ್ಸಗನುರೂಪಮಾಗೆಯಭ್ಯುದಯ-  
 ಮನೆಯ್ದಿದಂ ವಿಮಳವೃತ್ತವಿರಾಜಿತರಾಜಭೂಭುಜಂ || ಕ್ಷಿತಿಪತಿರಾಜರಾಜನ ಮನೋರಮಿ ಮೈಳಲದೇವಿ ತಾಂ  
 ಯಶಸ್ವತಿ ನುತಿಯೋಗ್ಯಭಾಗ್ಯವತಿ ದಾನದಯಾವತಿ ಸತ್ಯಳಾಸರಸ್ವತಿಯಭಿರೂಪರೂಪಮಳಯಾವತಿ ಜೈನಪದಾಂಜುಚಾಚ್ಚನಾಪತಿ  
 ಲುರುಪ್ರಣ್ಯ(ಗೋ) ಪುತ್ರವತಿ<sup>23</sup> ರಂಜಿಸುವಲ್ಪವಿಶಾಳಶೀಲದಿಂ || ಕುಳವಿನಸ್ತಾರಕರಾಜರಂಜವಿಭುಗಂ ಶ್ರೀಲೋಹಿಗೋ-  
 ಮೂರ್ತ್ತಿಮೈಳಲಮಾದೇವಿಗಮಾತ್ಮಜಪ್ಪತಿಹಿತಶ್ರೀಚಂದ್ರಿಕಾದೇವಿ ನಿರ್ಮುಳಾರುಕ್ವಂದ್ರಿಕೆಯಂತೆ ನಿಂಹಮಹಿಪಂ ಸೌಮ್ಯಂಜೋ-  
 ಲಾಪಮೃಗಹೀತಳಳಾಚ್ಯವ್ವಿಋಧೇಚ್ಯರುಚ್ಯ(ಚ್ಚು)ಳಗುಣಶ್ರೀಲಾಂತರಾಂತರಾಂತಿಕಂ || ಅನುಪಮಶೌರ್ಯಕಾಳಯದುಮಂಶಕಿರೋಮನಿರಾ-<sup>24</sup>

జరాజనందనే విబుధాభినందనే ఫటోదరసుస్థితస్థవృధభాజనే పటిశీత్తరంజనే జగంనుతజ్జ్యేనమశామృతా-  
 ధివర్ధనరరణారుచంద్రికే మహాసతి చంద్రికే ధన్యే ధాత్రియోల్ ॥ శ్రీపతిలక్ష్మీదేవమహిమల్లభవల్లభే  
 కాత్మవింయ్యధాత్రిపతిమల్లకాఙ్క్షనమహిరకర మాతృ మహాసతిత్వసిరిశోలపమి జ్యేనఘజనగురేంద్రవధూపమి  
 రణపశంతుశాన్తోలపమి రంజివల్క్యగర్భ చందలదేవి సమస్తధాత్రియోల్ ॥ స్ఫు(స్ఫు)రికానగస్థ్యమణిప్రణూతకటత-  
 ప్రఖ్యాతదానేంద్రభూమిచుక్కోలవ్విరతకధారితుంగశివరశ్రీమద్భుజదండమందరదిం మృరిబళాబ్ధియం మథయిసుత్తుద్యుజ్జ-  
 యశ్రీనధూవరనాదం యదువంశభాళిళళం సింహావనింపాలళం ॥ సుబళంగేండు సమగ్రసింహమహిపం  
 మేలల్పాయిసల్వాజీయం సుబళం వ్య్రిబలం జవంగే కబళం బేరకాళజాళ్యే కేట్ట పిరి శ్రోణి  
 బళారిగత్త బడినం హార్దిద్ధ హర్ద్దంగే బేర్దు వృకళ్యేత్తిద బుత్తియందోడోతమ్మేయ్యోళి  
 మాతాంపరే ॥ జనపతిసింగదేవన మనఃప్రియ భాగలదేవి భాగ్యమేదిని గుణయూథనాథమునిదానవినేశోదిని  
 సంత్రీకాత్తిభేదిని విబుధప్రసాదాని కళాగమవేదిని నిత్యసత్యవాదిని దురికాపనేశోదిని పతిబ్ర(వ్ర)త ఘజితరణప  
 రంజిపల్ ॥ భోంగళరందరప్రతిమసింహమహిరపతిగం జినాత్తనోదోల్యోగసఃకీరత్రవతి భాగలదేవిగమాదనాత్మజం  
 రాగసమాగమప్రదసుమూర్తి జయంతనతిప్రసిద్ధజ్యేనాగమవాద్ధివర్ధనకళానిధి రాజరసం సమంజసం ॥  
 జినఘజావిబుధాధిపా విచ్చళళేజం పుష్పధమ్మప్రభావనయౌ పుణ్యజనోత్తమం గుణగుణాంభోలాసి వ్య్రిప్రభం-  
 జననువ్విరధనదం మహిశ్వరనేనిప్పి పంపిని తోలకపాలనివం రాజరసం జగద్వళయమం పాళిచ్చదే-  
 నోప్పదే ॥ శ్చీతి సర కలత్తర శీర్తిచ్చదు మూర్తిపమనేంభవరాజనం సమర్జ్యేతజినరాజనం

ಯದುಕುಳಾಮೃತವಾರಿಧಾರಾಜನಂ ಸಮುನ್ನತಗಿರಿರಾಜನಂ ಗುಣವಿರಾಜಿತರಾಜತನೂಜಸಿಂಹಭೂಪತಿಸುತರಾಜನಂ ವಿದಮವಾಜಿ-  
 ಸುಶಿಕ್ಷಣವತ್ಸರಾಜನಂ || ಪಿಂಗದವಾರ್ಯಕೌರ್ಯಮಸುಹೃಂನರಲೋಕಜಗದ್ಧಳಂಗೆ ರಾಜಂಗೆ ಜಗತ್ಪ್ರಾಣವೇದಜನಕಾಭ್ಯುದಯಾ  
 ಯದುಮಂಶಸಂಭವೋತ್ತಂಗಳಗುಣಾಚ್ಯುತಂಗೆ ವಿಜಯಪ್ರಿಯವೃತ್ತಿನೃಪಾಳಸಿಂಹಜಾತಂಗೆ ಪರಾಕ್ರಮಂ ಘೋಸತೆ ಬಂಗಳಿಸುವೆಂದು  
 ಸಮಸ್ತಧಾತ್ರಿಯೊಳ್ || ದ್ಯೂತಮೃಗಪ್ಪಿಮಾಂಸಗಣಿಕಾವರದಾರಖಳಪ್ರಸಂಗಚೌರ್ಯಾರ್ತುಳಮಲ್ಲಮ್ಬಿದುಖಗಯುದ್ಧನಿಷಿದ್ಧವಿನೋ-  
 ದನೋದ್ಯುತಬುರ್ಚಿತಳನಾಥರವ್ವರದು ಮಾಣ್ಣು ಜಿನಸ್ತವನಾಚ್ಚನಾಮಹೀಖ್ಯಾತಮುನೀಂದ್ರದಾನರತರವ್ವರೆ ರಾಜನೃಪಾಳ  
 ನಿಾನವೋಲ್ || ಸತಿ ಚಂದಲದೇವಿ ಪತಿಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ತೆ ಲಕ್ಷ(ಕ್ಷೀ)ರ್ದೇವಿಯೆಂಬುರೀವ್ಯರುಮವನೀಪತಿರಾಜನೃಪನ  
 ರಾಣಿಯರಲಿಶಯಗುಣಯುತ(ತಿ)ಯರೆನಿಸಿ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಿಸಹಿತಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಯಹಾಮಂಡಲೀಶ್ವರಂ  
 ಕುಪಣ್ಣರವರಾರಾಧೀಶ್ವರಂ ಯದುಕುಳಾಂಬರದ್ಯುಮಣಿ ಬುಧಜನಪಿಂತಾಮಣಿ ನಿಜಭುಜಾನಿನಿದ್ಧೃತಶ್ರೀಪ್ರಸಂಕ(ಟ)ಕದಳಂ  
 ನರಲೋಕಜಗದ್ಧಳಂ ಅನವರತಜಿನಸವನಸುನಭಿಸಲಿಪವಿಶ್ರೀಕೃತೋತ್ತಮಾಂಗಂ ಧರ್ಮಕಥಾಪ್ರಸಂಗಂ ಜಿನಸಮಯಸುಧಾರ್ಣವ-  
 ಸುಧಾಕರಂ ಸಮ್ಯಕ್(ತ್ವ)ರತ್ನಾಕರನಿಸಿ ನೆಗದ್ಧ || ಕ್ಷತ್ರಿಯಮಸ್ತಕಾಭರಣರಾಜನೃಪಂ ವಿಭುಸಿಂಹಸೂನುರತ್ನ(ತ್ವಂ)  
 ತ್ರಯಮೂರ್ತ್ಯ ನಿರ್ಮೃತನಧರ್ಮಮಿನುತ್ಪದನೋಲ್ವ ಪರೈವೋಲ್ವಾಶ್ರೀ ಮಿಕ್ಕ ಕಲೋಳಿಯೊಳಿತ್ತಿಸಿದಂ ಜಿನಶಾಂ-  
 ಠಿಗೇಹಮಂ ನೇತ್ರವಿಚಿತ್ರಮಂ || ಮಹಿತಿ(ತಿ)ರೀಟಮನಪ್ರತಿಮಶ್ರೀಕೂಟಮಂ || ಅಂತನಂತಸುಖಶ್ರೀಕಾಂತ(ತಂ) ಕಾಂತಿನಾಥ-  
 ಸಮುತ್ಪಂಗಳಭೃತ್ಯನಿಧಾನಮಂ ಕನಕಕಳಶಮಕರತೋರಣಮಾನಸ್ತಂಭವಿರಾಜಮಾನಮಂ ರಾಜರಸಂ ಸಿಂದನಕಲೋಳಿಯಲ್ಲಿ  
 ಮಾದಿಸಿ ತನ ಗುರುಗಳು ಜಗದ್ಗುರುಗಳುನಿಸಿದ ಕುಭೃತಂದ್ರಭಟ್ಟರಕದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟನವರ ಗುರುಕು-

ಆಶ್ರಮಮಿಂತೆನೆ || ಜಯನಿಲಯಕುಂಡಕುಂದಾನ್ವಯವಿಶ್ರುತಮೂಲಸಂಘದೇಶಿ[ಕ] \* ಪೂರ್ಣೋದಯಪ್ರಸ್ತಕಗಡ್ಡದೊಳಶಿಕಯಮಿನೆ  
 ಹನಸೋಗೈಯೆಂಬ ಬಳ ಬಗೆಗೊಳಕುಂ || ಗುರುಕುಳತಿಳಕವ್ವೊವನಚರಿತಸ್ತುರ್ಗಣಭರಿತರಲ್ಲ ನೆಗವ್ವಿಜಿತಸ್ತು(ಸ್ತು)-  
 ರಮಲಧಾರಿಮುನಿರಾದ್ರಚ್ಚರಣಾಂಬುಜನಶನೀಂದ್ರರವಗತತಂದ್ರ || ಪದನಖಸಂಕುಳಂ ವಿಷಮಬಾಣವಿಧಾಹಿಮಹಾವಿಧಾವಹಾರದ  
 ಮುಗಿ ನಾಮದಕೈರಮಿ ಮೋಹಪಟುಗ್ರಹಭೇದಿಮಂತ್ರಮಂಗದ ಮಳಮಾಜವಂಜವರುಜಾಹರಣೌಪಧಮಿಂದೊಡೇನನೆಯಬೊ  
 ಮುಲಧಾರಿದೇವಮುನಿಘೋತ್ತಮಭಾವತಪಹ್ನುಭಾವಮುಂ || ಶಾಂತರಸಾವತಾರಮಲಧಾರಿಮುನಿಶ್ವರಗ್ರಶಿಷ್ಯಶೈಧ್ಯಾಂ(ದಾಂ)ತಿಳನೀಮಿ-  
 ಚಂದ್ರನುರುಧಮ್ಯುರಥಪ್ರತವಾದ್ಧಿನೀಮಿಚಂದ್ರಂ ತಮಮು ನಿವಾರಿಸ ಕಳಾಸುಣಭದ್ರನಮಾನುಷಾನ್ಯತಸ್ಯಾಂತಸಮಂತಭದ್ರನೆನೆ  
 ಬಣಿಸಾರಕಳಂಕವೃತ್ತನಂ || ಅಸ್ಮೈಧ್ಯಾಂ(ದಾಂ)ತಿಳನೀಮಿಚಂದ್ರಯತಿವರ್ಯಾಜಾಯ್ಕಶಿಷ್ಯಸ್ತುರ್ಗಣಾವಾಸಶ್ರೀಕುಭಚಂದ್ರಭಾಸುರಯ-  
 ಶೋಭಟಾರಕವ್ವಿಶ್ವಧಾತ್ರೀಸಂಘಜಿತಶೀಲಧಾರಕರುದಗ್ರಾನಂಗಸಂಹಾರಕಶ್ರೀಸ(ದ್ವ)ರ್ದ(ತ್ವ)ಕನಬೋಧವೃತ್ತಪದವೀವಿಸ್ತಾರನಿಸ್ತಾರಕರ ||  
 ಕುಭಚಂದ್ರಂ ಸ್ವಸುಗೋಲ್ಲಸತ್ಯವಳಯಂ ಶ್ರೀಚಂದ್ರಿಕಾಕುಠ್ಠ(ದ್ವ)ವೃತ್ತಿಭವಪ್ರಾಭವದಿಂ ದಿಗಂಬರಕುಳಶ್ರೀವೃದ್ಧಿ(ದ್ವಿ)ಯಂ  
 ಮಂಡಳವೃಭುಸಂಘಜಿತಪಾದನುಜ್ವ(ಜ್ವ)ಳಗುಣಾಡ್ಯಂ(ಶ್ಯಂ) ಕಾಂತರೂಪಂ ಕಳಾವಿಭವಾತ್ಯುಂನತವೃತ್ತನಭ್ಯುದಯಯುಕ್ತಂ  
 ಮಾಳ್ಕುದೇನೊವುದೇ || ಮಾರಮುದಾವಹಾರಿಪರನೀಗ್ರತವಶ್ಯಭುತಂದ್ರದೇವಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಶಿಷ್ಯರಿ ಲಲಿತಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಸಮುಂನತನಾಮಧೇ-  
 ಯಭಟ್ಟಾರಕರಿಂದುಸ್ತುಲಿತಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಗಳನ್ನಿತಶಾಂತಮಾರ್ತ್ತಿಗಳ್ ಸಾರಜತ(ತು)ದ್ವಯಾತ್ಮಕಚಯವೇದಿಗಳುತ್ತಮಸತ್ಯವಾದಿಗಳ್ ||  
 ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಸುಣಸಂಪಂನರುಂ ಭವ್ಯಪ್ರಸಂನರುಂ ಚಂದಲದೇವೀವಿಂವಂದಿತಪದಾರವಿಂದರುಂ ನಿಜಾತ್ಮಭಾವನಾಗೀಳ್ಕುಂಡರುಂ  
 ಶ್ರೀರಾಜನ್ಯಪಾಲಸುಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಿತಕಾಂತಿನಾಥದೇವರ ಬಸದಿಯಾಚಾರ್ಯರುಂ ಮಂಡಳಾಚಾರ್ಯರುಮಪ್ಪ ಕುಭಚಂದ್ರಭಟ್ಟಾರಕದೇವಸ್ತು

\* No space is left in the original for this letter, but it is required to make up the sense as well as the metre.



ಶ್ರೀಕಾರ್ತವೀರ್ಯಾದೇವಂ ಆ ಶಾಂತಿಸಾಧದೇವರಂಗಭೋಗಕೃಂ ರಂಗಭೋಗಕೃಮಾ ಬಸದಿಯ ಖಂಡಸ್ತುಟತರ್ಜೋರ್ಧ-  
 (ಧ)ರಣಕೃಮಲ್ಲವ್ವ ಮುನಿಜನಂಗವಾಹಾರಾಭಯಭೈಷಜ್ಯಶಾಸ್ತ್ರದಾನಕಂ ತಕವರ್ಧಂ ೧೧೨೭ನೆಯ ರಶ್ಮಾಕೈ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ  
 ಪಾವ್ಯ ಶುದ್ಧ ಬಿದಿರೆ ತನಿವಾರದಂದುತ್ತರಾಯಣಸಂಕ್ರಮಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೂಂಡಿಮೂಳುಸಾಸಿನದ ಬಳಿಯ ಕು-  
 ಳಾಬೆಟ್ಟಗಂಪಣದೊಳಗಣ ಸಿಂದನಕರವೊಳೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯ ಕಳಗಡಿಯರ ಸಿಂದಗಾವುಂಡಂ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಹಂನೀ-  
 ಬ್ಬರ್ಗ್ಗಾವುಂಡುಗಳೊಳೆಯ ಹಂನೇರಡುತಪ್ಪಡಿಯ ಕುಳಾಬೆಟ್ಟ ಗೋಲಿಂದೆರಡು ಸಹಸ್ರ ಕಂಬ ಕೆಯ್ಯಂ  
 ಧಾರಾಘರ್ವಕಂ ಸರ್ವನಮಸ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟನಾ ಕೆಯ್ಯ ಸೀಮೆ [I] ಊರಿಂ ಬಡಗಲ್ ಕಂಕಣನೂರ  
 ಹೆದ್ದಾರಿಯು ಮೂಡಲವಿಲ್ಲಹಳ್ಳದ ಮುರುವಿನಲ್ಲಿ ನೈರೃತ್ಯದ ಕೋಶೋಳ್ಳಟ್ಟಕ್ಕಲ್ಲಂ ಬಡಗಮುಖಂ ಬಿಳಿಯಬಾವಿಯಿಂ  
 ಮೂಡಲಾಗಿ ಪಡುವಣ ಸೀಮೆ ನಡಿಯಲೈವೆಂಸಾರಡಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ವಾಯವ್ಯದ ಕೋಶೋಳ್ಳಟ್ಟ ಕಲ್ಲಲಿಂ ಮೂಡಮುಖಂ  
 ಬಡಗಣ ಸೀಮೆ ನಡಿಯಲಿಶಾನ್ಯದ ಕೋಶೋಳ್ಳಟ್ಟ ಕಲ್ಲಲಿಂ ತಿಂಕಮುಖಂ ಪಂಚವಸದಿಯ ಮಾನ್ಯದಿಂ  
 ಪಡುವಲಾಗಿ ಮೂಡಣ ಸೀಮೆ ನಡಿಯಲ್ ನವಿಲಹಳ್ಳದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಗ್ನೀಯಕೋಶೋಳ್ಳಟ್ಟ ಕಲ್ಲಲಿಂ ಪಡುಮುಖಂ  
 ತಿಂಕಣ ಸೀಮೆ ನವಿಲಹಳ್ಳಂ [II] ಆ ಬಸದಿಯ ಸುಮಂಧದ ಮನೆಯ ನಿವೇಶನವಿಂಮೊಳನುಂ  
 ಗೇಣು [I] ಬಾಚೆಯವಿಡಿಯ ರಾಜಹಸ್ತದಲಾ ಬಡಗಲ್ ರಾಜವೀಧಿ(೧)ಯಿ ಮೂಡಲ್  
 ಪಡುವಣೆಕ್ಕೆಯ ಹಸ್ತಂ ನಾಲ್ಕತ್ತು ಸಿರಿವಾಗಲ ಕಲ್ಲಂ ಮೂಡಲ್ ಪಂಚವಸದಿಯ ಕೇರಿಯಲ್ಲಿಗೆ  
 ಬಡಗಣೆಕ್ಕೆಯ ಹಸ್ತವಿಸತ್ತಾಳು ಆ ಕೇರಿಯು ಪಡುವಣ ಭಾಗಂ ಬಿದಿರು ಮೂಡಣೆಕ್ಕೆಯ ಹಸ್ತ  
 ನಾಲ್ಕತ್ತು ತಿಂಕಣೆಕ್ಕೆಯ ಹಸ್ತ ಏವತ್ತೆರಡು ಮಾನ್ಯದೊಳಗಣಂಗಡಿ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಗಾಣವೊಂದಾ ಬಗದಿಯ

ಬಣಬೆಯ ನಿವೇಶನವಯ್ದು [1] ಊರಿಂ ಪಡುವಲ್ ಹೂದೋಂಬದ ಕಟುಂ ಮೂವತ್ತು [11]  
 ಮತ್ತನಾ ಘರ ಸುತೆಯಂ ನಾಡಲ್ ವೀಡಿಚ್ಚಿ(ಬೆ)ಳಗಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ನಾಲ್ಕುಂಪಟ್ಟಣದ ಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯರುಂ  
 ಮಹಾನಾಡಾಗಿ ನೆರೆದಿದ್ದಲ್ಕಿ ಆ ಶಾತಿನಾಥದೇವರ ನಿತ್ಯಾಭಿದೇಶಕೃಮದ್ವಿಧಾಚ್ಚನೆಗಂ ಸರ್ಪ(ವ್ಯ)ಬಾಧಾಪರಿಹಾರವಾಗಿ  
 ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಎತ್ತು ಕತ್ತಿ ಕೋಣಂ ಮೊದಲಾದವಟುವತ್ತು 40 || ಮತ್ತಮೀಳುವರೆ ಹಂನೊಂದುವರೆಯು  
 ಸಮಸ್ತ ಮುಂಮುರಿದಂ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ನಾಡುಗಲ್ ಬಿಟ್ಟಾಯದ ಕ್ರಮಮಿಂಶಿಂದೊದೆ [1] ಸಕಳಧಾನ್ಯಮಾವುದು  
 ಬಂದದಂ ಹೇಳಿಂಗೊಂಮನಂ [1] ಭಂಡಿಗೆ ಬಳ್ಳವಿರದು [1] ಹಸರಕ್ಕಡಕೆ ಅಯ್ದು [1] ಹೇಳಿಂಗಲಿ  
 ನೂಟು [1] ಹೊತ್ತಳಯ್ಯತ್ತು [1] ಹಾಡಕ್ಕೈ ನೊಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಎಂಣಿ [1] ಬಲೆಯ ಹೊಣೆ  
 ಮಾಪಿತಕ್ಕಿ ಬಂದು ಕಟ್ಟಿರ [1] ಕಿಟುಕುಳವೇನು ಮಾಪಿದದಂ ಸುಟ್ಟುಗಾಯಂ ಹಿಡಿವತ್ತಿ [1]  
 ಕಂಪಗೆ ಮಡಿಕೆ ಬಂದು || ಶ್ರೀಜನ್ಮಾಯತಮೂರ್ತಿ ಶೀರ್ತ್ಥಮಹಿಮಾವಿನ್ಮಾರಿ ಧಾರ್ತ್ರೀಸ್ವ(ಸ್ವ)ರತ್ತೀಜಶ್ಚ ಕ್ರಧರಂ  
 ಜಗಂನುತಯಕಂ ತಂನಂದದಿಂದೆಂದು ರಾಜಾಜಿಪ್ಪೀ ಜಿನಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿನಾಥನವನೀನಾಥಪ್ರಣೂಶೋದಯಂ ರಾಜಶ್ವಾಪತಿಗೇ  
 ಬೇಳ್ಳ ಬ(ನ)ರವಂ ಚನ್ನಾ ಕೈಕಾಂ(ರಂ) ಬರಂ || ಲಲಿತಪದಾರ್ಥಾಳಂಕೃತಿಗಣನೊಸರ್ವ ರಸಂಗಳಂದೆ  
 ಮುಧರೊಳ್ಳುಳಾವಳಸಸ್ಯಮೊಗೆಯ ಕವಿಕುಳತಿಳಕ(ಕಂ) ಶಾಸನಮನೊಲ್ವ ಪೇಳ್ವಂ ಪಾಶ್ವಂ || ಬಹುಭಿವ್ಯಸುಧಾ  
 ದತ್ತಾ ರಾಜಭಿನ್ನಗಾದಿಭಿಃ [1] ಯಸ್ಯ ಯಸ್ಯ ಭೂಮಿಃ(ಮಿಸ್ತ)ಸ್ಯ ತಸ್ಯ ತದಾ  
 ಫಲಂ || ಗಣ್ಯಂತೇ ಪಾಂಸವೋ ಭೂಮೀರ್ಗ್ಗಣ್ಯಂತೇ ವೃಷ್ಟಿಬಿಂದವಃ [1] ನ ಗಂ(ಗ)ಣ್ಯಂತೇ  
 ವಿಧಾಶ್ವಾಸಿ ಧರ್ಮ್ಯಸಂರಕ್ಷಣೇ ಫಲಂ || ಸ್ವದತ್ತಾಂ ಪರದತ್ತಾಂ ವಾ ಯೇ ಹರೇತ

ವಸುಂಧರಾಂ [1] ವಪ್ಪೀವರ್ವರ್ದಸಹಸ್ರಾಣಿ ವಿಷ್ಣಾಯಾಂ ಜಾಯತೇ ಶ್ರೀಮಿಃ || ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯೋ ಯಂ 228

ಧರ್ಮಸೇತುರ್ನೃಪಾಣಾಂ ಕಾಲೇ ಕಾಲೇ ಪಾಲನೀಯೋ ಭವದ್ಭಿಃ [1] ಸರ್ವ್ವ(ವ್ಯ)ನೇತಾನ್ಭಾವಿಸಃ

ಪಾಶ್ಚಿಮೇಂದ್ರಾನ್ಯು<sup>70</sup>ಯೋ ಭೂಯೋ ಭೂಚತೇ || ಮದ್ವಂಶಜಾಃ ಪರಮಹೀಪತಿವಂಶಜಾ ವಾ

ಪಾಪಾದಪಃಶಮನನಾ ಭುವಿ ಭೂಮಿಪಾಲಾ ಯೇ ಪಾಳಯಂತಿ ಮಮ ಧರ್ಮಮಿಮಂ ಸಮಗ್ರಂ ಶೇಭ್ಯೋ

ಮಯಾ ವಿರಚಿತಾಂ(ತೋಂ)ಜಳರೇಫ ಮೂರ್ಧ್ನಃ || ಮಂಗಳಮಹಾಶ್ರೀಶ್ರೀ ಅರ್ಹತೇ ನಮಃ || [1]

INSCRIPTIONS RELATING TO THE

No. V.<sup>1</sup>

Ôm ! Reverence to the Saints ! May victory attend the command of the lord of the three worlds, &c ! Glorious is the holy edict of Jina, the greatness of which is worshipped by pure kings as that of the ocean is by the spotless moon,—which is as profound as the ocean,—which is the origin of good fortune as the ocean was the birth-place of the goddess Śrī,—and which, like the ocean, is possessed of the excellent trees of paradise !<sup>2</sup>

Pleasing to the eye is the country of Kûṇḍi, which resembles the orb of the moon<sup>3</sup>, with its herds of cows with their plentiful supply of delightful milk, with the glory of all its grains, and with the pure castes (that inhabit it).

He who ruled it (was):—King Sêna who was resplendent, being possessed of an army that was terrible by reason of its valour<sup>4</sup>, ever enjoying the embraces of (the goddess of) Knowledge, the beloved husband of the lovely woman Authority, possessed of a large court, shining with a lustre like that of the sun, very generous, very haughty, the leader of his forces in the battle-field, the eye of the fortunes of the lineage of the Rattas, the friend of learned men, the appropriate receptacle of brilliant fame.

To that king Sêna and to the unrivalled Lakshmîdêvi was born Kattama, preëminent among the lords of the earth, whose right arm was skilful in protecting the world,—who destroyed the multitude of his foes,—who was well acquainted with the use of weapons which are the means of amorous dalliance with the lovely woman Victory nourished by kings who prostrated themselves before him through fear,—and who delighted in truthful speech. Padmaladêvi, the wife of that lord, possessed of many accomplishments and great beauty, considered to be like Vâgdêvi<sup>5</sup> in respect of her accomplishments, like Rati-

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<sup>1</sup> This inscription is from a stone tablet in a Jain temple at Kalholi, in the Gôkâk Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District. The emblems at the top of the tablet are :—In the centre, a figure of Jina seated, with a *Yaksha* and *Yakshi* on each side of him ; to the right, a crooked knife with the moon beyond it ; and to the left, a cow and calf with the sun beyond them.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. ' is the means of causing the fulfilment of all desires.'

<sup>3</sup> As applied to the moon these adjectives must be translated 'with the glittering mass of the rays of its abundant nectar,' 'with the glory of its full and perfect orb,' and 'with its spotless radiance.'

<sup>4</sup> Or, 'being a very Bhîmasêna in respect of his impetuosity.'

<sup>5</sup> Sarasvatî, the goddess of speech and learning and the wife of Brahma.

dêvi<sup>6</sup> in respect of her beauty, like Lakshmîdêvi<sup>7</sup> in respect of her wealth, and like Sachîdêvi<sup>8</sup> in respect of (her faith in) the tenets of the Jain religion, was very pleasing.

To the lord Kattama, who resembled Vasudêva<sup>9</sup>, and to the renowned Dêvaki<sup>9</sup> under the name of Śrî-Padmaladêvi, was born Lakshmidêva, the husband of Śrî<sup>10</sup>, as the saying is, "The man who is king is Vishṇu." This same king Lakshmi, of manifest brilliance, causing the assemblage of the white lotuses of his race to put forth their flowers, conferring happiness upon the Rathânga<sup>11</sup> birds which were the multitude of good people, causing his territory to become more glorious than ever with his constant prosperity, possessing the pure fame of having overcome sin (or, of having outshone the spots on the face of the moon), became,—and this is wonderful,—the husband of Chandrike.<sup>12</sup>

To Lakshmaṇa, the lord of the lovely woman Fortune, adorned with the banner of the golden Garuḍa, a very Nârâyana<sup>13</sup> among chieftains, were born the lord Kârtavîrya and the fortunate Mallikârijuna, who supported, as if they were (his) arms, the heavy burden of the earth, who were perfect in their liberality and victory and virtue. The lovely woman Fame<sup>14</sup> pervading all the regions, so that one might say that the assemblage of his foes, fearing his prowess, laid aside all the splendour (of their countenances) and became (in respect of their

<sup>6</sup> The wife of Kâmadêva, the god of love.

<sup>7</sup> The goddess of fortune and wife of Vishṇu.

<sup>8</sup> The wife of Indra, the god of power.

<sup>9</sup> Vasudêva and Dêvakî were the parents of Vishṇu in his incarnation as Kṛishṇa.

<sup>10</sup> *i.e.* 'the possessor of good fortune.'

<sup>11</sup> The Chakravâka or ruddy goose; the sun, to which Lakshmidêva is likened, is called the friend of these birds, because they are supposed to couple in the daytime.

<sup>12</sup> *i.e.*, the epithets applied to Lakshmidêva being equally applicable to the sun, he resembled the sun, and so, as he became the husband of Chandrike, the sun, usurping the place of the moon, became the lord of the moonlight ('*chandrikâ*'). I do not think it necessary to notice particularly any further verses with double meanings such as the present one; plenty of them will be found. Chandrike or Chandrikâdêvî, the wife of Lakshmidêva, was the daughter of Râja, the Yâdava chief of the district of Hagaratage, and his wife Mailalamahâdêvî; see lines 25-29 of the inscription.

<sup>13</sup> *i.e.* 'preëminent among chieftains.' Nârâyana is Vishṇu, especially considered as the god who existed before all worlds, and the name is commonly used in the sense of *preëminent*, *best among*.

<sup>14</sup> *i.e.* the reputation of Kârtavîrya.

eyes downcast through fear) like those who thread needles,—Kârtavîrya, the best of the Rattas, possessing qualities resembling those of the Imperishable One<sup>15</sup>, supported, like Chakri<sup>16</sup>, the whole circle of the earth with the staff of his arm. Saying “Mêru and the sky and the ocean are envious (respectively) of the loftiness, the excellent amplitude, and the profundity of my husband,”—Fame, leaving the mountain of the gods, traversing the path of the clouds, and crossing the swollen seas, extolled to the guardians of the quarters the lustre of the greatness of Kârtavîrya. Surpassing fame with his brilliance, allaying the troubles of his country, overcoming, like the lord of Kamalâ<sup>17</sup>, the assemblage of his foes who were hard to be conquered, generous as Nâgârjuna<sup>18</sup>, resembling Râma who was the cause of the destruction of Râvana, and resembling that other Arjuna<sup>19</sup>, Mallikârijuna, the best of kings, was glorious. Famous was Êchaladêvi, the wife of Kârtavîrya, the daughter of the emperor of the universe<sup>20</sup>, esteemed to be very accomplished and possessed of large and rolling eyes, resembling Sulôchane<sup>21</sup> in her behaviour as a true wife.

Hail! While Śrî-Kârtavîryadêva, adorned with all the numerous titles commencing with “The great chieftain who has attained the five great *Śabdas*, the supreme lord of the city of Lattanûrpura, he who is sung to with the sounds of the musical instrument called Trivalî, the ornament of the Rattakula, he who is possessed of the mark of vermillion, he who fulfils the desires of learned people, he who takes great delight in listening to stories of brave men, he who excels in the art of poetry, the owner of the banner of a golden Garuḍa, he who naturally resembles Kâmadêva, he whose mace is ever eager for war, he who is fierce in battle, he who has waving tresses that are as beautiful as (the mane of) a lion, he who strikes the cheeks of hostile chieftains, he who behaves as a son to the wives of other men, he who is a very Indra in might, he who is most valorous, he who has acquired the favour of Mahâlinga”<sup>22</sup>,—was happily enjoying, in conjunction with the Yuva-

<sup>15</sup> Achyuta,—Vishṇu.

<sup>16</sup> Vishṇu, the wielder of the discus (‘*chakra*’).

<sup>17</sup> A name of the goddess Lakshmi.

<sup>18</sup> A king celebrated in the Purâṇas for his generosity and for his power of creating gold, which he did, according to tradition, at Kapataguḍḍa near Dambal, in the Dhârwad District.

<sup>19</sup> The brother of Yudhishtira, one of the Pândava princes.

<sup>20</sup> It is not apparent what emperor of the universe is intended here.

<sup>21</sup> ‘The lovely-eyed,’ Sitâ.

<sup>22</sup> Mahâdêva or Śiva.

râja<sup>23</sup>, his younger brother the brave Mallikârjuna, the good fortune of universal sovereignty at his capital of Vêṇugrâma:—

Being delightful with its wealth, its poets, its wise men, and its lovely women, as the ocean is with the goddess Śrî, with its water-birds, and with the lovely women of the gods; being the favourite of the royal fortunes of the Yadukula; and being possessed of a multitude of deer (or lotuses),—the district of Hagaratage is charming in the earth.

He who ruled that district:—The Yaduvaṁśa, which contains the best of kings<sup>24</sup>, is brilliant like the sky which contains the moon and sun<sup>24</sup>, and in it the king Śrî-Rebba of noble conduct, of great lustre, possessed of fame, a very excellent Vrihaspati<sup>25</sup> upon earth, adored by wise men, pure of thought, the dispeller of darkness, arose and became adorned with the sovereignty of the lord of Kamaḷâ.<sup>26</sup>

To the lord Rebba and to his chief wife Hôlâdêvi was born Brahma, the supporter of his race, brave, magnanimous, full of pleasing qualities, profound as the bright ocean, a very pearl-necklace placed upon the breasts of the lovely woman Eloquence, practising such acts as produce happiness, of inconceivable majesty like (the god) Brahma.

To Brahma, who was as profound as the ocean and who sustained the earth, and to Chandala-dêvi, who resembled a sea-shore suitable to him, was born king Râja, who was the lord of his territory as the moon is of its orb. His whole domain being replete with joy, an unprecedented calmness pervading the regions, and the ocean of the Jain religion having become full, king Râja, adorned with spotless deeds, acquired a prosperity that was befitting his name. Maḷaladêvi, the beloved of Râja the king of kings, being full of fame, possessed of good fortune that was worthy to be praised, charitable and affectionate, a very Sarasvati in accomplishments, beauteous as became her, devoted to the worship of the lotuses which are the feet of Jina, full of many good deeds, the mother of children, was glorious on account of her excellent disposition which was wide-spread.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> The title given to the son or younger brother of a king associated with him in the government.

<sup>24</sup> The play upon words is in the compound '*râjahamśa*,' *râjan* meaning king or moon, and *hamśa* meaning the sun, and also, in composition, *anything the best of its kind*.

<sup>25</sup> The preceptor of the gods.

<sup>26</sup> *i. e.* with sovereignty of the Yaduvaṁśa, in which family Vishṇu was born as Kṛishṇa.

<sup>27</sup> *i. e.* which embraced others besides herself in its effects.

To the lord Râja the propagator of his race and to Mailalamâdêvi who resembled Rôhinî<sup>28</sup> were born Chandrikâdêvi, true to her husband,—as if it were the moonlight with its spotless radiance,—and king Simha, possessed of great courtesy, both of whom were, as you may say, worthy of adoration in the earth, honoured by the wise, most emphatically beloved by the goddess Śrî in the form of their brilliant virtues. Fortunate in the earth was the true wife Chandrike, the daughter of king Râja, the glory of the Yaduvamśa, unrivalled in his bravery,—she who was the delight of the wise, the destroyer of pride which is like a serpent safely ensconced in the hollow of an earthen vessel, the cause of joy to the heart of her husband, the beautiful moonlight which caused the increase of the nectar of the Jain religion which is celebrated throughout the world. Glorious throughout the whole earth was Chandradêvi, the wife of king Lakshmidêva who was the lord of Fortune, the mother of king Kârtavîrya and king Mallikârjuna, rivalling Sîtâ in being a most virtuous wife, appearing like the wife of Indra when occupied in the worship of Jina, resembling the wife of Kantu<sup>29</sup> in beauty.

King Simha, the glory of the Yaduvamśa,—churning the ocean which was the band of his enemies with a mountain Mandara which was his arm that was newly encircled by twinkling priceless jewels, that was a very tree of paradise in granting boons, and that had a high armpit which supported the surface of the earth,—became the husband of the lovely woman Brilliant Victory. Whenever the excellent king Simha, arming himself with a spear, urged forward his charger, the mighty army of his foes became as a mouthful of grass for Java<sup>30</sup>, much blood was given to the demons, an oblation was made to Indra, and a feast was given to vultures and a meal to wolves; how then could his enemies stand against him face to face? Glorious was Bhâgaladêvi, the beloved of king Singidêva, worshipped for her beauty, resembling the earth in (being the abode of) good fortune, gratifying with her charities sages who abound in good qualities, assuaging the sorrows of those who betook themselves to her, causing the happiness of learned men, acquainted with many accomplishments and with the sacred

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<sup>28</sup> The fourth lunar asterism personified as one of the daughters of Dakṣa who became the wives of the moon.

<sup>29</sup> Kâmadêva.

<sup>30</sup> Yama, the god of death.



writings, ever speaking the truth, warding off calamities, devoted to her husband.

To king Simha, who resembled Puraṁdara<sup>31</sup> in enjoyment, and to Bhâgaladêvi, who resembled Sachî when engaged in the performance of the worship of Jina, was born a son, king Râja, the virtuous one, whose beautiful form caused an augmentation of happiness, who was a very Jayanta<sup>32</sup>, and who was a very moon in increasing the ocean which was the very celebrated Jain religion. King Râja, the ruler of mankind, protects,—how charmingly!,— the world with his greatness which consists in his being supreme over all those that are learned in the worship of Jina, in his being possessed of great glory, in his being a guide by reason of the power of the religious merit acquired by him, in his being the best of holy men, in his being a very ocean in respect of the abundance of his good qualities, in his being the destroyer of his enemies, in his being a very Dhanada<sup>33</sup> upon earth, and in his being the lord of the world. The whole world, with joy, praises him who is a very Kâmadêva in beauty, who duly honours kings of the Jain religion, who is a very moon towards the ocean of nectar which is the Yadukûla, who is a very king of mountains<sup>34</sup> in loftiness, who is a very Vatsarâja in taming wild horses, Râja, the son of king Simha the son of Râja who was adorned by his good qualities. The unimpaired bravery of the Âryas, and a prosperity that causes happiness to the world, and valour, belong to Râja the destroyer of hostile kings, a very Achyuta in that he possesses the noble qualities which are natural to the Yaduvaṁśa, the son of the victorious king Simha : is this wonderful ? ; (no, for these qualities are attributed to him) when he is praised throughout the whole world.<sup>35</sup> (Other) kings are addicted to the forbidden recreations of gaming, hunting, eating flesh, associating with courtezans, running after other men's wives, mixing with low people, stealing, and unfair ram-fighting and cock-fighting ; but even apart from that, are they, like you, O king Râja !, devoted to the worship of Jina and to giving gifts to world-renowned saints ?

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<sup>31</sup> The destroyer of cities, Indra.

<sup>32</sup> A hero and demigod, the son of Indra.

<sup>33</sup> Kuvêra, the god of riches.

<sup>34</sup> Himâlaya or Mêru.

<sup>35</sup> i. e., since universal acclamation attributes these qualities to him, he must of a certainty really possess them.

The chaste Chandaladêvi and Lakshmîdêvi<sup>36</sup>, true to her husband, the queens of King Râja the lord of the earth, are renowned in the earth, being considered to be endowed with exceedingly good qualities.

Hail! King Râja, the most excellent of the warrior race,—the best of the children of the lord Simha, the fortunate great chieftain possessed of all renown, the supreme lord of the city of Kupaṇapura, the sun of the sky of the Yadukula, the granter of all the desires of learned men, he who cut off with the sword which was his own arm the thorns which were the hostile kings, the destroyer of (wicked) people, he whose head is ever purified by the fragrant waters of the rites of the Jain religion, he who ever relates the legends of religion, a very moon to the ocean of nectar of the doctrines of Jina, the mine of the jewel of upright behaviour,—caused to be erected at Kalpole, which is the best (town) in the whole world, a temple of Jina, wonderful to be beheld, the diadem of the earth, having three pinnacles that are unequalled, so that Brahma and Vishnu and Śiva were charmed with it and said “ (The Jain religion is) a spotless religion.”

Thus king Râja, the beloved of the goddess Śrî in the form of unceasing happiness, having had erected at Sindana-Kalpole<sup>37</sup> a place of retreat for the high-minded devotees of the god Śāntinātha (Jina), adorned with golden pinnacles and arched portals fashioned like a sea-monster and pillars of honour, gave it to Śubhachandra-bhaṭṭāarakadêva, who was considered his own spiritual preceptor and the spiritual preceptor of the world, and whose priestly lineage was as follows :—

Pleasing to the mind is the creeper of the Hanasôge (sect), which spreads luxuriantly over the full-grown tree of the scriptures of the

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<sup>36</sup> But for the use of the corrupted word ‘*râjâ*’ for *queen* and of the epithet ‘*pativrate*’ which, as Chandaladêvi has an epithet in the word ‘*sati*,’ must be applied to Lakshmîdêvi, I should have taken this for the usual figure of speech by which a king is said to have the goddess of fortune or the earth for a second wife.

<sup>37</sup> Kalholi is not now distinguished by the prefix Sindana, but, whatever the meaning of this prefix may be, we meet with it in the case of Kurbet, about seven miles to the S.W. of Kalholi and four miles to the N.W. of Gôkāk, which is usually called Sindi-Kurbet to distinguish it from Mamdâpûr *alias* Gachchina-Kurbet (i. e. “Kurbet of the mortar,” alluding probably to the large amount of mortar that must have been used in building the fort which overhangs the town), about eight miles to the S.E. of Gôkāk.

spiritual teachers of the celebrated original sect of the **Kuṇḍakunda** which is the abode of victory. In it there became famous **Maladhâri** the best of sages, the conqueror of passion, the glory of the race of spiritual preceptors, of pure deeds, endowed with good qualities, free from sloth, having kings prostrate before the lotuses which were his feet. His toe-nails were as an amulet to counteract the deadly venom of the poisonous serpent lust, the letters of his name were as a charm to drive away the fierce demon ignorance, the scurf of his body was as a medicine to ward off sickness from his family; how shall we describe the might of the superhuman powers and the penances of **Maladhâridêva** the best of sages. The chief disciple of **Maladhâri** the best of sages, the very incarnation of the essence of quietude, was **Saiddhântikanêmi-chandra**, the circumference of the wheel of the capacious chariot of religion, the moon of the ocean of the sacred writings, secure in the merits of the sciences that dispel human darkness, ever mentally abounding with the nectar of the immortals; who does not praise that spotless man? The disciple of that same priest **Saiddhântikanêmi-chandra** the best of ascetics was the glorious and venerable **Śubhachandra**, who was the abode of virtue, whose character was revered over the whole earth, who overcame fierce lust, and who traversed the entire path of that conduct that is associated with a knowledge of the six systems of religion. Having his feet worshipped by chieftains, abounding in resplendent qualities, the very embodiment of quietude, very noble in his behaviour by reason of the dignity of his knowledge, possessed of prosperity, **Śubhachandra**, gladdening the earth with his virtues, caused,—how charmingly!,—the increase of the fortunes of the family of **Digambaras** by means of his preëminence which resulted from behaviour pure as the moonlight itself. The disciple of the venerable **Śubhachandradêva** whose fierce penances overcame worldly passions is that venerable man who bears the glorious name of **Lalitakîrtti**, whose lustre is as pleasing as that of the moon, who is the very incarnation of quietude, who is well acquainted with the most excellent collection of the interpretations of the four **Vêdas**, and who ever speaks the purest truth.

Hail! In the Śaka year 1127, the **Raktâkshi saṁvatsara**, on Saturday the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month **Paushya**, at the time of the sun's commencement of his progress to the north, **Śri-Kârtavîryadêva** gave at **Sindana-Kalpole**, which is included in the

*kampaṇa*<sup>38</sup> of Kurumbetta<sup>39</sup> which is near to (? included in) the Kūṇḍi Three-thousand, in the presence of twelve headmen of villages the chief of whom was Sindagāvuṇḍa of the Kaḷagaḍi party of that place, with oblations of water, as a grant to be respected by all, a cultivated field measuring two thousand *kambas*<sup>40</sup> in the circle of Hanneradutappadiya-Kurumbetta to Śubhachandrabbhattāṛakadēva, who was endowed with all virtues, who was kindly disposed towards worthy people, whose feet which were as lotusēś were praised by Chandaladēvi, who was most skilled in meditating on the supreme spirit, who was the high-priest of the province as well as of the Jain temple of the god Śāntinātha which had been excellently established by the king Śrī-Rāja, for the purposes of the *aṅgabhōga* and *raṅgabhōga* of that same god Śāntinātha, for the purpose of repairing anything belonging to the temple that might become broken or torn or worn out, and for the purpose of providing food, wholesome medicine, and instruction in the sacred scriptures for the holy men living there. The boundaries of that field are :—To the N. of the village and to the E. of the high-road of Kaṅkaṇanūru, a stone set upright in the ground in the S.W. angle at a bend in the stream of the rivulet called Navilahalla ; thence to the N., going along the western boundary to the E. of the well called Biliyabāvi, a stone set upright in the ground in the N.W. angle on a red-soil hill ; thence to the E., going along the northern boundary, a stone set upright in the ground in the N.E. angle ; thence to the S., going along the eastern boundary to the W. of the *mānya*<sup>41</sup> ground belonging to the Jain temple called Pañchavasadi<sup>42</sup>, a stone fixed in the ground in the S.E. angle in the stream called Navilahalla ; thence to the W., the southern boundary is the stream called Navilahalla.

The entrance of the house<sup>43</sup> belonging to that same Jain temple is two cubits and a span (broad). (The measure) of the western side

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<sup>38</sup> 'Kampaṇa' means in these inscriptions a circle of villages, and is probably another form of the Canarese 'kampala, kampilu,' a cluster, heap, assemblage, multitude.

<sup>39</sup> Probably the modern Sindi-Kurbet. It is called below Hanneradutappadiya-Kurumbetta, which may perhaps mean "Kurumbetta of the twelve penitents."

<sup>40</sup> 'Kamba ;' an ancient land-measure the value of which I have not been able to ascertain ; it is also spelt 'kamma.'

<sup>41</sup> Lands either liable to a quit-rent or altogether exempt from taxation.

<sup>42</sup> Lit. the "Five-Basadi ;" see No. VI., note 33.

<sup>43</sup> Probably the residence of the high-priest of the shrine.

(of the site of the house), which is to the N. of the temple and to the E. of the highroad, is forty cubits by the measure of the royal cubit of Bâcheyaviḍi <sup>44</sup>; (the measure) of the northern side, which is in the street of the Jain temple called Pañchavasadi and to the E. of the stone of the gateway called Sirivâgilu, is twenty-six cubits; (the measure) of the eastern side, including the western portion of that same street, is forty cubits; (the measure) of the southern side is fifty-two cubits. In that same *mānya* land (there are) four shops and one oil-mill. (There are) five entrances to the stack-(-yard) of that same Jain temple. To the W. of the village (there was given) a flower-garden measuring thirty *kambas*.

And on holding the market of that village the merchants of four towns the chief of which was Vêdichilāgale convened themselves together in a great assembly and set apart sixty head of oxen, asses, buffaloes, and other (cattle), free from all opposing claims, for the purposes of perpetually anointing that same god Śāntinātha and of performing the eight daily observances.<sup>45</sup>

And all the (people of the) districts, headed by all the guilds of the place called Êlūvare<sup>46</sup> and of the place called Hannonduvare<sup>46</sup>, set apart the following contributions:—One *māna*<sup>47</sup> on each load of a beast on whatever grain of all sorts might come (to the village), and two *baḷḷas*<sup>48</sup> on each cart-load of the same; five betel-nuts on each shop; one hundred betel-leaves on each load of a beast, and fifty on each load carried on the head; a *sollige*<sup>49</sup> of oil on each *hāḍaru*<sup>50</sup>; one faggot on

<sup>44</sup> 'Bâcheya-viḍi (*hiḍi*),' the handle of an adze.

<sup>45</sup> The rites that form the eight daily observances for gods are:—Ablution; dressing and decorating; perfuming; applying the sectarian mark; putting flowers upon them; burning incense; waving a lamp; and presenting an offering.

<sup>46</sup> *i.e.* of the place (or locality) that is (called) "Seven-and-a-half," and of the place (or locality) that is (called) "Eleven-and-a-half;" see No. VI., note 33.

<sup>47</sup> 'Māna,' one-eighth part of a 'hēru,' *i.e.*, a 'hēru' being one hundred and twenty-eight seers, sixteen seers; and also a measure equal to about a handful: the latter seems to be its meaning here.

<sup>48</sup> 'Baḷḷa,'—equivalent to two seers.

<sup>49</sup> 'Sollige, solige, solage, or solege,' the sixty-fourth part of a 'kolāga' which is equivalent to about three-twentieths of a bushel.

<sup>50</sup> Possibly the same as 'aḍaka,' a measure which appears to have been the same as a 'kolāga.'

the sale of each head-load of firewood ; a handful on each ladleful of whatever miscellaneous things might be sold ; and one earthen pot on each string of such pots carried over the shoulder.

May this same very glorious god Jinaśântinâtha grant, as long as the moon and sun and stars may last, every boon he asks for to king Râja, whose prosperity is praised by rulers of the earth, and who, like himself, is the wide birthplace of the goddess Fortune, abounds in all the excellent qualities of a sacred place of pilgrimage, is the sustainer of the brilliant orb of the lustre of the earth, and has a renown that is lauded throughout the world !

Causing erection of the hairs of the body through joy to learned men by the delightful sentiments that flowed forth from his charming words and meanings and rhetorical figures, Pârśva, the best of poets, composed this tablet.

Many kings, commencing with Sagara, have bestowed land, &c. The dust of the earth may be counted and the drops of rain ; but the reward of preserving an act of piety cannot be estimated even by the Creator. He who confiscates land that has been given, &c. This general bridge of piety, &c. Those future rulers of the earth, whether born in my lineage or in the lineage of other kings, who with minds free from sin preserve this my act of piety in its integrity,—them I now salute, joining my hands together on my forehead. May there be the very greatest prosperity ! Reverence to the Arhat !

## No. VI.

ನಮಶ್ಯಿವಾಯ || ಜಯತ್ಪ್ರಾಂತ್ಯ(ತ್ಯಾ)ವಿಷ್ಣುತಂ || ವಿಷ್ಣೋರ್ವಾರಾಹಂ || ಕ್ಷೋಭಿತಾನ್ಘ್ರ(ಘ್ರಾ)ವಂ || ||  
 ದಕ್ಷಿಣೋನ್ನತದಂಪ್ತಾಗ್ರವಿಶ್ರಾಂತ(ತ)ಭುವನಂ || ವಪು(ಪುಃ) || ನಮ[ಸ್ತುಂಗ]<sup>2</sup>ಶಿರಶ್ಚಾಂಬಿಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ || ||  
 ಶ್ರೀಕೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ || ಶಂಭವೇ || ಗಣಪತ್ಯಾ(ತ)ಯ(ಯೇ) || ನಮ(ಮಃ) || || || ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಂದಾಕಿ-<sup>4</sup>  
 ನಿಮಂಗಲವಿಮಲರಾಜತ್ವರಂಗೋತ್ತಮಾಂಗಂ || ರಾಮಾನಂದಂ || ಶಿವಂ || ಶಂಕರನಮಃ || ದೇವದೇವೇಶನೀಶಂ || ನೀಲಮಿಶಂ ||  
 ಪಾರ್ವತಿಂ || ಶ್ರೀಭುವನಜನಕಂ || ಶಂಭು || ಕಾರುಣ್ಯದಿಂದಂ || ಭೂಮಿಶಾಸ್ತ್ರೋಕ್ತಃ || ಸ್ವಯರಭಿಮತಸಂನಿಧಿ(ಧಿ)ಯಂ || ಮಾಳ್ಕು-  
 ಪಂದಂ || || ಭುವನಂ || ಮೂಲಕೋಳಂ || ಮಹೀಜಗದೋಳಂ || ಧರ್ಮಾರ್ಥಕಾಮಾಪರ್ಗ್ಗವಣಂ || ಸುಗರ್ಗವದಾರ್ಗ್ಗವಿಂಶತೇವ ||  
 ಭೂಲೋಕಕ್ಕೆ || ಶಕ್ರಾದ್ರಿ || ಮುದ್ಯವದಲ್ಲಂ || ಭರತೋರ್ವಿ || ಶಂಕಲೇನಿಗುಂ || ತಥಾ(ದ್ಧಾ)ತ್ರಿಯೇಶ್ || ಕುಂತಳಂ || ಪುಷರಂ ||  
 ತನ್ಮಹಿಯಲ್ಲ || ಕೂಂಡಿವಿಷಯಂ || ತಾಂ || ನಾಡೆ || ಕಣೋಪ್ಪುಗುಂ || || || ಆ || ದೇಶದ || ವಿಳಾಸಮಂ || ಪೇಳ್ವದೆ || ||  
 ಬೇಳಸೆಂದು || ಕುಂದದಂತಾ || ವಿಪುಳಫಲಟಯಂ || ಕ್ಷೇಮಧಾನ್ಯಂ || ಸ್ವಮಾಗ್ನೋರ್ಜ್ವ(ಜ್ವ)ವ(ಧೇ?)ಮ್ಯಜ್ಜಯರಲ್ಲಂ || ತಮತಮಗೆ ||  
 ನರನ್ಬ(ಶ್ಚರ್ಚ)ಶ್ವಶ್ವಯ್ಯಾರ್ಭೋಗಾವಳಸತ್ಯತ್ಯಾ(ಶ್ಚಾ)ಗಶಾಯೋರ್ಗನತಿ || ಸತತವವೊಂದಿಪ್ಪುವಿಂದಂ || ತದುವ್ವಿರ್ವತಳನರ್ಥಗ್ಗಂ ||  
 ದಡಾ || ಭೂಭುಜರ || ಮಹಿಮೆಯಂ || ಬಣ್ಣಿ || ಸಲ್ || ಬಲ್ಲನಾವಂ || || ಇಂತು || ನೆಗರ್ಡ್ || ನೃಪರೋಶ್ || ||  
 ಶ್ರೀವರನಚ್ಚ(ಚ್ಚು)ತಂ || ಸಕಲೋಕ್ತಕಹಿತಾರ್ಥವುದಗ್ರದೈತ್ಯವಿದ್ರಾವಣನಾಗ || ಶ್ರೀ(ಕೃ)ಷ್ಣ || ವಿನರಿಂ || ಯದುವಂಶದೇಳಿಲ್ಲ || ಪುಟ್ಟದನ್ನೀ ||  
 ವಸುಧಾತಳಂ || ಲಿಗ(ಲಿ?) || ಪುಟ್ಟದ(ದ)ನೇಟ್ಟಿ || ಕೃಷ್ಣ || ರಾಜವಿಶ್ವವನಿವಲ್ಲಭ || ತುಳಗಭೂಪಶಿಖಾಮಣಿ || ಐಟ್ಟವಂಶದೇಶ್ || ||  
 ಘನಶಾಯ್ಯಂ || ವಿಭವಂ || ಗಭೀರವನಘಂ || ಸುಹಿತ್ತ್ಯ(ಶ್ಚ)ವಾಚಾರವಾಟ್ಟಿನಿತುಂ || ಕೇಶ್ || ತನಗಕ್ಕಲವಗವೇನಲ್ ||

ಶ್ರೀಕೃಷ್ಣ ಕಂಠಾರಭೂವನಿತಾಧೀಶನೇಹಾರುವನ್ಯರಗೇಯಲ್ತಾ ಕೃಷ್ಣ ನೀ ಕೃಷ್ಣ ನೇಬಿನೇಗಂ <sup>12</sup> ಉಟ್ಟ ಕುಳಾಂಜುಜುರ್ಕ್ಕನೆಸೆದಂ  
 ಶಾನೇದದೇ ವಣ್ಣೆವಂ || ಇಂತಿನವಖಿಳಗುಣಾಂಗಳಂ ಗಂಡವಗಾರ್ತೃಗಂ ವಿಕ್ರಮಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಕಣ್ಣೆಗಂ ತುಳಗನೆಂ-  
 ಬಸುವಮುಪ್ಪು <sup>13</sup> ಬಿರುದಿನಂಕವಾಗಾಳಂಕೃತನೃಪ ಕೃಷ್ಣ ರಾಜರಾಜ(ಜಾ)ನ್ವಯದೊಳ್ ತದನ್ಮುಣರೆನ್ನಿ \* ಮತ್ತಂ ನೆಗರ್ದ್-  
 ರರು(ಸಂ)ಗಳೊಳ್ || ವರವೀರಶ್ರೀಯ್ಯಂ ಶ್ರೀಯ್ಯನುಜಳವಚ(ಚಃ)ಶ್ರೀಯ್ಯಂ ಶಾಳ ಶೋಕೋತ್ತರವಾಗಿವೃಷ್ಟು <sup>14</sup>  
 ಕೇಜಂ ವಿಭವವತಿಕಯಂ ಗೂಡಿರಲ್ <sup>15</sup> ಉಟ್ಟವಂಶಾಂಬುರುಹಾರ್ಕೃಕಂ ಶಾನೆನಿಲ್ಪಂನತಿ ಎ(ಯ)ನೆಯ ಮಹಾಸೇನನೀ  
 ಸೆನಧಾಶ್ರೀವರನೆಂದೊಲೈಲ್ಲರು ಬಂಣಿ ಸತಿಸೆದನಿವಂ <sup>15</sup> ವಿಶ್ವಭೂವೇಳರತ್ನಂ || ತಂನಂದನಂ || ಪಿರಿದುಂ  
 ಘೆಲ್ಲವೆಯುಳ್ಳದಂ ಕರಗೊನಲ್ಯವಂ ದಿಟಶಾಂ(ಶ್ಯಾಂ)ತಡೆಂನರುವಂ ತಳ್ಳಿಡಿದಿಕ್ಕವಂ ಮಹೆದುವ(ಸು)ನ್ಯಸ್ತೀಯರಂ ರಂಭೆಗೇ  
 ಬೇರಲಂದಂ ಮಿಗಲಾದಸಂ ನೆನೆಯನಿವಂ ಬೇಡಿದಗ್ಗದ್ವಮಂ ಧರೆಯೊಳ್ <sup>17</sup> ಶಾನೆನಲಂತದೇನೆಸದನೋ ಶ್ರೀಶಾರ್ತ್-  
 ವೀರ್ಯೋರ್ವಿಪಂ || ತತ್ತನೂಭವನನೂನವಿಕ್ರಮಮಂ ಪೇಳ್ವದೆ || <sup>17</sup> ಪಡೆವಂ ಪದ್ಮಜನಂಕಿರಿಲ(ಲ್ಲ)ದುದನಾ  
 ಶ್ರೀಕೃಷ್ಣನಂತೆಇ(ತೈ for ತೇ)ದೇ ನೋಳ್ವದೆ <sup>18</sup> ರಕ್ತಿಪ್ಪನಿದ(ದಿ)ಲೈನಲ್ ನೆಗರ್ದರಂ ಶಾಂ ರುದ್ರನಂಕಿಕ್ಕವಂ ಪಡೆವಾತಂ-  
 ಗಳ(ಳಿ) ದೇವತಾಂಕರವನೀಶಶ್ಶಾ(ಶ್ಶಾ)ನೆನಲ್ವಂದರೊಳ್ವಡಿಲಕ್ಕೀಧರಭೂ[ಮಿವಾಳ]ನೆನಿಪಂ ಭೂವಾಳನಾರಾಯಣಂ || ಆ  
 ನಿ(ನೃ)ಪಾಳನರ್ಧಾಂ(ದ್ಧಾಂ)ಗ || ರತಿಯಂ ರೂಪಿನೊಳುವಿರ್ವಿಯಂ ಸ್ಥಿರತೆಯೊಳೂಜಾತೆಯಂ ಶಾಂ ಪತಿಬ್ರ(ವ)ತದೊಳ್ <sup>19</sup>

\* ತದನ್ಮುಣರೆನ್ನಿ is to be read as if it were written ತದನುಗುಣರೆನಿಸಿ. In this inscription where two consonants in immediate juxtaposition have the same vowel it is a very frequent practice to omit the first vowel; there are three instances of this in the following verse, where in each case ಶ್ರೀಯ್ಯಂ has to be read as if it were written ಶ್ರೀಯಮಂ.





ಸಜೆದೀಕಂಗೆ ವೈದೇಂದ್ರನಾ ವನ<sup>27</sup> ಜನಾಭಂಗೆಲ್ಯಾ ತಾಕ್ಪೂಂ ಮನೋಮುದದಿಂ ಮಾತುತಿ ರಾಘವಂಗೆ  
 ಪಸರಾಳಾದಂತಿ ವಿಖ್ಯಾತಿವೆತ್ತದಟಂ ಹಬ್ಬಯನಾಯಕಂ ಪ್ರಬಲವೈರೀಭೆನ್ನ ಶಂಕರವಂ ಮುದಮವ್ವಂತಿರೆ ಕಾತ್ಯಾ(ತ್ಯಾ)ವೀ-  
 ಯ್ಯಮಹಿಪಂಗಾಳಾದನರ್ಥ್ಯ(ರ್ಥಿ)ತ್ವದಿಂ || ಅವನದಟಂ ಪೀಳ್ವದೆ || ಜವನಂ ಜಕ್ಕಲಿವಂತೆ ಮಾರಿಗದಿರಂ  
 ಘೋರಪಂತಿ ಕಾಳಾಹಿಯೇಗುರುವೆಂದೇಂ ಪಿಡಿವಂತಿ ಸಿಂಹಮನದಂ ಘೋರೋಡುಮಂತೀತನೇಗುವನೆಂದಿನ್ನಿನಲಂತಿ ಮಿ(ಮ್ನ)ತ್ವ-  
 (ತ್ಯು)ವಿನ ಪೋಲೆಲ್ಲದ್ವರ್ಗಂ ಕೋಲ್ವನಾಹವದೊಳ್ ನಾಯಕಹಬ್ಬನೆಂದಡಿವನೊಳ್ಳಾಹಂಪಾರುಧ್ಧ(ಧ್ಧ)ತರ || ಕಂಠುಳದಡು-  
 ಳದವಲ್ಲದೆ ತೊಂಕು ನುಡಿವೆತಪಿ ತೊಡವರ್ವು(ಬು)ರವಣಿಯಂ ಕಂಡಿದಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ ಮುಳ್ಳಂ ಖಂಡಿವನೆನೆ  
 ಹಬ್ಬಣಂಗೆದಟ್ಟು ವನನಾಮಂ || ಸೆಡೆಗೊಂಕುನರೆ ತಂನವಬ್ಬಗೆಯದಂತಿದ್ದಿರ್ಗನಾ ರಾಯರಾದತವೋ ಹ<sup>†</sup>ಬ್ಬ-  
 ಣನೆಂಬನೊಳ್ ಘಸಣಿಯೇಕೆಯಂತಿ<sup>31</sup> ಗೂಡಾಡಿಪಂ ತೊಡವಲ್ ಭೈರವಪಾದಪದಮಮುಗಧ್ಯಾನೈಕವಿಂಠಂ ಜಯಂಬದೆವಂ  
 ತಾನೆನಲುವ<sup>32</sup> ನಾಯಕರುಮೇನೀತಂಗಳಸಾದ್ವೈವೇ || ಯನಿ ನೆಗಲ್ ವೀರನಂಗಳ[ನೆ] ಜನತಾತ್ಮಜ(ಜೆ)ಯಂತಿ  
 ರೂಪಿನಿ ಪತಿಹಿತದಿಂ ಘನಸಾಭಾಗ್ಯದಿನೆವಂಗೆನೆಯನಿ ಕಾಳವ್ವಿಗಿತರಸತಿಯದೊರ್ಗಿಯೇ || ಇಂತು ||  
 ನೆಗದೀರ್ಗ ಹಬ್ಬೆಯನಾಯಕಂಗೆವನವೀ ಕಾಳವ್ವಿಗಂ ಪುಟ್ಟಿದಕ್ಷಿಣಗದೊಳ್ ಬಂಧುಜನಕ್ಕೆ ರಾಗವರಿನಂಘಕೃಚ್ಚೈಗಂ  
 ಬೇರಳವರ್ಗಿ ಗುರುತ್ವಂ ಪಿರಿದಾಗೆ ನಾಯಕಶಿಖಾರತ್ನಂಗಳುದೊರ್ಗಮೂರ್ತಿಗಳ್ ಬಾಚಿಯಬೀಳಿಯಂಗಳನದಿನೇ ವಣಿಪಂ

\* This letter,—ನ, is to be found in the margin of the original, having been at first omitted.

† This letter,—ಹ, is inserted over the line in the original, having been at first omitted.

ಬಣ್ಣಿ ಪಾ || ವಿದಿತಂ ನೋಳ್ವದೇ ವಿಕ್ರಮಕ್ರಮದೊಳಾ ಭಿಂಮಾಚ್ಚುನಮ್ಪತ್ತೆ <sup>34</sup> ಪುಟ್ಟದರೆಂಬಂತಿರಲಾಂತಡಾ  
 ಕ್ಷಣದೇ ಕೊಂದಿಕ್ಕಲ್ ಕೊಂದಿಕ್ಕಲ್ ಕರಣೈಕ್ಕದೊಂವದೆ ಕಾಯಲ್ ನೆಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಿರ್ ವಿರರೆನ್ನಿದ್ದಿರ್ ತ್ತಾರ್ನೆನಲ್ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾ-  
 ನ್ಪದರೊಳ್ ಬಾಚಿಯಬ್ಬಿರೆಯಂಗಳಗದಾಸ್ವಾರ್ಧೃತ್ಯವೀ ಧಾತ್ರಿಯೊಳ್ || ಅವರೊಳ್ || ತೊಡರ್ದುಗ್ರಾರಿ-  
 ಕುಳಂ ಕ್ಷಣಂ ಕದನದೊಳ್ ನಿಂದಾಂತದೊಂವೊಂಯಿನಲ್ ಸಿಡಿಲಂತೆಯ್ ನಿಜೋಗ್ರಖನ್ನ ಹತಿಯಂ(ಯಂ)ದಾ  
 ಕಾಳ್ಕುದುಳ್ಳಿತ್ತಿಯಿಂದೊದೆಡೆಂಬುದೆನಿಸಿಯ್ ಸೂಸುವಿನೆಗಂ ಪೇನೀಳಿ ಕೊಲ್ವಂಗದೆಂದದೆ ಪೇಳ್ ಬಾಚಿಯನಾಯ-  
 ಕಂಗದಿರೊಳಾಂತಾವಂ ಬರ್ದುಂಕಿಪ್ಪವಂ || ಬಿರುದಂ ಕೊಂಡಾಡಿ ಗಂಡಂ ನುಡಿದೆಡಲುನ ಕಟ್ಟಾಳ-  
 ಳುಗ್ರಾಜಿಯೊಳ್ ತತ್ತರೆ ವಿರೋರಸ್ಥಳಂ ಬಿಬ್ಬರ ಬಿರಿವಿನವುಗ್ರಾಸಿಯಂ ಹೋಳ್ವ ಸೀಳಾದ್ರುರಮಂ ಕಂನೇತ್ತರುಂ  
 ಖಂಡಮುನೀಯೆ ಕರುಳ್ಮಾಲೆಯಂ ಸೂಡಿ ನಿಂದುವ್ವರೆಗೆಲ್ಲಂ ಭೈರವಾಕಾರಮನನುಕರಿಪಂ ಬಾಚಿಯಂ <sup>38</sup> ಲೋಕವಿರಂ ||  
 ಬಳವದ್ವಿರಾರಿನಂದೊಂಹದೊಳುಳಿಯುವಂ ಬಂದನಿಂಕೊಂದನೆಂದಾಗಳಿ <sup>39</sup> ಬೇತಾಳಾದಿಭಾತಾವಳಯಗಿವುದುಣಲ್ ಕೊಟ್ಟನೆಂದಿಂ-  
 ತಜೊ ಕೂರ್ತ್ತಳೊ ವಿರಶ್ರೀಯವಂಗಳ[ಲ್ಲ]ದೊಡಖಿಳಧಾರಾಪಕ್ರದೊಳ್ ಬಾಚಿಯಂ ನಿರ್ಮಳಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಶ್ರೀವಿಳಾಸಾನ್ವಿತನೆನಪನಿ  
 ಮಿಕ್ಕಂತೆ ವಿಕ್ರಾಂತಭಿಂಮಂ || ಜವನೊಡನಂಕಮಂ ತೊಡರ್ವ ಕಾಲನನಂಳಪ ಕಾಳಕೊಟಮಂ ನವಿವ  
 ಮಹಾಹಿಗೋಗಮಣಿಯಂ ಕೊಳಲಾಡಿಸ ಮಾಳ್ವಯಂದೆ <sup>40</sup> ಸಾವನರವನೊಳ್ ತೊಡಂಕುವುಧು(ದು) ಬಾಳ್ವಮರಾಂತರ-  
 ಪ್ಪುದೊಡದಿನಿವನಿ ಭಟಂ ದಿಟಂ ಧರೆಗೆ ಬಾಚಿಯನಾಯಕನುದ್ವವಿಕ್ರಮಂ || ಪರಧನಮಂ ಪರಸತಿಯಂ

\* This letter,—೯೩, having been at first omitted in the original, was afterwards inserted in the following line under its proper place.

ಪವಿತ್ರನಂತೆ ಧನದಧನಕಂ ರಶ(ತಿ)ಗಂ <sup>41</sup> ಕರಣಿಪುಗವಧಿಕವಿನ್ನಿಯೆ ಒರೆ ನಾಯಕಬಾಚನೇಳ್ಳನಹಿಯು ಒಗೆಯು ||  
 ಆತನ ಸತಿ ದ(ಧ)ರಗಿ ಮಹೀಜತಯು ವೋಲಮಳಗುಣವಿಳಾಸಾನಿತ್ವವಿಶ್ವಾತಿಯಿನ(ನಿ) ಮಾಯದೆವಿಗದಿ(ದಿ)ತಹೊಳಂ  
 ಮತ್ತಿನಿತರ <sup>42</sup> ಸತಿರುದ್ದೊರೆಯೀ || ಸಿರಿಗಂ ಸುರೇಂದ್ರವಧುಗಂ ಸುರಭಿಗವತಿಭಾಗ್ಯದಿಂ ವಿಳಾಸದಿನಿವಾ-  
 ದರಗೇಗಳನೆಂದುವಿಗಣೆಯನೆ ಸರಸಿಜಮುಖಿ ಮಾಯದೆವಿಗಾವೊರೆ ಧರೆಯೊಳ್ || ಆ ಸ್ತ್ರೀನಾಯಕಿಯೆನ್ನಿದ <sup>43</sup>  
 ಮಾಯದೆವಿನಾಯಕಿಯನುಜಂ || ಚಲದಿಂದೇವರ್ವ(ಬ್ಬ)ಳದೊಳ್ ಪಾಪಕ್ರಮಕದಾಮ್ಬತ್ತಾನಿಲ್ ಗಂಡರೇಜುಳವಿಂ  
 ವಿಠವಿರೋಧಿನಾಯಕನಿರಾಯಂ ಬಂದು ನಿಂದಾಂತದಾ ಬಲಮುಂ ಗಂಡುವದ್ದುರ್ಗ್ ತರ್ಗ್ ನೆಲದೊಳ್ ಮುಗ್ಗಲ್  
 ನಿಜೋಗ್ರಾಸಿಯಂ ಸತಿ ವಿಕ್ರಾಂತದೆ ಮಾಯದೆವಿಯನುಜಂ ಕೊಂದಿಕ್ಕುವಂ ಬೆದ್ದಣಂ || ಇಂತು  
 ನಿಗತ್ತಿವೆತ್ತ ವರಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಯಿನೇಪ್ಪುವ ಮಾಯದೆವಿ ತತ್ಕಾಂತನನುನಪ್ರಣ್ಯನಿಧಿ ಬಾಚಿಯನಾಯಕನತ್ಯುದಾರವತ್ಯಂ-  
 ತವಿಳಾಸವುಧ್ಯದಯೆಯೆಂಬಿವಳಿಂದನುಕೂಲವಿ(ವ್ರ)ತ್ತಿಯಿಂದೆನ್ನಿರೆ ಕನ್ಯುಗಂ ರತಿಗವರ್ವರೆಯೊಳ್ ದೊರೆಯಾದರೀವರ್ವರುಂ ||  
 ಇಂತಮಳಗುಣವಿಳಾಸದಿಂದೀವರ್ವರುವೆ(ಮಿ)ಳಿಯೊಳವಟ್ಟ ಸುಖದಿಂದಿರುತ್ತಂ ಶ್ರೀಮಂನಿಲಲೋಹಿತರುದ್ರಾವತಾರಂ ಶ್ರೀವಿಂ-  
 ರಭೈರವದೇವರ ದಿವ್ಯಶ್ರೀಪಾದಪದ್ಮಾರಾಧಕಂ ಪರಬಳಸಾಧಕನ್ಯವು <sup>47</sup> ಬಾಚಿಯನಾಯಕನ ವಳತದ ಸ್ಥಳಂ ನೇಸ-  
 ಹಿಯುಯವಗ್ಗುವಂಕುಗಳ ಗುಣಕಥನವದೇಂತನೆ || ವಿನಯನಿಧಾನರುತ್ತಮಕುಲೋದ್ಭವರುಂನತಪ್ರಣ್ಯಸಂಯುತಸ್ಥಾನತರ-  
 ಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಕಾಂತರನಘಪ್ರಿ(ಪ್ರಿ)ಯದಾನಮಹದ್ಗು(ಹಗು)ಣಾನ್ಯ(ಣ್ಣ)ವಜ್ಜಿನಪದಪದ್ಯಸಂಸ್ಕರಣಟಿತ್ತರುದಾತ್ತರಭಿಜ್ಞ ಭೂಪಣತ್ತನತನಗಂತಿ  
 ನೇಸಹೀಯೊಳ್ಳಿಗಳ್ಳಪ್ಪಯವಗ್ಗುವಂಕುಗಳ್ಳ || ತನಗೇದು(ದುಂ) ನೆಲೆಯಾದ ನೇಸಹೀಗೆ ಚಿಲ್ವಂ ತಾಳಲಂತಲ್ಕಿ  
 ಭಾವನಿತಾರತ್ಯತಿರಿಂಟದನ್ನಿರೆನೆಯಲ್ ಹಬ್ಬೇಶ್ವರಾವಾಸಮಂ ವಿನುತಂ ಮಾಡಿಸಿ <sup>49</sup> ಸುಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಿತನಿಲ್ ತಲ್ಲಂಸಂ-

ಸ್ಥಾಪ್ಯವಾಗಸಘಂ ಬಾಚಿಯನಾಯಕಂ ತಳಿದನೀ ಲೋಕೈಕವಿಖ್ಯಾತಿಯಂ || ಆ ವನೀ ಮಾಯಿನೇ-  
 ವಿಯುವಾಪಲ್ಲಭಗ್ರ(ಗ್ರ)ಹಮನೊಪ್ಪಿ ಮಾಡಿಸಿ ತಾಂ ಸದ್ಭಾವದೊಳಿ ಮಾಡಿದಳ್ ಮೃತಭಾವನೆಯುಂ ಎನಾನೀಕೇಶ್ವರ-  
 ಸ್ಥಾಪನಮುಂ || ಆ ರಾವೇಶ್ವರವಿ ಮಾಯಿದೇವಿ ನಿಜಸಾ(ಸಾಂ)ದರ್ಯುಂ ಗುಣಾಳಂತ್ರಿ(ಶ್ರ)ತಂ ವಿಂಶಂ  
 ವಿಸ್ತರಭೋಗಿ ಜಾಗಿ ಸುಚರಿತ್ರಂ ಶ್ರೀಧರಂ ತಾನೆನಲ್ ಸಾರಂ ತದ್ಗುಣರಿದು ಮಾಡಿಸಿ ಪುಣ್ಯಕಾಪಾಸಮುಂ  
 ಪ್ರೇಮದಿಂ ನಿರೇಖಾಕ್ಷಿ ಸಮಂತು ಮಾಡಿಸಿದಳು ಸಿದ್ಧೀ(ದ್ವೀ)ಶ್ವರಸ್ಥಾಪ್ಯಮುಂ || ವರವಸ್ತುವಳಿಯುಂ ಸುವರ್ಣ-  
 ಚಯದಿಂ ದಿವ್ಯಾಂನದಿಂ ಜಾರುವಿಸ್ತರಪಾಞ್ಜೂದಿನೆಲ್ಲರುಂ ತಣಿಯ ತಾಂ] ಸನ್ಯಾಸದಾನಂಗಳಾಗಿರೆ ಸನ್ಯಾಸ್ಗದಿ  
 ದಿವ್ಯಲಿಂಗತತಿಸಂಸ್ಥಾಪ್ಯಂಗಳಂ ಮಾಡಿದರ್ಥ(ರ್ಥ)ರೆಯೊಳ್ ಬಾಚಿಯನಾಯಕಾಗ್ರಣಿಯುವಂತಾ ಸ್ತ್ರೀಯವಿ(ವಿಂ)ತೊಬ್ಬರಲ್ ||  
 ಇಂತು ಸುಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠೆಗಳಂ ಮಾಡಿದೀ ಮುಖುಂಸ್ಥಾನಂಗಳಗಾಜಾರ್ಯುನಾದ ಹೊಂನಯ್ಯನ ಗುರುಕುಳಮುಂ ಪೇರ್ವದೆ ||  
 ಅನಘಾತ್ಯಂ ಪರಮಾತ್ಮಸಂಸ್ಕರಣಚಿತ್ತಂ ತಾಂ ರಶೀಶೇಂಗನಾಮುನಿನಾಥಾಕ್ರಮಿ ರುದ್ರಶಕ್ತಿ ತದನುಪಾಧಾರಣಾ-  
 ರಿತ್ರನಾತನುಜಂ ತದ್ಗುಣಿ ವಾಮುಶಕ್ತಿ ರಿರಘಲಿಜ್ಞಾನಶಕ್ತಿಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ತೀಶನ ಶಿಶ್ಯಂ(ದ್ವ್ಯಂ) ಸತನಾಗರಾಶಿಮುನಿನಾಥ-  
 ಜ್ಯೋದ್ಮನತ್ಯುತ್ಪಮುಂ || ಆ ವಾಮುಶಕ್ತಿದೇವರ ತನೂಜು || ನೆನದಿಂ ಪಾ\* ಟ್ಕದೇಗೇಂತ್ರವೇದು ಪಸರಿಟ್ಟೊಂದೊಂ-  
 ದನಾರತ್ನದಿಂದವಿ ದೇವಸ್ವಮನುಂಟೆವೆಂಟು ಮುನಿಯಲ್ಲೊನಾದದಂ ಧರ್ಮಕಾರ್ಯುನಿ ಕಾರ್ಯುಂ ತನಗೊಂ ನಿಶ್ಚಯ-  
 ನೋವಾಕಾ(ಕ್ರಾ)ಯದಿಂ ಪೂರ್ವತೀರ್ಥವನೀವಾವನನಾದ ದಿವ್ಯಮುನಿ ಹೊಂನಯ್ಯಂ ಮಹೀಭಾಗದೊಳ್ || ಶಿವ ||

<sup>60</sup> ಅಂತಿನಿಸಿದ ಹೊಂನಯುಂಗಳನ್ನಯಮುಂ ಪಿಳ್ವದೆ || ನೆಗಲ್ದ ಮಹಾಶ್ರೀಗಳೊಳಂ ನೆಗಲ್ದ ಮಹಾಪಿರಮಪರೊಳಂ  
 ಪಿಶ್ರಾಶ್ರಿಯುಕೊಳ್ ನೆಗಲ್ದದಗಣಿ[ತ]ನ ಪಿಯೆನಲ್ ವೊಗಳ್ವವಿ ಕಾಳಾಮುಪೆ[ಯ] ಸುಧರ್ಮುಪ್ರಮುಖಂ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ  
 ಸ(ತ)ಕವರ್ಚ(ರ್ವ) ೧೦೪೧ನೆಯ ಬಹುಧಾನ್ಯಸುವತ್ಸರದ ಮಾಘ ಶುದ್ಧ ೭ ಗುರುವಾರದಂದುತ್ತರಾಯಣಸಂಕ್ರಾಂತಿವ್ಯತಿಂಪತ  
 ಕೂಡಿದ ಪುಣ್ಯಾಶಿಠಿಯಾ ಪೊಂನಯ್ಯಂಗಳ ಪಾದಪ್ರಕ್ಷಾಲನಂ . ಪಾತಿ ದೇವರ ಅಂಗಭೋಗ ನಿತ್ಯನಿ(ನ್ಯ)ವೀದ್ಯ  
 ಟೈತ್ರ ಪವಿತ್ರವಲ್ಲಯ ತಪೋಧನಾಹಾರವಾನ ಖಂಡಸ್ತುಟಪಜ್ಞಾನೋ(ರ್ವ)ದ್ಧಾ(ದ್ಧ)ರ ಸಕಲಶ್ರೀಕಾರ್ಯವಿನಿತಕಂ  
 ಧಾರಾಶಾರ್ವರ್ಚಂ ಪಾತಿ ಶ್ರೀಕಾರ್ತವಿರ್ಯುದೇವರಸನ ನಿರಾಮದಿಂದಾ ರಾಜಾಧ್ಯಕ್ಷದ ಸಂನಿಧಿಯಲ್ ಪೆಳ್ಳವಿಟ್ಟದ  
 ಕಾಡಗಾವುಂ ಮುಖ್ಯವಲ್ಲ ಅಹುವರ್ಗ್ಗಾಪುಂಚುಗಳಿಗೆ ಸುದ್ದೆಗದ್ಯಾನವಂಸುರವರುಗೀ(ಗೆ)ಹೆಯುಟುಹಿಟ್ಟುಪಾಚಮಸಾನ್ನದುಡು-  
 ಗೀ(ಗೆ)ಹೆಯುನಿತುಮಂ ಕೊಟ್ಟು<sup>61</sup> ನೆಸಗಿಯ ಕರಜವಕನಿಮಣ್ಣ ಕೊಲಲ್ ಶ್ರೀಪಶ್ಚೇತ್ಯರದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗ ಕೊಟ್ಟ  
 ಕಂಮ ೫೦೦ ಶ್ರೀಮಾಣಿಕೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಕಂಮ ೪೦೦ ಆ ಸಿದ್ಧೇ(ದ್ಧಿ)ಶ್ವರದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗ ಕೊಟ್ಟ  
 ಕಂಮ ೨೦೦ [I] ಅವಹ ಸೀಮಿಮಾವುವೆಂದದೆ [I] ಕಾವರಗಿಯ ದಾರಿಯಂ ಪಡುವಲ್ ರಾ(ಗೆ)ಬಗಿಯ  
 ಸೀಮಿಯಂ ಮೂಡಲ್ [I] ಅನ್ತಾ ಮೂಯುಂಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕಂ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಗುದ್ದೆಯಂದೊಳಗೆ ಕೂಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ  
 ಕಯ ಸಾಸಿರವಯ್ಯೂರು [II] ಆ ಹಬ್ಬೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಕೊಟ ೪೫೦ ಮಾಣಿಕೇಶ್ವ[ರ]ದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗ  
 ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಕೊಟ ೨೦೦ ಸಿದ್ಧೇ(ದ್ಧಿ)ಶ್ವರದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಕೊಟ ೨೦೦ [I] ಆ ಕೊಟದ ಸೀಮಿ  
 ಲವುದೆಂದದೆ [I] ಹಳ್ಳದಿಂ ಬಡಗಲ್ ಮೂಡಣ ಹೊಲದ ನಡುವೆ ಕಂಡಾಳದ ದಾರಿಯುಂ  
<sup>64</sup> ಕೆಂಕಲ್ [I] ಅನ್ತಾ ಮುಯ್ಯ(ಯುಂ)ಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕಂ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಗುದ್ದೆಯಂದೊಳಗೆ ಕೂಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಕೊಟ-

ಪೊಂಭಯನೂ ಅಯ್ಯತ್ತೂ ಕಮ್ಮ(ಮು) [||] ಆ ದೇವರ ಮಠವಾವುದೆಂದೆ [||] ಶ್ರೀಮೂಲಸ್ಥಾನದೇವರ  
 ದೇವಾಲಯ(ಲಯ)ದಿಂಶಾನ್ಯದಲ್ ಕುಷಯರವರ ಮನೆಯಿಂ ಮೂಡಲ್ ಶ್ರೀಹಬ್ಬೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ್ಗ್ ಕರಹದದ ಹಸ್ತದಲ್  
 ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಅಡವನೆ ಹದಿನಯ್ದು ಕಯ್ಯನಿಂ ಮಣಿಕೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ್ಗ್ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಅಡವನೆಯಿಂಟುಕಯ್ಯನಿಂ  
 ಸಿದ್ಧೀ(ದ್ವೀ)ಶ್ವರದೇವರ್ಗ್ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಅಡವನೆಯಿಂಟುಕಯ್ಯನಿಂ ಕೂಡಿ ಮೂವತ್ತೂಕಯ್ಯನಿಂ [||] ಅದಂ  
 ಅಗಲ ಯಿ(ಯೀ)ರಿಯಂದ ಮುಂದೆ ಗೊಟ್ಟಿಗೆಯ ನೀಳವಿಪ್ಪತ್ತುಮೂಯ ಕೈ [||] ಅನ್ತಾ ಮೂಱುಂಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕಂ  
 ನಾಯ್ಕ ಗುಡ್ಡೆಯಿಂದೊಳಗೆ ಕೂಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಸಮಚತುರಶ್ರದಲ್ ಕರಹದದ ಹಸ್ತ ೩೦ [||] ಆ  
 ದೇವರ ಹದಿ ೮ \* ದೋಟವಾವುದೆಂದೆ [||] ಹಳ್ಳದಿಂ ಬಡಗಲ್ ಆ ದೇವರ ದೇವಾಲಯ(ಲಯ)ದಿಂ  
 ಪಡುವಲ್ ಮೂಱುಂ(ಱುಂ)ಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕಂ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಹಂ ೨೧ ದೋಟ ತೊಟಗೋಲ ಕಮ ೨೦೦ [||] ಆ ದೇವರ  
 ನಂದಾದೀವಿಂ(ಯಿ)ಸ್ಥಾನಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಗಾ[ಣ] ೨ [||] ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನವಿಖ್ಯಾತವಂಚತವಿಂಶಾಸುನಲಪ್ಪಾ ನೇಕಗು-  
 ಣಗಣಾಳಂ(ಕೃ)ತಸತ್ತ್ವ(ತ್ವ)ಕಾಣಾಣಾರಣಾರುಚಾರಿತ್ರನಯವಿನಯವಿಚ್ಛಾ ನವಿರಾವತಾರವೀರಬಣಂಜುಸಮಯಧರ್ಮ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳನವಿಶುದ್ಧ-  
 (ದ್ವ)ಗುಡ್ಡ ಧ್ವಜವಿರಾಜಿತಾನೂನಸಾಹಸಸಮಾಲಿಂಗತವಿಶಾಳವಕ್ಷಸ್ಥಳಭುವನಪರಾಕ್ರಮೀನ್ನತರಂ ಶ್ರೀಪದ್ಮಾ[ವ] ಶ್ರೀದೇವಿಂಲಬ್ಧವರಪ್ರಸಾದರ್ಮಪು-  
 ಕೊಂಡಿಮೂಱುನಾಗಿಸರದ ನಾಲ್ಕುಂಪಟ್ಟಣದ ಸಿಟ್ಟಿಗುತ್ತರ್ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ವುಭಯನಾನಾದೇ[ಶಿ]ಗಳಂ ಯೀಳುವರೆಹಂನೈ-  
 [ರ]ತುವರೆನ್ನಳಸಮಸ್ತನಖರಮು(ಮುಂ)ಮುರಂದ(ದಂ)ಗಳ(ಳುಂ) ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಹರದಿಂಟುಂಬಾಡದ ನೇಸಹಿಗೆಯ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪುಟಯರ  
 ಶ್ರೀಕಲಿದೇವರ ದೇವಾಲಯ(ಲಯ)ದಲ್ ಅಶೇಶ(ಪ)ಸಭೆಯಾಗಿ ಭೈರವಣಿಳಯಲಿದ್ದು ತನ್ನಹಿಯ ಬೀ(ವೀ)ರವಣಿಗಂ

\* ೩೦. ಹದಿನೆಂಟು.

† ೩೦. ಹಂನೇರಡು.

ಬಾಚಿಯನಾಯಕಂ ಮಾದ್ವಿದ ಶ್ರೀಹರ್ಷೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ ಶ್ರೀಮಾಣಿಕೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ ಶ್ರೀಶಾರ್ಯಾ ನದೇವಂತಾಗ ನಾಡುಗರ್  
 ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಆಯದಾಯವಾವುದೆಂದೆ [1] ನೇಸಹೇಯಲ್ ಮಾಹದ ಭಂಡಕ್ಕೆ ಹೊಗೆ ವೀಸ [1] ಆ  
 ಸ್ಥಳದಲ್ ತುಂಬಿ ನಡನ ಯಲೆಯ ಹೇಳಿಗೆ ವೀಸ ಹೊಡೆಗರೆವೀಸ [1] ಅದೂ ಬಳ ಹೇಳಿಗೆ  
 ನೇಡೆಲೆ ಹೊಡೆಗೆಯ್ವತ್ತಿಲೆ [1] ಅಂಗಡಿಯಲ್ ಪ್ರತಿದಿನಂ ಸಟ್ಟುಗ ಭತ್ತ [1] ಗಾಣಂಗಲ್  
 ನೋಟಗೆಯ್ಗೊ [1] ಅರಿಹಕೊಣರಲುಂ ಕೊಯ್ಕಳಗಳಲುಂ ಜೈತ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಬೇಳೆ ಪವಿತ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಬೇಳೆ ದಿನಂ  
 ಪ್ರತಿ ಬಾಡಿನವಳಿಗೆ ವೊಂದು ಸೂಡು ಅಯ್ಯ ಕೊಯಿ [1] ಆವಗೆಯಲ್ ಮಸಕೆಯರಡು [1]  
 ಹುಲ್ಲು ಹೊಡೆಗೆ ವೊಂದು ಸೂಡು [1] ಅಡುಗಬಿ(ಬ್ಬಿ)ನ ಹೊಡೆಗೆರಡು [1] ಶ್ರವಣಕಲ್ಬಿಲರ್ ಕಲ್ಬಹೇಡ್ಡೆಯಲ್  
 ಮಾಣುವಲ್ಲ ಹಿಡಿ [1] ಬಾಡು ಕಾಡು ಸುಣ್ಣ [1] ಆ ದೇವರ ಪಟ್ಟಿಯಕ್ಕೆ  
 ಕೊಂಡಿಮೂಯುಸಾರದೊಳಗೇನ(ನು) ಹೇಳಿದಡಂ ಗ್ರಾಸಕಾಣಿಕೆಯನ್ನದೆ ಸರ್ವನಮಶ್ಯ(ಸ್ಯ)ವಾಗ ನದೇವಂತು ಕೊಟ್ಟ  
 ಕಾಸನದೆ(ದಿ)ತು(?) [11] ಯಿ(ಇ)ಪ್ಪತ್ತು ಅಲ್ಪಯುನತೊ(ತ್ತೊ)ಕ(ಕ್ಕ)ಲುಂ ತಂಸೊಳ(ಳ್ಳ)ಕಮತ್ತ್ಯ(ತ್ಯ)ವಾಗ ಆ  
 ದೇವರ ಶ್ರೀಶಾರ್ಯಾ ನದೇವಂತಾಗ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಮಿಂಟೊಳಗವೊಂದು || ಸಾಮಾನೋಯಂ ಧರ್ಮಸೇತುಸ್ತುಪಾಣಾಂ  
 ಕಾಲೇ ಕಾಲೇ ಪಾಲನೀಯೋ ಭವದ್ಭಿಃ | ಸರ್ವೇ(ರ್ವಾ)ನೇಶಾನ್ಭಿಗ(ವಿ)ನಃ ಪಾರ್ಥಿವೇಂದ್ರಾನ್ಘ್ರಿಯೋ  
 ಭೂಯೋ ಯಾಚತೇ ರಾಮಚಂದ್ರಃ || ಬಹುಭಿಃ(ಭಿ)ರ್ವಸ್ತುಧಾ [ದ]ತ್ತಾ ರಾಜಭಿಸ್ಸಗರಾದಿಭಿಃ |  
 ಯಸ್ಯ ಯಸ್ಯ ಯಪಾ ಭೂಮಿಸ್ತಸ್ಯ ತಸ್ಯ ತದಾ ಫಲಂ || ಸದತ್ತಂ(ತ್ತಾಂ) ಪರದತ್ತಂ(ತ್ತಾಂ) ವಾ  
 ಷೋ ಹರೇತಿ ವಸುಂಧರಾ(ರಾಂ) | ದಷ್ಟೀರ್ವರ್ತ(ರ್ವ)ಸಹಸ್ರಾಣಿ ವಿದ್ಯಾಯಾಂ ಜಾಯತೇ ಕ್ರಿಮಿ(ಮಿಃ) ||



No. VI.<sup>1</sup>

Reverence to Śiva ! Victorious is the boar-like form that was manifested of Vishṇu<sup>2</sup>, agitating the ocean and having the earth reposing upon the tip of its uplifted right tusk ! Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds ! Reverence to Gaṇapati ! May Śiva, who is Śaṅkara, the delight of Râma, the spotless one, the unborn, the chief among gods, the deity, the lord of the moon, the lord of Pârvatî, the creator of the three worlds, Śambhu, who bears on his head the auspicious and pure and shining waves of the holy Mandâkinî<sup>3</sup>,—may he in his kindness ever grant the fulfilment of the desires of those that are born in the race of the Râttas, the chief of the lords of the earth !

The mountain of Śakra<sup>4</sup> is the centre of the habitation of mortals, which is resplendent because among the three worlds it is in the terrestrial globe that one may acquire with certainty piety and wealth and everything that is pleasant and final emancipation of the soul, and to the south of it shines the land of Bharata ; in that land is the country of Kuntala, in which the district of Kûṇḍi is very pleasing to the eye. To describe the attractions of that district :—Its abundant fruits and fertile crops ever flourish so as never to fail ; the people of it are excellent through the brilliant integrity of their conduct ; the lords of that country ever possess eternal wealth and many pleasures and truth and liberality and valour and nobility ;—who, then, may describe the greatness of those kings ? Amongst the kings that were thus glorious :—

The husband of Śrî, the undecaying one, becoming the destroyer of the fierce demons for the sake of the welfare of all worlds, was born

<sup>1</sup> This inscription is from a stone tablet in front of a temple of Basava at Nêsarige in the Sampgaum Taluk of the Belgaum District. The stone is very well preserved, but the inscription is rather a difficult one to read, as there is a thick stone pillar standing in front of the tablet and only a few inches distant from it. The emblems at the top are :—In the centre, a *liṅga* ; to the right of it, an officiating priest, and beyond him a figure of Basava above which is the sun ; to the left, a cow and calf, and beyond them a crooked knife above which is the moon.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion is to the incarnation of Vishṇu as a boar, when he rescued the earth that had been carried off to the bottom of the great ocean by the demon Hiranyāksha.

<sup>3</sup> The heavenly Ganges, which sprang from the perspiration on the forehead of Śiva and flows through his matted hair before it falls to the earth.

<sup>4</sup> Indra.

of his own pleasure in the Yaduvamśa under the name of Kṛishṇa ; and in like manner, amidst the praises of this earth, was born in the Rāṭṭavamśa the gracious Kṛishṇarāja, the favourite of the whole world, the crest-jewel of king Tuḷiga.<sup>5</sup> Listen now ; can any others be compared with Śrī-Kṛishṇakandhāra, the supreme lord of the lovely woman the earth ? ; for to him belonged assuredly great bravery and glory and dignity, sinlessness, learning, and upright conduct, and ability ; he was resplendent as the sun of the white lotuses of the Rāṭṭakūḷa, so that one might say “ That Kṛishṇa<sup>6</sup> and this Kṛishṇa are one ; ” how shall I describe him ? Amongst the kings who, being held to resemble him in their virtues, were glorious in the royal lineage of Kṛishṇarāja, who was, by reason of all those brilliant qualities, adorned with the unrivalled titles of “ The sun of rulers, the valorous universal emperor, the poet, Tuḷiga ” :—

The mighty Sṇa, resplendent in having acquired the goddess Excellent Bravery, and good fortune, and the lustre of firm speech, and because superhuman might and glory and majesty concentrated themselves preëminently (in him), and because of his greatness in being esteemed the sun of the white lotuses of the Rāṭṭavamśa, was glorious as being the best of kings, so that all people praised him, saying in their joy, “ This is the husband of the Earth, which has (now indeed) a lord.” His son :—

Great though their sins might be, he protected those who, (confessing their misdeeds to him,) asked for protection, but, if any one bravely resisted him, him he slew ; indifferent to the wives of other men, he regarded them not even though they might be pointed out with the finger as excelling Rambhe<sup>7</sup> (in beauty) ; to those that asked of him he granted their desires ;—how glorious was the king Śrī-Kârtavīrya in the earth ! To describe the perfect prowess of his son :—

Like the Lotus-born he gave existence to that which existed not ; like that holy Kṛishṇa he excellently preserved all this (creation) ; like Rudra he destroyed those who attempted (evil deeds)<sup>8</sup> ;—thus he, the

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<sup>5</sup> Or perhaps “ Tuḷiga, the crest-jewel (the best) of kings.” The word Tuḷiga occurs again below in line 12, and would there seem to be a title of Kṛishṇarāja.

<sup>6</sup> i. e., Viṣṇu incarnate as Kṛishṇa.

<sup>7</sup> One of the nymphs of heaven.

<sup>8</sup> The qualities of king Lakshmana are compared with the attributes of Brahma the creator, Viṣṇu the preserver, and Śiva or Rudra the destroyer.

best of the rulers of the earth, became a very second king Lakshmi-dhara<sup>9</sup> among those who are excellent and say, "What answer (can be made to the assertion that) we kings are portions of the deity?" The wife<sup>10</sup> of this king :—resembling Rati in beauty, the Earth in firmness, the Earth-born in devotion to her husband, Śrī-Sati<sup>11</sup> in supreme happiness, the wife of Indra in preëminence of enjoyment, and Bhârati<sup>12</sup> in learning,—thus the most virtuous wife Chandrikâdêvi was pleasing; thus let me describe the wife of Lakshmaṇa. To them :—

As to Dêvakîdêvi and Vasudêva was born the holy Kṛishṇa of infinite glory, so to those two who were so happy was born most felicitously the king Śrī-Kârtavîrya, the best of kings, the delight of the whole earth, . . . . . to the race of his foes. If you ask how that was :—He was the lord of mankind and acquainted with the writings on the art of government; his ministers were omniscient and opulent; his city was large and resplendent, as being full of all the means of accomplishing (pleasure); . . . . . ; his pleasing country was possessed of (the fruits of) all the seasons; he himself was without an equal and most brave; his army and his friends were firmly attached to him;—how excellent was the king Śrī-Kârtavîrya! Perfect in (the possession of) a firm *saptâṅga*<sup>13</sup>, having others prostrate before him, perfect in all expedients, glorious through the three *śaktis*<sup>14</sup> that were amplified in him, well acquainted with the glorious six *guṇas*<sup>15</sup>, perfect in the three means of accomplishment that abound in happiness,—who of all the rulers of the earth resemble in this world Kârtavîrya, the best of kings?

(If you ask) "What was the royal capital of this glorious king like?" Resplendent with seventy villages which delighted all mankind with the multitude of their perennial fruits, famous in this world as

<sup>9</sup> Vishṇu.

<sup>10</sup> Literally, 'she who was half of the body.'

<sup>11</sup> Pârvatî.

<sup>12</sup> Sarasvatî.

<sup>13</sup> The *saptâṅga* or seven requisites of a king's court are :—A learned man, herald, songster, poet, jester, historian, and reader of Purâṇas. There is another *saptâṅga* or the seven royal favours, viz. money, land, a house, a vehicle, raiment, jewels, and corn.

<sup>14</sup> The regal attributes of majesty, perseverance, and counsel.

<sup>15</sup> The six *guṇas* are the six divine attributes, viz. wisdom, creative energy, power, all-sufficiency, might, and glory; or the six means of defence, viz. peace, war, a march, a halt, a stratagem, and recourse to protection.

Surapura<sup>16</sup> and Bhôgâvatî<sup>17</sup>, Vênugrâme, having become famous through the excellence of its merits which had thus acquired greatness, became pleasing on account of all its riches and enjoyments.

While he was ruling happily at Vênupura, which was thus ever resplendent with endless delights like Vasantapura ;—As Vṛishêndra<sup>18</sup> joyfully became the well-known servant of Îsa, as Târکشya<sup>19</sup> of him who bears the lotus on his navel, and as Mâruti<sup>20</sup> of Râghava, so the famous and valiant Habbayanâyaka, a very lion to the royal elephants that were his mighty foes, became with pleasure the servant of the happy king Kârtavîrya. To describe that valiant man :—As one who tickles Java<sup>21</sup>, or as one who opposes himself to Mâri<sup>22</sup>, or as one who seizes a black serpent saying “What can this do to me?,” or as one who strikes a lion and runs away (in a futile attempt to escape),—(as it fares ill with all these),—so, (if any one provokes this man) saying “What can he do?,” Habbayanâyaka scatters destruction on all sides in war like Death ; who is rash enough to oppose him? If he beheld (the faults of any) they were saved ; but if any having uttered a lie came to withstand him, in his wrath he clove asunder their breasts and their insolence ; who may withstand Habbaya? Though they might be his friends, or his own people, or people whom he disliked, or even kings, he (behaved impartially to all and) caused mankind to say “Is there any injustice in Habbaya? ;” confronting (his foes) he became victorious, being most resolute in meditating on the lotuses which are the feet of Bhairava<sup>23</sup> ; what Nâyakas could be compared to him? Can any other woman be compared with Kâlavve, the wife of this glorious and brave man, who was resplendent like the daughter of Janaka in beauty, in devotion to her husband, and in good fortune? To the thus glorious Habbayanâyaka and to this resplendent Kâlavve were born Bâcheya and Bîreya, the delight of their relations, a trouble to the host of their foes, very liberal to those that asked of them, the

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<sup>16</sup> The city of the gods.

<sup>17</sup> The capital of Vāsuki, the king of the Nâgas or serpent-demigods, in one of the divisions of the infernal regions.

<sup>18</sup> The bull Nandi, the servant and vehicle of Śiva (Îsa).

<sup>19</sup> The man-bird Garuda, the servant and vehicle of Vishṇu.

<sup>20</sup> The monkey-king Hanumān, one of the allies of Râma (Râghava) in his war with Râvana the king of Laṅkā.

<sup>21</sup> Yama, the god of death.

<sup>22</sup> Durgâ, the goddess of epidemics.

<sup>23</sup> A manifestation of Śiva as the type of severity and cruelty.

best of Nâyakas, incarnations of enjoyment ; how shall one describe them ? It is well known, if you regard them, that, as if Bhîma and Arjuna had been born again in all their might, they destroyed instantaneously any that opposed them, but protected any that took refuge with them ; they were numbered amongst valiant men and were considered heroes ; who in this earth resemble Bâcheya and Bîreya ? Amongst them :—If the assemblage of his fierce foes withstood him for a moment in war, shouting ‘ Oho ! ’ and coming like a thunderbolt with a blow of his sharp sword he struck them so that their brains were poured out from their heads and were scattered to the eight regions,—thus he killed them so that a nasty smell was caused : say now, who could withstand Bâcheyanâyaka and be saved ? Cleaving asunder with his fierce sword the brave breasts of the heroes who came against him in war proclaiming (their own) titles and praising (their own) valour, Bâcheya, the bravest of mankind, shouting out while their breasts and their red blood and their flesh were being scattered abroad, tying their entrails round his head like a garland, imitated in the earth the attributes of Bhairava. He came dealing destruction in the ranks of his mighty and brave foes and provided an acceptable repast for the Bêtâlas and other demons, and thus the goddess Bravery delighted in him ; but for that would Bâcheya have been considered to possess the delights of the goddess Spotless Fame in this earth ?, no ; but he was surpassingly terrible in his prowess. As one who wars with Java, as one who laughs at Death, as one who drinks the black poison, as one who seizes the jewel in the hood of a great serpent,—as all these die, so those who oppose him die, but those who bow themselves before him are saved ; and thus Bâcheyanâyaka is indeed a hero and a valiant man in the earth. Bâcha covets not the wealth of others, nor desires the wives of others, nor troubles himself about other heroes, even though they may surpass respectively the riches of Dhanada, or Rati, or a lion. Can any other woman be compared with Mâyidêvi his wife, who like the Earth-born is famous for abounding in the delights of spotless virtues ? Who in this earth may be compared with the lotus-faced Mâyidêvi who resembles Śrî in riches, the wife of Indra in delight, and Surabhi<sup>24</sup> in liberality ? The younger brother of that same Mâyidêvî-nâyaki who was considered the first of women :—If the assemblage of the brave and inimical Nâyakas, boasting and saying “ What other men (save ourselves) are renowned for firm determination, for strength of arms,

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<sup>24</sup> The fabulous cow of plenty.

and for valour ?, ” came and withstood him, when he beheld them in front of him, Beddāṇa, the younger brother of Mâyidêvi, valorously slew (them) with his fierce sword so that, being humbled, (they) tripped and fell. While Mâyidevi, who was thus pleasing with a most excellent fame that was full of glory, and her husband Bâcheyanâyaka, the receptacle of perfect piety, were living happily together on account of their great munificence, their infinite delight in each other, and their pleasing affection, they became fit to be compared in the earth to Kantu and Rati. So while these two were, through the delights of their spotless virtues, living in the happiness that had been acquired by them in this earth,—if you ask for a description of the merits of the six headmen of the village of Nêsarige which was the locality of the administration of Bâcheyanâyaka who was the worshipper of the sacred lotuses which were the feet of Śrî-Vîrabhairavadêva the incarnation of the holy Nilalôhita-Rudra, and who was the subduer of the might of his enemies :—

Receptacles of modesty, born in most noble families, possessed of the most exalted piety, the lovers of Great Fame, without sin, oceans of the great virtue of liberality towards their friends, devoted to contemplating the lotuses which were the feet of Jina, generous, the glory of learned men,—such were the six headmen who were mutually glorious at Nêsarige.

Esteeming highly Nêsarige which had become his permanent place of abode, the sinless Bâcheyanâyaka caused to be built there a shrine of Habbêśvara, which was as it were the jewelled diadem of the lovely woman the earth, and, pronouncing it a most holy place, established there the *linga* of that god, and thus obtained great renown amongst mankind. That lovely woman Mâyidêvi, having caused to be built a pleasing shrine of the Husband of Umâ<sup>25</sup>, through her devotion towards Mṛida<sup>26</sup> made in her piety a temple of Mânîkêśvara. That same lotus-eyed Mâyidêvi, the best of lovely women, having had built in her affection an abode for Mahêśa because he is possessed of beauty, is adorned with virtue, is brave, is possessed of many enjoyments, is most liberal, is the sustainer of Fortune, and is every thing that is good, caused the god Siddhêśvara to be established most excellently. While all people were being satisfied with excellent garments, with plenty of

<sup>25</sup> Pârvatî.

<sup>26</sup> Śiva.

gold, with sweet food and with betel leaves and nuts in pleasing abundance, she, that woman who was thus charming, and Bicheya, the chief of Nāyakas, following the good path of giving gifts and doing honour to good people, established a multitude of Nāyas in the earth.

To describe the saintly lineage of Honnayya who became the priest of the three shrines that were thus consecrated:—Pure in soul and given up to mental contemplation of the divine essence,—such was Kāśāñga (? Kāśyañga); the disciple of that chief of sages was Kandraśakti, who followed the same pursuits; his son, resembling him in virtue, was Vamaśakti, the most excellent one, the elder brother of that best of sages Natanagarāśi, the disciple of Rirapūlijñānaśakti the chief of ascetics. The son of that same Vamaśaktidēva:—Having given the name of ‘a mere machine’ to (any saint) who used to prolong his life by means of stratagems, and saying “What is there in those sages who enjoy godhood by some (artificial) means or other?; the duties of religion are my duties,” the holy sage Honnayya, with resolute mind, speech, and body, devoted himself to the worship of the husband of Pārvatī on the earth. To describe the race of the thus-mentioned Honnayya:—There is (there are instances of) infinite power of self-restraint among the great ascetics that have been famous, and among the *Pā-upatas*<sup>27</sup> and among the *Śrōtriyas*<sup>28</sup>; but I praise (him who was) the chief of the excellent rites of Kālāmukhe.

Hail! On a sacred lunar day which comprised the conjunction of a *ryatipāta* with the sun’s commencement of his progress to the north on Thursday the seventh day of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the year of the Śaka era 1141, being the Bahudhānya *samvatsara*, at the command of the king Śri-Kārtavīryadēva and in the presence of his throne, after the feet of Honnayya had been laved, there were given with oblations of water, for the purposes of the *aṅgabhōga* of the god, the perpetual offering, the *Chaitra*<sup>29</sup>, and the *Paritra*<sup>30</sup>, to supply the ascetics of that place (? Nēsaṅge) with food, to repair whatever might become broken or torn or worn out, and to provide for all the holy.

<sup>27</sup> Brāhmanas who worship Śiva as Paśupati, the lord of all created beings.

<sup>28</sup> Brāhmanas who are well versed in the study of the Vêdas.

<sup>29</sup> Sometimes the two words are met with in the inscriptions as a compound, ‘*Chaitrapavitra*,’—? the purificatory rites of the month Chaitra or of the temple; in other places, as here and in line 75 below, they are distinct. I am not at all certain what meaning is to be given to these terms, and therefore I have not translated them.



rites, 800 *kammas* (of land) to the god Śri-Habbêśvaradêva, 400 *kammas* to the god Śri-Mânikêśvaradêva, and 300 *kammas* to the god Siddhêśvaradêva, in the circle of Karajadakaḍimaṇṇu of Nêsarige, after that there had been given to the six headmen of that place, headed by Thâchagâvunḍa of Bellivetṭa, a gift of money like that which it is the custom to give at the time of burying, and rings and ornaments and alms<sup>30</sup> and such cloths as belong to (are the customary gift to) (the priests of) the five *mathas*.<sup>31</sup> The boundaries of this land are :—(It is) to the W. of the road to Tâvarage, and to the E. of the boundaries of Rambige. There were given altogether to those three shrines one thousand and five hundred *kammas* within (the limits of) four heaps of stones above graves.

Also there were given 450 (*kammas* of) garden-land to the god Habbêśvaradêva, 300 to the god Mânikêśvaradêva, and 200 to the god Siddhêśvaradêva. The boundaries of this garden-land are :—(It is) to the N. of the stream, and to the S. of the road to Kaṇḍadâla that passes through the eastern fields. Thus there were given altogether to those three shrines nine hundred and fifty *kammas* of garden-land within (the limits of) four heaps of stones above graves.

If you ask what are the *mathas* of those same gods :—A pledge (of a plot of ground), fifteen cubits long in the cubits of Karahada, was given to the god Śri-Habbêśvaradêva, to the N.E. of the temple of the original local deity and to the E. of the houses of the shepherds; a pledge, eight cubits long, was given to the god Mânikêśvaradêva (in the same place); and a pledge, seven cubits long, was given to the god Siddhêśvaradêva (in the same place); thus the total length was thirty cubits. The breadth of the same :—Twenty-three cubits are the length of the verandah in front of the black soil (? in front of the bank of the tank). Thus there were given altogether to those same three shrines 30 of the cubits of Karahada in a square<sup>32</sup> within (the limits of) four heaps of stones above graves.

<sup>30</sup> 'Entuhittu; 'hittu, 'flour, meal, has also the sense of alms, gratuitously supplying food, and gratuitously performing services, but the force of 'entu, eight, prefixed to it here is not apparent. Possibly 'entuhittu' may mean eight guilds.

<sup>31</sup> 'Matha,' a religious college, a monastery.

<sup>32</sup> According to the text it is not a square of thirty cubits, as, though the length is thirty cubits, the breadth is only twenty-three. I may perhaps have overlooked something in line 65; for, the average number of letters in each line in this part of the inscription is fifty-six, whereas there are only fifty-one



If you ask what were the eighteen gardens of those gods :—To the N. of the stream and to the W. of the temple of those gods, there were given to those three shrines twelve gardens (and, or, comprising.) 200 *kammas* out of the circle of the garden-land.

Two oil-mills were set apart to provide oil for the perpetual lamps of those same gods.

Hail! Headed by the chief merchants of four cities of the Kûṇḍī 'Three-thousand who were distinguished for prowess through the world by reason of their broad chests which were pure in preserving the laws of the Vīrabhaṇḍī guild which is the very embodiment of truth, pure conduct, brilliant achievements, morality, modesty, and learning, adorned with innumerable good qualities acquired by five hundred brave edicts celebrated throughout the whole world, and which were decorated with the banner (bearing the device) of a hill and were imbued with perfect daring, and who enjoyed the excellent favour of the goddess Śrī-Padmāvatīdēvi,—the people of many countries on both sides and all the guilds of the *Nakhara* and *Mummuri* of the place called *Ēḷuvaresthala*<sup>33</sup> and of the place called *Hannaraduvaresthala*<sup>34</sup> assembled together in great numbers in the temple of the holy Kalidēva of the shepherds of Nēsarige of Srīmat-Haradentumbāḍi<sup>35</sup>, and, being in the field of Bhaishana, (the people of) the district gave the following contributions in order that the rites of the gods Śrī-Habbēśvaradēva and Śrī-Māṇikēśvaradēva that had been established by the Vīravaiṇḍa Bācheyānayaka of that country might be carried on. (They gave) on the pots and pans sold at Nēsarige, one *ṛisa*<sup>36</sup> on each *hoṇṇu*<sup>37</sup>, one *ṛisa* on each load of a beast, and one

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in the line in question. I would propose inserting after the words '*hadinaidu koṇṇu*' fifteen edicts 'koṇṇu' in that line the words '*ḡḷu kayyagala*,' seven edicts broad.

<sup>33</sup> '*Ēḷuvaresthala*' and '*Ḥannaraduvaresthala*' are technical names and mean literally 'the place or locality that is called) the 'Seven-and-a-half' and the place or locality that is called) the 'Twelve-and-a-half.' In No. V., line 33, we have 'the place or locality that is called) the 'Seven-and-a-half' and the place or locality that is called) the 'Twelve-and-a-half.' These terms probably originated in some local custom of which no traces now remain, but the clue to the explanation of them may perhaps be found in a custom formerly observed in the Pārwaḍ District: the Śhīhābāzār of that town was taken as the line dividing not the town only but the neighbouring country also into two parts, and the inhabitants of the two divisions thus constituted used at the festival of the Habbēśvaradēva to meet in opposition to each other and engage in a contest called '*kāḷa-kāḷaga*,' literally "the war of stones." If the number of villages on each side of the line-division was not specified, the contending parties would be "the people of many countries

*arevīsa*<sup>37</sup> on each head-load of betel-leaves loaded at that place; one hundred leaves on each bamboo-load<sup>38</sup> and fifty leaves on each head-load of the same. In (each) shop there was given every day a spoonful of paddy, and a ladleful<sup>39</sup> of oil was given on the oil-mills. Among the threshers and the reapers one *bēle*<sup>40</sup> was given at the *Chaitra* and one at the *Pavitra*, and also one sheaf and five stalks on each stack every day. On each potter's kiln there were given two small jars. On each head-load of grass there was given one sheaf; and two (? sticks) on each head-load of firewood. The sellers of husks and chaff gave out of what they sell in bunches or baskets as much as can be seized in the hand. (There was given also a supply of) vegetables, fruits, and lime. And an order was given that a present of eatables, to be continued as a grant to be respected by all, was to be made to those same gods out of whatever might be loaded within the Kūṇḍi Three-thousand. Twenty cultivators (of this place) and sixty of that, agreeing among themselves, gave a *koḷaga*<sup>41</sup> on each post in a corn-treading-floor in order that the rites of those same gods might be carried on.

This general bridge of piety, &c. Many kings, commencing with Sagara, have bestowed land, &c. He who confiscates land, &c.

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on both sides," as the expression is in the text; if the two divisions contained the one seven villages and the other twelve, then, including in each division half the town of Baṅkāpūr itself, the contending parties would be "the people of the locality called 'Seven-and-a-half' and the people of the locality called 'Twelve-and-a-half.'" Technical and traditional Canarese names often contain, for reasons which are not now known, numerical components; thus, at Rāyara-Hubballi (the kings' Hubballi) in the Dhārwaḍ District there is a *maṭha* that is always spoken of as '*Hanneradu-Maṭha*,' literally, 'the Twelve-maṭha,' and there is at the same place an *Ayya* or priest whose title is '*Mūru-sāvira-dayya*,' literally, 'the Three-thousand-Ayya.' This *Ayya*'s title may have originated in his ancestors being the high-priests of the Kūṇḍi Three-thousand. As another instance of a name with a numerical component we have in No. V., line 60, the Jain temple called Pañchavasadi, that is the "Five-Basadi."

<sup>34</sup> Perhaps "Nēsarige where there are eight guilds of wealthy merchants."

<sup>35</sup> '*Vīsa*,'—one fourth of an anna.

<sup>36</sup> '*Honnu*' appears to be equal to two rupees; i.e. "on each two rupees' worth of pots and pans."

<sup>37</sup> '*Arevīsa*,'—half a *vīsa*.

<sup>38</sup> i.e. probably, "on each load carried over the shoulder by means of a bamboo."

<sup>39</sup> '*Sōṭige*' is apparently the dative case of '*sōṭu*,' a spoon, a ladle, adopted as a nominative to denote a ladleful.

<sup>40</sup> '*Bēle*' appears to be equal to half an anna.

<sup>41</sup> '*Koḷaga*,' a grain-measure, the twentieth part of a '*khaṇḍuga*,' which contains about three bushels.

## No. VII.

ನಮಸ್ತುಂ ಗಂಭೀರಶ್ಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ [ 1 ] ಶ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭಮಾಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಶಂಭವೇ || ಈಗೇ  
 ನಿರಂತರಂ ಸುಖಮನಾಶ್ರಿತಗರ್ಭ ಗರಿಜಾಧಿನಾಥನುವ್ರೀ-ಗ-ಗನೇಂದ್ರಿನಾಸಳಮುಚುತ್ಸಲಲಾತ್ಮವರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಮುಕ್ತಾಯ ರಾಗದೇ  
 ಲೋಕಯಾತ್ರೇ ನಿವೇಶನೇ ತನ ಮನೋನುರಾಗದಿಂ ಶ್ರೀಗಿರಿಯಾಳ್ವಾರಾಜಿವ ಸದಾಶಿವನೀ ವಿಭು ಮಲ್ಲಕಾ-  
 ಜ್ಞಾನಂ || ವನಧಿವೃತಾವನಿಮಧ್ಯದ ಕನಕಾದ್ರಿಯ ತೇಕವನಿಯ ಭರತಾವ[ ನಿ ]ಯೊಳ್ ಜನಪದಮಿಸೆವದು  
 ಕುನ್ತಳವಿನನುಂ ನೋಗಯಿಸುವುದಲ್ಲ ಕೂಂಡಿಂ ದೇಶಂ [ 11 ] ಅದೇಶಾಧೀಶ್ವರಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಣನೃಪನೇಸಿದಂ ತತ್ಪ್ರತಂ  
 ಕಾರ್ತವೀರ್ಯಂಗಾದಳ್ ಮಾದೇವಿ ತಾಂ ಶ್ರೀನತಿಯವರ್ಗೆ ಜಗಜ್ಜ್ವಲದ್ವಿಜ್ಜ]ನಶ್ಯಹ್ಲಾದಂ [ ಪೇಳ]ಲೈ ವಿದ್ವಿಷ್ಟತಿಪತಿ-  
 ನಿವಹಕ್ಕುಬೈಗಂ ಪುಟ್ಟಿ ತದ್ರಾನಾದಿಕೋಣೀಶಶಯ್ಯಂ ಸಕಳಗುಣಯುತಂ ಪುಟ್ಟಿದಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿದೇವಂ [ 11 ]  
 ಸುಕುಮಾರಾರಾಜನೇ ಶ್ರೀನತಿಸುದಯಿಸಿದಂ ಧಾರಣೀಚಕ್ರಸಂರಕ್ಷಕನೇ ಶ್ರೀಕಾರ್ತ[ವೀರ್ಯಾವನಿಪತಿಸು]ತನೇ ರಟ್ಟವಂಶೋ-  
 ದ್ಭವಂ ರಾಜಕದೊಳ್ ಸೋಪ್ಪ(ವ್ಯ)ನೇ ಭವಿಸುವದೆ ನಿಜದಿಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿದೇವಂ ಪ್ರಭಾವಾಧಿ[ಕನೇ] ತಿಗ್ಯಾಂಶು-  
 ವಂಶಪ್ರಕಟವಿಭವಂ ನೋರ್ಪಡಿಃ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿದೇವಂ || ಇದಮೋಘಂ ರಾಮಪ್ರಕೂಟಾನ್ವಯನತುಳುಕಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿದೇವಂ  
 ಸುರೂಪತ್ವದೊಳುದ್ಯ[ತ್ರೇಜದೊಳ್ ಶೌರ್ಯದೊ]ಳವಿಜನಾನಂದದೊಳ್ ಶ್ರೀಯೊಳಾದಾರ್ಯದೊಳಾ ಕಂದರ್ಪನಂ ಭಾನು-  
 ವನನಿಜನಂ ರೋಹಿಣೀನಾಥನಂ ಪೂರ್ವದಿಕಾಕಾಂಶೇಶನಂ ಕರ್ಣನನಶಿಕಯದಿಂ ಪೋಲ್ತು ವಿಖ್ಯಾತೀವತ್ತಂ [ 11 ]  
 ಆ ರಟ್ಟರಾಜ್ಯಮಂ ವಿತ್ತಾರಿಸಿ ನಲವಿದೆ ರಟ್ಟರಾಜ್ಯಸಿರನಿನ್ದಾರಕನನಿವಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರೀಕಂ ರಟ್ಟರಾಜಗುರು ಮುನಿ-  
 ಚಂದ್ರಂ [ 11 ] ಕುಮುದಾನಂದಶಯೀದ ವೊಂದಿ ಮುನಿಚಂದ್ರಂ ಕಪ್ತುಭೂಭೃತ್ಯುಖಾಬ್ಜಮನಿಶ್ಚಿಂಪಿಡವ ಕೆಜೀದಿಂದೆ

ಮುನಿಚಂದ್ರಂ ರಟ್ಟರಾಜ್ಯಬ್ಧಿಯಾ ರ್ರಮದಿಂ ದಿಕ್ಟಟಮಂ ಪಳೆವು ತನ್ನೊಂದು ವಿಕ್ರಮದಿಂದಂ  
ಮುನಿಚಂದ್ರನಿಂತು ಮುನಿಚಂದ್ರಂ ಚಂದ್ರನಾನ್ವಿತಂ [ || ] ಗುರುವಾದಂ ಕಾರ್ತವೀರ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ತಿಪತಿಸನುಂ  
ಮಂತ್ರದಿಂ ತಾನೆ ಸಿ(ಶಿ)ಕ್ವಾ ಗುರುವಾದಂ ಕಸ್ತುಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಸ್ಥಿರಪರಿಣತಿಯಾಳ್ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿದೇವಗೆ ದೀಕ್ಷಾ ಗುರುವಾದಂ  
ಪ್ರಾಜ್ಯರಾಜ್ಯಾಪಹರಣನೆ ಪರಕ್ಕೋಣವಿಂಗಳ್ಗೆ ನರ್ತಕರು ಕಬ್ಬಂ ವಾಚ್ಯವಾಯ್ತಲ್ಲದೆ ವರಮುನಿಚಂದ್ರಂಗದೇಂ ದೇಶಿ-  
ಗಾಯ್ದೀ [ || ] ಧರಣೀಶಾಗ್ರಣಿಕಾರ್ತವೀರ್ಯಗುತನವ್ವಿಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿದೇವಗೆ ಸುಸ್ಥಿರವಪ್ಪನ್ನಿರೆ ಧಾತ್ರಿಯಂ<sup>10</sup>  
ನಯದಿನೇಕಾಯತ್ತವಂ ಮಾಡಿದಂ ವರಬಾಹುಲದಿಂ [ವಿರೋ]ಧನೃಪರಂ ಬೆಂಕೊಂಡನೀ ವಾಣಸಾಭರಣಂ  
ಶ್ರೀಮುನಿಚಂದ್ರದೇವನುಹೃನ್ಮಾತಂಗಕಂಠೀರವಂ [ || ] ಆರ್ಯಂ ಸಚಿವರೊಳತಿಚಾತುರ್ಯಂ ರಟಿಪ್ಪೀರ್ವಿಪ-  
ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಾಚಾರ್ಯಂ<sup>11</sup> ಕಾರ್ಯಧುರಂಧರತೆಯೊಳೊದಾರಿಯ್ಯದೊಳಾರಿಂದವಧಿಕನೀ ಮುನಿಚಂದ್ರಂ [ || ] ಆ ಮುನಿಚಂದ್ರ-  
ವೇವನಲ\* ಮಾತೃರಿಳಾಸ್ತುತರಿದ್ವೈಶಿವ್ಯಚಿಂತಾಮಣಿಕಾಮರಾಜತನಯಂ ಕರಗಾಕ್ರಣಿ ಶಾನ್ತಿನಾಥನುದ್ಧಾಮಪಾಕ್ರಮಂ ನೆಗಲ್ದ  
ಕೊಂಡಿಯ ನಾಗನುದಾರಚಾರುಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಮಹಿಮಾವಳಂಬನುಖಾನುಭವಂ ಸತಿ ಮುಕ್ತಿಕಾಜ್ಞಾನಂ [ || ] ಎನೆ ನೆಗಲ್ದ  
ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾಜ್ಞಾನನನುಪಮವಂಕಾವತಾರವೆಂತೆನೆ ಚತುರಾನನನ ಸಭೆಯಲ್ಲ ಘಜ್ಯಂ ಮುನಿಸ್ವತಮದಹೊಳೆತ್ತಿಮುನಿವರನಧಿಕಂ ||  
[ಆ]ಮುನಿಮುಖ್ಯಕಾಂತೆಯನಸೂಯೆ ಪತಿಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ತೆ ವೊಲ್ಲ ಧರ್ಮಮಂ ಕಾಮಮನರ್ಥಮಂ ಪರಮಸಂಪದಮಂ  
ಪುರದಂಗೆ ಮಾಡೆ ತಕ್ಕಾ<sup>13</sup>[ ಮಿ ]ನಿಗಾದರಾ ಹರಿಹರಾಜ್ಞಾಭವಸ್ತುತರತ್ತಿನೇತ್ರದಿಂ ಸೋಮನ ಜನ್ಯವಾಯ್ದೆಕನಾ

\* This letter, ರ್, is euphonic to prevent a hiatus between the final ಲ of ದೇವನ and the initial ಲ of ಅಮಾತ್ಯ, or to prevent the metre being spoilt by joining them in Sandhi.

ಕುಲವಿಂದುಕುಲಂ<sup>14</sup> ಧರಿಸ್ತ್ರಿಯೋಳ್ [ || ] ಧರೇಗಂದುವಂಶವೆನೆ ವಿಸ್ತರವಂ ತಳೆದತ್ತಿಸೋತ್ರದೊಳ್ ವರವಿದ್ಯಾ  
 ಪರಿಣತರಿಳಾಮವರ್ವ್ವಲಬರೊಗೆದರವರೊಳಗೆ ರುದ್ರಭಟ್ಟಕವೀಂದ್ರಂ [ || ] ತಂನಯ ವಂಶಜರ್ಕ್ಯಳುಡಿದಿಂಗಳೊಳುದ್ವಾ-  
 ಕವಿಶರಪ್ಪ<sup>15</sup> ವಾಕ್ಯೋಲಾನತಿಯಂ ಸರಸ್ವತಿಯುನೂರ್ಪುದಿನೆಂಟೊಳಂ ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವಮಂ ಕಂನರನಿಂ(ಸಿಂ)ದವಂದು ಪಡೆದಂ  
 ನೊರೆಯಾ<sup>15</sup> ಕವಿತಾವಿಳಾಸದೊಂದುಂನತಿಯೋಳ್ ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವದ ನೆಗರ್ತ್ಯೆಯಾಳಾ ವಿಭುರುದ್ರಭಟ್ಟನೋಳ್ [ || ] ಆ  
 ಸುಕವಿರುದ್ರಭಟ್ಟನಿನಾ ಸೋಮಕುಲಾಖ್ಯವೆನಿಸುವತ್ತಿಕು[ಲಂ] ಸಾಮಾಸಿಗಕುಲವೆನಿಸಿದುದನ್ತಾ<sup>16</sup> ಸತ್ಯಲದೊಳಗೆ ಪುಟ್ಟತಮ-  
 ಳಚರಿತ್ರಂ || ಅದ\* ಷೋಳ್ ನಿಜನಾಮಾಕ್ಯ ರವಿದೆ ಸಾಸಿರಳೊಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟದಂ ಬಿಡವನಿತುದಿನಂ ಪಡೆದಂ  
 ರುದ್ರಟನೆಂಬೀ<sup>17</sup> ಪಡೆಮಾತಂ ರುದ್ರಭಟ್ಟನುಬ್ಬಿಂ(ವ್ವಿಂ)ಜನದಿಂ || ನುತಸಾಮಾಸಿಗವಂಶದೊಳತುಳುಳರ್ಪುಲಬಾರಾದರವರೊಳ್  
 ಭುವನಸ್ತುತನೆನಿಸಿ ವಿಭುತವೆತ್ತಂನತಿವಡೆದಂ ವಿಮಳಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಯುಂ ಕಲಿದೇವಂ || ತದಪತ್ಯಂ ಬನಿಹಟ್ಟ-  
 ಸಾಮುರ್ರರಮುಖ್ಯಾಞ್ವಾದತಕ್ಕಂ ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವದಿನಾ ಶ್ರೀಧರನೊಪ್ಪುವಂ ತನುಜನಾತಂಕಾದನುದ್ಯುತ್ಸುಖಾಸ್ಪದನಪ್ಪಂ ಮಹದೇ-  
 ವನಾತನ<sup>18</sup> ಸುರುತ್ತಂ ಶ್ರೀಧರಂ ವಿಕ್ರಮೋನ್ಮದನಪ್ಪಂ ಮಹದೇವನೆಂಬ ಸುತನಾಗಲ್ ಲಂಛವೆತ್ತಿಪ್ಪಿನಂ ||  
 ಗಗನಸರೋವರಪುರದವರಿಗವಾ ಸಿರಿಪತಿಗವಾಗಿ ವೈರಂ ಹೊಲವೇ( or ಹೋಲವಿ)ರೆಗೆ ಸಿರಿಪತಿ ತತ್ಪುರವಾಸಿಗಳಂ  
 ಯಮುರ್ರರಮನೆಂತ್ತಿದಂ<sup>19</sup> ರಣಮುಖದೊಳ್ || ಜನಕಂ ತತ್ಪುರಾಳಗಳ್ಳಿ ಗುಹಿಯಾಗಲ್ ತಾನದಂ ಕೇಳು  
 ಭೋಂಕೆನೆ ದೇಶಾಂತರವೇರ್ದ್ದು ಫೋಗ ರವಿಸಂಖ್ಯಾಬ್ಧಿಂ ಬರಂ ದ್ವೀಪದೊಳ್ ಧನಮಂ ಸಾದಿಸಿ ತಂದು

\* The Prāsa, or alliteration of the second letter, is wrong here, and in the second line of this stanza there are two short syllables in excess of the number required by the metro.

ಭೂಪತಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಕತ್ರವಂ ಕೊಂಪದುವ್ವಿನದಿಂ <sup>20</sup> ಗಂಧಗಜಂಗಳಂ ತುಳಿದು ಕೊಂದಂ ಮಾಯದೇ-  
 ಪ್ಪಿ ವೋತ್ತಮಂ || ಮುಂ ಜಮದಗ್ನಿರಾಮನಖಿಳಕ್ಕೆ ತಿನಾಥರನಿಪ್ಪತೊಂದುನೂರ್ಮಂಜಿನ ತನಿ ಕೊಂದವೊಲಿ-  
 ನಿ ಮಹದೇವನಾಯಕಂ ಕುಂಜರದಿಂದೆ ವೈರಿಕುಲಮಂ ತನಿ ಕೊಂದು ಪಿತಂಗೆ ಮಾಡಿದಂ <sup>21</sup> ತಾಂ ಜಗದಾನವಿಕ್ರ-  
 ಋಗಲಂ ಬನಿಹಟ್ಟನಮುದ್ಭವೇತ್ವರಂ || ಶರಣಾಗತರಂ ರಕ್ಷಿಸ ಬಿರುದಂ ಧರೆ ಘೋಳ ಹಗವದೋಳ್  
 ಸೀಯಲ್ <sup>22</sup> ಕಳ್ಳರೆನಿಸ ಮಾತಂಗರನಂದುರಿಯಾಳ್ ತಾಂ ಘೋಷ್ಯ ಕಾಯದ(ಯ್ದಿ for ಯದ)ನಾ ಮಹದೇವಂ ||  
 ಶರಣಾಗತರಂ <sup>23</sup> ರಕ್ಷಿಸಿ ಪರಬಲಮಂ ಸೆಲ್ವ ಮಾನ್ಯರಂ ಮಂನಿಸಿ ದಿಕ್ಕರಿ ವರವಾಯತಿಯಂ ವಿಸ್ತರಿಸಿಯೆ  
 ಮಹದೇವನಾಯಕಂ ಧರಿಸಿದಂ || ಎನಿಸಿರ್ಪಾ ಮಹದೇವನಾಯಕನ ಪುತ್ರರ ಶ್ರೀಧರಂ ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ-  
 ನನುಂ ಚಂದ್ರನುಮೆಂಬ <sup>24</sup> ಮೂವರೊಗೆದತ್ತಪ್ಪತ್ತರೊಳ್ ವಂಶವರ್ಧ(ದ್ಧ)ನಮುಂ ಪುಣ್ಯಯಶೋಭಿವರ್ಧ(ದ್ಧ)ನಮುಮಾಗಲ್  
 ತನ್ನೊಳಾ ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನನಾಶ್ರೀಯಕುಲಾಬ್ಜ ಪಂಡವನಮಾತ್ಮರಂ <sup>25</sup> ಕರಂ ರಂಜಿಪಂ || ಗುಣಜಳನಿಧಿ ಶೇಷದ  
 ಬಲುಕಣಿ ಯುಧಶಿಷ್ಯೇದ್ವೈಜನ ಮನೋರಥಚೆನ್ನಾಮಣಿ ಸಾಮಾಸಿಗವಂಶಾಗ್ರಣಿಯನೆ ವಿಭುಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನಂ ರಂಜಿಸುವಂ ||  
 ಎನೆ ಪೆಂಪನೆತ್ತ ಮಲದೇವನ ಪುಣ್ಯಾಂಗನೆ ಪಿತೃದ್ವಿಜಾಮರಗುಂಘಜನರತಿ ಪತಿಹಿತ ಗೌರಿವನಿತ  
<sup>26</sup> ತದಂಗನೆಯ ಕುಲಮನಭಿವಣ್ಣೊ ಸುವೆಂ || ಮುನಿಸಪ್ತಕದೋಳ್ ಪಂಪಿಗೆ ನೆಲೆಯನಿಪ್ಪಂ ಪನಿ(ಶಿ)ದ್ವಮುನಿಮುಖ್ಯಂ  
 ತನ್ಮನಿಗೋತ್ರದೊಳುದಯಿಸಿ ಕೊಲಾರನಗರವಿಭು ಮಾದಿರಾಜನೆನಿದಂ ಧರೀಯಾಳ್ || ಸುತನಾದಂ ಮಾದಿ-  
 ರಾಜಂಗಮಳಚರಿತನಾ ಭೂತನಾಥಂ ಯಕೋಲಂಚಿತರಪ್ಪಯ್ಯ ಸ್ವರ್ಗತರ್ಪಯ್ಯ ಭುಗೊಗೆದರಳಾಸ್ತುತ್ಯರಪ್ಪಯ್ಯರೊಳ್ ಸಂನುತನಾದಂ  
 ಸ್ತಾದಿರಾಜಂ ಸೊಸುವವರ ಗಂಟಳ್ಳಿ ಗಾಳಂ <sup>27</sup> ಪ್ರತಾಪೋಂನತನೆಂದುವ್ವೀರ್ವಜನಂ ಖಂಗಳೆನಿ ಪನಿವಡೆದಂ

ತೇಜದೊಂದೇಳ್ಳಿಯುಂದಂ || ತರಣಾಗತಜನಮು ನಿತ್ತರಿವೆದೆಯೊಳ್ ವಜ್ರಪಂಚರಂ ತಾನೆನಿ ದೊಂಕರನಾದಿರಾಜವಿಘ್ನ  
 ಕೊಂದರ್(ವರ್)ರ ದೊಂಕೆಯನಿಪ್ಪ ಬಿರುದನಿರದೆತ್ತಿಸಿದಂ || ಇರೆ ಕೋಲಾರದೊಳಾ ಸಮಾನವಿಘ್ನಪುತ್ರವಿ(ವರ್)-  
 ತ್ತಿರೋಪಾತ್ಮಕಾಂತರಚೇತಮ್ಯ ಹೇವೊಕ್ಕದನ್ತವರನಾದಂ ಕಾದು ತಾನುಗ್ರಸಂಗರದೊಳ್ ಸಾನುಜನೆಯ್ಯ ವಿಲಸಿರಿಯಂ  
 ಪಂಚತ್ಯಮಂ ಫೌದ್ದಿ ವಿನ್ದರದೇವಾನಕವಣ್ಯ ದಿಜ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ)ಗತಿವಿತ್ತಂ ಕಾತ್ರಿ ಜಾವ್ವಂಟಿನಂ || ೨೦  
 ಮಾದಿರಾಜನಗ್ರಜೆ ಭೂಮಿಸ್ತುತಿ ಬಿಜ್ಜೆಯವೈಯನುಜರ ಮಹಿಮೋದ್ಧಾಮಮುನಂ ತತ್ಪ್ರಭುಕಯನಾ ಮಾಳ್ಕೆಯನಧಿಕವಾಗೆ  
 ಋಷುತಿರ್ದ್ಧರ್ || ಸತಿ ಕೋಲಾರದೊಳಾ ಪ್ರಭುತ್ಯವೆನಿಸುಂ ತಂನಾಮದೊಳ್ ಮಾದಿರಾಜಲಸತ್ಪುತ್ರಿಯನಾ-  
 ತಂ ಶ್ರೀಸೌರಿಯಂ ಫೌಣ್ಯ ಮಂಗಲತೋರ್ಯಂ ವಿಘ್ನಮುಲ್ಕಾಜ್ಜ್ವನನೊಳೊಳ್ಳಂ ಬಿಜ್ಜೆಯವೈ  
 ಸ್ತುರವನೆ ಕಾಂ ನೆರವಿ ಚೆತ್ತೋರ್ಯಾಹಮಂ ತಾಳ್ತರ್ || . ಇಂತಪ್ಪ ವಿಭವದಿಂ ಪೆಂಪಂ  
 ದಂಪತಿಗಳ್ ಸುಖದಿನಿರೆ || ೨೧ || ಬಿತ್ತೊಪಾತ್ತಂ ತದೀಯಪ್ರಭುಕೆಯನಿಸುವದ್ಧಾದಕಗ್ರಾಮಮುಂ ದೌಹಿತ್ತಂ  
 ಮಾದಿರಾಜಂಗದೊಳನಮರೆ ಕೋಲಾರದೊಂದು ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವಂ ಪುತ್ರಂ ಶ್ರೀಸೌರಗಂ ಮುಲ್ಕವಿಘ್ನಗೊಗಿದಂ  
 ಲಸಜ್ಜಾರಿತ್ತಂ ಶ್ರೀಶ್ಯಲಕನ್ಯಾಪತಿಪದನಖದಂದ್ರಾಂತುಡಂಚಳ್ಳ ಕೋಲರಂ || ಮಾತ್ಯಿ(ತ್ಯಿ)ಕದಾದಿನಂದೆ  
 ಲಸಜ್ಜಾರಿತ್ತಂ ಗರಿಜೇಕನೆಯುದಂ ತತ್ತ್ವ(ತ್ವ)ವಿಜಾರದಿಂದೊದು ನಂಬಿದ ನಿಶ್ಚಳಭಕ್ತಿಯಿಂದೆ ಕಾನ್ತತ್ಯಮೆ  
 ಮುದಮಾನವಿಬಾದದೊಳೊಂದದಿವ್ವರ್ ತೂರತ್ವದೊಳಿ ಛರಾವಳಯದೊಳ್ ವಿಘ್ನಲೇಖಮಾಣನೊಪ್ಪುವಂ ||  
 ಪವಿತ್ರತ್ಯಳಪವೆಯುಂ ಪರವಧುವಿಗೆನ್ತುವೆಹಕನಂ ಮಾದವೆಯುಂ ಪರಚರಣಪರಣತಾನ್ತಃಕರಣಕೆಯುಂ ಕೇನಿರಾಜನೇಂ

ಕೃತಕೃತ್ಯಂ || ಎನೆ ನೆಗರ್ಲ ಕೇಸಿರಾಜನ ವನಿತೆ ನುತಾಗಸ್ತ್ಯೋಗೋತ್ರಸಂಭವಿ ಪುರುಷಂಗಳನುವಶೆ  
 ಪುಣ್ಯಚರಿತ್ರದೊಳನೆ ಮಾಳಲದೆವಿ ಭುವನವಂದಿತಿಯಾದಳ್ || ಪತಿಹಿತವಪು ಚಾರುಚರಿತಂ <sup>37</sup> ಪತಿಭಕ್ತಿಯೊಳೊಂದಿದಾ  
 ಮನಂ ಪತಿಯನೆ ಬಂಗಳಿಳೊಂದು ವಚನಂ ಸತಿ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಣವಿನ್ಮು ತಂನೊಳೂರ್ಜ್ವಿತವಿನಿ ಕೇಸಿರಾಜನ  
 ಮಾಂಗನೆ ಮಾಳಲದೆವಿ ಗೋತ್ರಸಂನುತೆ ಪರಪುತ್ರಪಾತ್ರಬಹುಸನ್ನತಿಂ || ಧರಿಯೊಳ್ವರಾಜಿಕುಂ || ಮನೆಯೊಳಗೇ-  
 ನುಳ್ಳಡವಿಲ್ಲೆನುತಂ ಸ್ವಯಮುರ್ತ್ಯಭೂರಿಯಾಗುತ್ತಿಪ್ಪಂಗಳನೆಯಮ್ಮಾರ್ಲದೇವಿಯ ವಿನಯಾಂಭೋನಿಧಿಯಗುಣದೊಳೆಂಟೆಣೆಯವುರ್ || <sup>38</sup>  
 ಮನೆಯೊಳಗುಳ್ಳು(ಳ್ಳ)ದಂ ಮಡಸಿ ತತ್ಪತಿಗಂ ಮನೆಮಕ್ಕಳಂಗಳವೆಳ್ಳನಿತುವನಿಕ್ಕಲಾಟದೆ ಕೆಲಂ ಕಡೆಯುಂ ಸುಡೆನಲ್ಯ  
 ಜೀವಿಪಂಗಳನೆಯರನೇಂ ಕುಲಾಂಗನೆಯರೆಂದೆನಲಕ್ಕುಮಿ ಕೇಸಿರಾಜನಂಗಳನೆ ಪತಿಭಕ್ತೆ ಚಾರುಗುಣಯುಕ್ತೆ ಕುಲಾಂಗನೆ  
 ಭೂತಳಾಗ್ಗದೊಳ್ || ಮನೆಗೇ ಬಂದರೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟನರೆನಲೊಳಯುಂಗೆೋಡಿ ಹೋಗಿಯಡಗುವ ಸಮುಖಂ ತನಗಾದ(ಡ)ದೆ  
 ನೀವಾರೆಂಬನಲೆಯರಿ <sup>41</sup> ಮಾಳಯವ್ಯೆಗೆನ್ನೆಣೆಯವುರ್ || ಕುಟಳಿ ಕುಮಾರ್ಗ ಕುಶ್ವಿತ ಕುರೂಪಿ ಕುಭಾಗ್ಯ ಕುಶೀಳಿ  
 ಜಿಹ್ವಲಂಪಟಿ ಕತೆ ಧೂರ್ತು ದುರ್ಗುಣಿ ದುರನ್ವಿತ ದುರ್ಜ್ವನೆ ದುಷ್ಟ ಕಡ್ಡೆಯೆಂಬಟಮಟಾಶ್ಚಿಯು-  
 ಸ್ಪರ್ತಿಯರೇ ಗುಣದೊಳ್ ಸಲಿ ಮಾಳಯವ್ಯೆಯುಂಗೆುಟಕೆಣೆಯಾಗರೆಂದೊಡಿತರಾಂಗಳನೆಯಭೃಪ(ಋ)ವನಾನ್ತರಾಳದೊಳ್ || <sup>42</sup>  
 ಪುರುಷರನೇಳದವಂ ಮಾಳ್ವರಿದುಂ ಹಿರಿದಾಗಿ ಬಗೆವ <sup>43</sup> ಪರಂ ಮಾಯಾಚರಣದೊಳಸಗುವ ಸತಿಯದೊರ್ಲೆಯೇ  
 ಹೇಳ್ ಮಾಳಯವ್ಯೆಯೊಳ್ ಕುಶ್ವಿತಿಯರ್ || ಅಸವನೆಗಂಗಳಕ್ಕೆ ತಲೆವಾಗಿಗಡ್ಡನೆ ನೋಡಲರ್ಲಿಲಂಗೆೊಸಗಿ ನೋಂಪಿಗಂಗಳ-  
<sup>44</sup> ದೆಗೆ ಬಾಡಿನ ಸನ್ನೆಗೆ ಬಾಂಬನಕ್ಕೆ ಪೊವಸಕದೆ ಪಾಂಬರೊಳ್ ನೆರೆವರಂ ಕುಲನಾರಿಯರೆಂಬುದೇ ವಿಚಾರಿನಿ



ಪತಿಭಕ್ತಿವೆತ್ತಿಸಿವ ಮಾಳಲವೈವಿಯಲ್ಲದ \* ನೈರಂ || ಗಾಳುತನದಿಂದೆ ಪ್ರದವರನೇಳದವಂ ಮಾಳ್ವ ದುಷ್ಟ ರಿಶ್ರೆಯರಂ  
 ವಾಣಿಕಾಳಿಯರಂ ಕಂನಫತತಿ ಮಾಳಲದೈವಿಯ ಗುಣಾನುಕಥನದೆ ಕೆಡುಗುಂ || ಪತಿ ಬಸದಕೃಮಿಸ್ತು  
 ತಮಗೆಂದು ದುರಾಪದಧಮು ಪ್ರಯೋಗಪರ್ಶಿ(ಕೃಪ)ತಕೆಯರನ್ನಹಿಂದೆ ಪುರುಷಕ್ಷಯಕಾಮಳೆಪಾಂಠುಗುಲ್ಮದಿಂದತಿಕೃಪ(ಶ)ರಾಗೆ  
 ಬಿಚ್ಚುತಿಸುತಿಪ್ಪವರೆಂತೊ ಕುಲಾಂಗನಾಜನಂ ಪತಿಹಿತ ಮಾಳಯವೈಯಿ ಕುಲಾಂಗನೆ ವಾರ್ಧಿ(ದ್ವಿ)ಪರಿತಧಾತ್ರಿಯೊಳ್ ||  
 ಕೃತಯುಗಚರಿತದ ಸತಿಗುಣವತಿಕಯದಿ<sup>47</sup> ತಂನೊಳಕೃಪನೆ ನೆಗಟ್ಟ ಮಹಾಸತಿ ಮಾಳಲದೈವಿ ಪತಿಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ತೆ<sup>48</sup>  
 ಮಲದೇವನ ಸುಜನನಿ ರಂಜಿಸುತಿರ್ಪುಳ್ || ಜನನತೆ ಮಾಳಲದೈವಿಯನನುಪಮಗುಣವತಿಯನೀ ಮಹಾಸತಿಯಂ  
 ಕಂಡನಿಶೆಟೊಳಮರನದೀನೇವನೆಯ ಫಲಪ್ರಾಪ್ತಿಯಿಂದದೇ ವಂಣಿಪುದೋ || ಅಶ್ರಿಮುನೀಂದ್ರಪತ್ನಿಯನಸೂಯೆ ಪತಿ-  
 ಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ತವೃತ್ತಿಯಿಂದೆ ಲೋಕತ್ರಯವೆಯ್ದಿ ಬಂಣಿಸಿ ವಿರಿಂಚಿಯನಚ್ಯುತನಂ ಶ್ರೀಣೇತ್ರನಂ ಪುತ್ರರೆನಳ್ಳ ಪತ್ತೆಳೆಸವೀ  
 ಯುಗದೊಳ್ ಪತಿಹಕ್ತಿ ತಂನ ಚಾರಿತ್ರದಿನಶ್ರೀಗೋತ್ರದೊಳಗುಂಟಿನೆ ಮಾಳಲದೈವಿ ರಂಜಿಪಳ್ || ಕುಲವಧುವಿನ  
 ನಡವಳಿಯೊಳ್<sup>50</sup> ಕುಲಮುಂ ಚಲಮುಂ ಪತಿಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ತಾಗುಣದಿಂದಂ ನೆಲಸಿಕ್ಕುಮೆಂಬುದಿದು ಮಾಳಲದೈವಿಯ ಚರಿತದಿಂದೆ  
 ಧರೆಗತಿವಿದಿತಂ || ಜನನಿ ಮಹಾಪತಿಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ತೆ ವಸಿ(ಶಿ)ವ್ವ ಕುಲೋದ್ಭವಿ ಗೌರಿ ಮಲ್ಲಕಾರ್ಜುನನಭವಾಂಘ್ರಿ-<sup>51</sup>  
 ಪಂಕರುಹಪ್ಪುರಣಂ ಪಿತನಗ್ರಜಾನುಜರ್ವನಧಿಗಭೀರನವ್ವ ಮಹದೇವನುಮಾ ವಿಭುಮಾದಿರಾಜನುಂ ವನಿತೆ ವಿನೂತೆ  
 ಮಾಳಲೆಯನಲ್ ವಿಭುಕೇಶವರಾಜನೊಪ್ಪುವಂ || ಲ ವಚನ || ಲ ಪ್ರಣ್ಯಾಂಗನೆಯರ ಸಿ(ಶಿ)ವ್ವ ಕಾಮು-<sup>52</sup>

\* These two letters, ಲ್ಲ, were at first omitted in the original, being afterwards inserted in line 45 in the middle of the word  
 ದುರಾಪದಧಮಂ,—thus ದುರಾಲ್ಪದಧಮಂ, marks being made to show that they belong to the line above.

ಭೋಗಂಗಳನನುಭವಿಸುತ್ತಂ ಮಲ್ಲಕಾಚ್ಚನನುಂ ಮಾದಿರಾಜನುಮೆಂಬಿರ್ಬೃಹತ್ಪರಂ ಪಡೆಯಲವರಿರ್ಬೃಹದುಂ ಶ್ರೀ-  
 ಬ್ರರಾಜ್ಯಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಾಚಾರ್ಯನುಂ ಅರಿಬಿರುದಮಂಡಳಕವರಾಜನುಮಪ್ಪು ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಗುರುಗಳ್ ಮುನಿಚಂದ್ರದೇವರನೋಲಗಿಸಿ  
 ಕೂಂಡಿಮುಲುಸಾಸಿರದ ಬಳಿಯ ಖಾಡಂ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಗುರುಗಳ್ ಮುನಿಚಂದ್ರದೇವರಾಳ್ಳವಾಡು ಸುಗಂಧವರ್ತ್ತಿ-  
 ಹುನೇರಸುಮಂ ತದಾಚ್ಚೆಯ್ಯಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳಸುತ್ತಮಿರಲಾ ಕಂಪಣದ ಮೊದಲ ಖಾಡಂ ಪಟ್ಟಣಂ ಸುಗಂಧವರ್ತ್ತಿಯ  
 ವಿಳಾಸಮಿಂತೆಂದೆ || ಹೊಣವೊಳೊಳ್ಳರಾಜಿಸುವ ಚೂತವನಂ ಗಿರಿಸಂಕುಳಂ ಫಳಂ ದುಲುಗಿದನಾ[ರಿ]-  
 ಕೇರವನಮೊಪ್ಪುವೆಶೋಳವನಂ ಶಿವಾಲಯಂ ಮಿಲುಪ ಜಿನೇಂದ್ರಗೇಹಮಿನಿಪಿಂತಿವಹಿಂದವಳೇದಸೌಖ್ಯದೊಳ್ಳೆಡೆದು ಸುಗಂಧವರ್ತ್ತಿ-  
 ಸಳಿ ಕೂಂಡಿಮಹೀತಳದೊಳ್ ವಿರಾಜಿಕುಂ || ಪಂನೀರ್ವಗ್ಗಾಳುಂಡುಗುಂನತಸತ್ವ(ತ್ವ)ಪ್ರತಾಪಗುಣಗಣನಿಳಯಸ್ಸುಂ-  
 ನುತಚರಿತಕ್ಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಮಹೋಂನತರಪ್ರತಿಮರಾ ಸ್ಥಳ್ಯಧಿಪತಿಗಳ್ || ಆ ಸ್ಥಳದೊಳ್ || ಆರಾಧಿವನಭವನನ-  
 ಸುರೋರಗಖಚರಾಮರೇಂದ್ರವಂದಿತಪದವಂಕೇರುಹನನರ್ಥಿಯಂ ಕೋಲಾರದ ವಿಭುಕೇಸಿರಾಜನಮಳಚರಿತ್ರಿಂ || ವಿದಿತಂ  
 ಶ್ರೀಪರ್ವತಾರ್ಧೀಶ್ವರನ ಚರಣಮಂ ಕಾಣಲೀ ಕೇಸಿರಾಜಂ ಮುದದಿಂ ಪೊಪ್ಪಿ ತಾಂ ರಕ್ತಿ ಸುವನಿಬು-  
 ರೊಳಂ ಪಿನ್ನೆ ರೋಗಾದಿಗಳೊಳ್ಳೊಡೊಡಂ ಮತ್ತಿತ್ತಂ ಬಾರೆಂ ದಿಟವೆನಲಭಾವಂ ಕೂತ್ಪು ತತ್ಪುತ್ರವಗ್ಗಂ ||  
 ಪದುಳಂ ನಿಶ್ಚಿಂತವಿಪ್ಪನ್ನಿರಿಸಿದನಧಿಕಂ ಧಾತ್ರಿಗಾಶ್ವರ್ಯಮಾಗಲ್ || ಮತ್ತಮಾ ಶಿರ್ತಫಯಾಶ್ರಿಯೊಳ್ ||  
 ತನಗಾರುಂ ಪರಿಚರ್ಯಮಂ ಮುದದೆ ಮಾಡಲ್ಪಾರದಂದೂಗ್ಗೆ ತನ ನೆರಂ ಬಾದೊಡ ಗೂಡಿ  
 ಖಪ್ಪವರ್ಗೆ ಕಾಲಪ್ರಾಪ್ತಿಯಂದಾದೊಡೊಯ್ಯನೆ ಸಾವಂತವರ್ಗಾಗಲಾಗದೆನಿಪೀ ವಿರಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ತಂ ಮಲ್ಲಕಾಚ್ಚದೇವಂ  
 ದಯೆಗೆಯ್ಯಲಿ ಪ್ರಭುಗೆ ಸಲ್ಲಂ ಕೇಶವಂಗುವಿರ್ವಿಯೊಳ್ || ಇನ್ನಿವಾದಿಯಾಗರನಂತವಿರಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ತಂಗಳಂ ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ

ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನದೇವರಂ ಮೂಱುಸೂಳ್ ದರ್ಶನಂವಾಡಿ ಶತ್ಪ್ರೀತಿಯಂ ಪರ್ವತಲಂಗಮಂ ತಂದು ಕೂಂದಿ-  
 ಮೂಱುಸಾಸಿರದ ಬಳಯ ಕಂಪಣಂ ಸುಗಂಧವರ್ತ್ತಿಹಂನೇರದಱ ನೊದಲ ಟಾಡಂ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಗುರುಗಳ್  
 ಮುನಿಚಂದ್ರದೇವರಾಳೈವಾಡಂ ಪಟ್ಟಣಂ ಸುಗಂಧವರ್ತ್ತಿಯ ಹೊಱವೊಳಲ ನಾಗರಕಹೆಯಲ ತಂನ ತಂದೆ  
 ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನನ ಪಿಸರೊಳ್ ಶ್ರೀಮಲ್ಲಿನಾಥದೇವರ ಪ್ರತಿಮೆಯಂ ಮಾಡಿ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮದಿಗತ-  
 ಪಂಚಮಹಾಶಬ್ದಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೀಶ್ವರಂ ಲತ್ತನೂರ್ಪುರವರಾಧೀಶ್ವರಂ ತ್ರಿವಳಿತೂರ್ಯುನಿಗೊರ್ಪದಣಂ ರಟ್ಟಕುಳಭೂದಣಂ  
 ಸಿಂದೂರಲಾಂಛನಂ ಶಶಿವಿಶದಯಶೋಲಾಂಛನಂ ಸುವಣ್ಣೊಗರುಡಧ್ವಜಂ ವಿದಗ್ಧಮುಗ್ಧಂಗನಾಮಕರಧ್ವಜಂ ವೈರಿಬಳ-  
 ವೀರವೈಕೋದರಂ ಪರನಾರೀಸಹೋದರಂ ಮಂಡಳಕಗಂಡತಳಪ್ರಹಾರಿ ಉದ್ದಂಡರಿಶ್ರಮದನಿವಾರಿ ಸಾಹಸೋತ್ತಂಗ-  
 ಬೋವ್ವನಸಿಂಗ ನಾಮಾದಿಸಮಸ್ತಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಿಸಹಿತಂ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೀಶ್ವರಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿದೇವರಸರ್ ವೇಣುಗ್ರಾಮಿಯ ನೆರೆ-  
 ವಿಡಿನ್ ಪು ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾವಿನೋದದಿಂದನವರತಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗಿಯುತ್ಪಮಿರೆ ಶಕವರ್ಪಂ ಗಂಜನೆಯ ಸರ್ವಧಾರಿಸಂಪ-  
 ತ್ಸರದ ಆಘಾತದಮವಾಸಿ ನೋಮವಾರದಂದಿನ ಸರ್ವಗ್ರಾಸಿಸೂರ್ಯಗ್ರಹಣದುತ್ಪಮತಿಥಿಯಾಳಾ ಮಲ್ಲಿನಾಥದೇವರ  
 ಅಂಗಭೋಗರಂಗಭೋಗಕ್ಕಂ ಖಂಡಸ್ಥುಟತಜೀಣ್ಣೋರ್ಧ್ವಾರಕ್ಕಂ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಗುರುಗಳ್ ಮುನಿಚಂದ್ರದೇವರ ಕೊಟ್ಟ  
 ಕೆಯ್ಯನವರ ನಿಯಾಮದಿಂದಾ ಸುಗಂಧವರ್ತ್ತಿಯ ಹಂನೀರ್ವರ್ ಹಂನೀರ್ವರ್ ವೂರಿಂ ಪಡುವಣ ಹೊಲನೊಳ್  
 ಮುಳುಗುಂದವಳ್ಳಯ ಹೊಲನೀರೆಯ ಹಂನಿಮತ್ತರ ಮಾನ್ಯದ ಹೊಲನೀರೆಯಂ ಕೆಂಕಲ್ ಹಸುರಿಯ ದಾರಿಯುಂ  
 ಖಡಗಲ್ ಕದಿಮಾಣ ಕೋರಿನಲಳಿದು ಸರ್ವನಮಸ್ಕಮಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಕೆಯ್ಯ ಕಂಟವಯನೂಱು ೬೦೦ [1]  
 ಸಿರಿಪಾಗಿಲಂ ಪಡುವಲ್ ರಾಜಬೀದಿಯು ಪಡುವಣ ಕೇರಿಯಾಳ್ ಕೊಂಟದಲೆಕ್ಕಯ್ಯಗಲ ಇಚ್ಛಿಕೊಂದು-

ಕೈನೀಳದ ಮನೆಯ ಕೊಟ್ಟರ || ಮತ್ತಮಾ ಹಂನೀವ್ವರ್ ಗಾವಂಡುಗಲ್ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಸುಮ-  
 ಸ್ತಪ್ರಜೆಗಳು ದೇವರ ನಿತ್ಯೋಪಹಾರಕ್ಕೆಂದು ಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕಸ್ಥಾಯಿಯಾಗಿ ಮೀಟಿಸೊಳಗವ ಕೊಟ್ಟರ ||  
 ಮತ್ತಮಾ ಹಂನೀವ್ವರ್ ಗಾವಂಡುಗಳು ಕಾದಿಯ ಮಾದಿಗಾವಂಚನುಂ ಪಂಚಮರತಫೋಧನರು(ರುಂ) ಎಂಬಹಿಟ್ಟು  
 ಸಹಿತವಿದ್ದ ಸಭೆಯ ಸಮಕ್ಷದಲಿ ಕಡಲೆಯ ನಾಗಗಾವಂಚನು ಮೊದಲೂರ ಗೌಡುವಾನ್ಯದೊಳಗೆ ತಂನ  
 ಗೌಡುವಾನ್ಯಂ ಕಡಲೆಯವಳನಹರಳಹಸುಗೆಯಲಿಯಾ ಗೌಡುವಾನ್ಯದ ಕೊಲಿನಲಳಿದು ಸರ್ವನಮಸ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ  
 ಕೆಯ ಕಂಬವಿಂನೂ ೨೦೦ [ || ] ಮತ್ತಂ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನವಿಖ್ಯಾತಪಂಚಶತವಿಂಶತಿ-  
 ಸನಲಟ್ಟಾ ನೇಕಗುಣಗಣಾಳಂಕೃತಸತ್ಯಶೌಚಾರಚಾರುಚಾರಿತ್ರನಯವಿನಯವಿಜ್ಞಾನವಿರಾವತಾರವಿರಬಣಂಜುಸಮಯಧರ್ಮ್ಯಪ್ರತಿಪಾಕರವೃ  
 ಸುಗಂಧವರ್ತಿಯ ಹಂನೀವ್ವರ್ಗಾವಂಡುಗಲ್ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಸ್ಥಳಸಮಸ್ತನಖರಮುಂಮುರಿದಂಗಳ್ ಸನ್ನೆಯ ದೇವಸ  
 ಮಹಾಸಭೆಯಾಗಿದ್ದು ತಂನೊಳ್ಳಿಕಮತ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಆ ಮಲ್ಲಿನಾಥದೇವರಿಗೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಆಯವಿಂಕೆಂದಡಿ [ || ] ಎಲೆಯ  
 ಹೇಳಿಗೆ ನೂಟಲೆಯ ಕೊಟ್ಟರ ಹೊತ್ತಲಿಂಗಯ್ಯತ್ತಲೆಯ ಕೊಟ್ಟರ [ || ] ಉರೊಳಗೆಯುಂ ಸನ್ನೆಯೊಳಗೆಯುಂ  
 ಮಾಳುವ ಧಾನ್ಯವರ್ಗದಲುಂ ಭತ್ತವಸರದಲುಂ ಸುಟ್ಟುಗವತ್ತವರ್ಕೊಟ್ಟರ [ || ] ಪಸಾರಕ್ಕೆರಡಡಕೆಯ  
 ಕೊಟ್ಟರ [ || ] ಅಲ್ಲ ಬೆಲ್ಲ ಅರಿಸಿನ ಮೊದಲಾಗಿ ಕಿಣುಕುವನಿಲ್ಲವಂ ಪಸಾರಕ್ಕೆಂದೊಂದ  
 ಕೊಟ್ಟರ [ || ] ಹತ್ತಿಯ ಪಸಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಹಿಡಿವತ್ತಿಯ ಕೊಟ್ಟರ [ || ] ಮತ್ತಮಾ ದೇವರ  
 ನಂದಾದೀವಿಗೆಯ್ವತ್ತೊಕ್ಕಲ್ ಗಾಣಕ್ಕೆ ನೊಟಗಿಯೆ(ಯ)ಣ್ಣೆಯ ಕೊಟ್ಟರ [ || ] ಬೇ(ಬೇ)ಣ್ಣೊಂದ ಒಂದು  
 ಮಾಳುವ ಎಂ(ಎ)ಣ್ಣೆಯ ಹಾಡಕ್ಕೆಯ್ದೆ(ದ್ದೆ)ಣ್ಣೆಯ ಕೊಟ್ಟರ [ || ] ಆ ಸ್ಥಳದ ಅಯ್ಯಾವಂತರ

ದೇವರಗ್ನವಣಿಯ ಬಿಂದಿಗೆ ಆವಗೆಗಲನ ಕೊಟ್ಟರ [1] ಮತ್ತವಯ್ಯವ್ವರ್ ಬಾಡುಕಾಯ ಮಾಟನ  
 ಜಣ್ಣಿಗಿರಡು ಸೂಡು ಹೇಳಿಗೆ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಕಾಯ ಕೊಟ್ಟರ [1] ಬೋವಕ್ಕಳ್ ತಂದು ಮಾಟನ  
 ಬಾಡುಕಾಂಯಿಗೆ ತಿರ್ವ್ವ ಸುಂಕನ ಕೊಟ್ಟರ || ಮತ್ತಮಾ ದೇವಗ್ಗೆ ಎಳವೆಯ ಹಂನಿವ್ವರ್  
 ಗಾವಂರುಗಳ್ ತಂಮಾರ ತಿಂಕಣಾ ಹೊಲನೊಳ್ ಸವ(ವಂ)ಧವತ್ತಿಯ ತಮ ಹೊಲನ ನೀಮೆಯಲ್  
 ಸಿರಿವೂಂಗೆ ಹೋದ ಹೆಬ್ಬಟ್ಟಿಯಿಂ ಮೂದಲ್ ಕದ್ದಿಗುರಹಳ್ಳದಿಂ ಬಡಗಲ್ ನವಿಲ್ಕಂದ ಗೋಲನಲಳಿದು  
 ಸರ್ವನಮಸ್ಕಮಾಗ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಕೆಯಿ ಮತ್ತನ್ನಾಲ್ಕು ೪ ಅಯ್ಯಗಲ ಹಂನಿಕ್ಕೇನೀಳದ ಮನೆಯ  
 ಕೊಟ್ಟರ || ಮತ್ತಂ ಬೆಟ್ಟಸುರದ ಮಂನೆಯ ಸಿಂದರಮ್ಮಲೆಯನಾಯಕನುಂ ಆ ಸ್ಥಳದಟುವಗ್ಗಾವಂರುಗಳುಂ  
 ತಂಮೂರಿಂ ತಿಂಕಣಾ ಹೊಲನೊಳ್ ಕದ್ದಿಗುರಹಳ್ಳದಿಂ ತಿಂಕಲ್ ನವಿಲ್ಕಂದ ಗೋಲನಲಳಿದು ಸರ್ವನಮಸ್ಕಮಾಗ  
 ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಕೆಯಿ ಮತ್ತನ್ನಾಲ್ಕು ೪ ಅಟುಗಯ್ಯಗಲ ಹಂನಿಕ್ಕೇನೀಳದ ಮನೆಯ ಕೊಟ್ಟರ ||  
 ಮತ್ತಮಾ ದೇವಗ್ಗೆ ಹೂಲಿಯ ಮಾಣಿಕೈತ್ತಿರ್ತ್ತದ ಬಸದಿಯಾಚಾರ್ಯಪ್ರಭಾಚಂದ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಾಂ(ಧಾಂ)ತಿಬೇವರ  
 ಸಹಧರ್ಮಿಗಳಪ್ಪ ತುಭಚಂದ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಾಂ(ಧಾಂ)ತಿಬೇವರುಂ ಯಾ(ಆ) ಪ್ರಭಾಚಂದ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಾಂ(ಧಾಂ)ತಿಬೇವರ ಶಿಷ್ಯರಪ್ಪ  
 ಇಂದ್ರಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿದೇವರ ಶ್ರೀಧರದೇವರ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾ ಸಂಘಸಮುದಾಯಂಗಲು(ಳುಂ) ಆ ಮಾಣಿಕೈತ್ತಿರ್ತ್ತದ  
 ಬದಿಸಯ ಸ್ಥಳಂ ಹಿರಿಯಕುಂಮಿಯಲ್ ಅಲ್ಲಯಟುವಗ್ಗಾವಂರುಗಳ್ ಸಹಿತವಿದ್ದು ಆ ಪೂರಿಂ ತಿಂಕದೇನಿಯಲ್  
 ನೆಲ್ಲಿಯಚಟ್ಟಿಗೌದನ ಬಳನೊಳಗೆ ನೇಮಣನ ಕೆಯ್ಯಿಂ ತಿಂಕಲ್ ಉರುಸೊ(? ಗೋ)ಳನಹೊಲ ನೀಮೆಯಿಂ  
 ಮೂದಲ್ ನವಿಲ್ಕಂದ ಗೋಲನಲಳಿದು ಸರ್ವನಮಸ್ಕಮಾಗ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಕೆಯಿ ಮತ್ತನ್ನಾಲ್ಕು ೪ ಅಟುಗಯ್ಯಗಲ

ಹಂನಿಕ್ಕೈನೀಳದ ಮನೆಯ ಕೊಟ್ಟುರ್ || ಮತ್ತಮಾ ದೇವರ್ಗೆ ಶ್ರೀಮದನಾದಿಯ ಪಿರಿಯಗ್ರಹಾರಂ  
ಹಸುಡಿಯುಂನೂವ್ಯಮ್‌ಹಾಜನಂಗಳುಂ ಹಂನೀವ್ಯಗ್ಗ್‌ವುಂದುಗಳುಂ ತಂಮೂರ ಶಂಕಣ ಫೈಸ್ಸುಗೆಡೆಯುಂ ಶಂಕಲ್  
ಸುವಂಧವತ್ತಿಯ ಸವಣುಬೆಲದ ಹೊಲವೆರೆಯುಂ ಪಡುವಲ್ ತಮ್ಮ ಬಾಸಿಗವಾಡದ ಪಡುವಣ ಹೆಟ್ಟುಸುಗೆಯ  
ಸ್ಥಳದೊಳಗೆ ನೋ(ನೋ)ಗಲದ ದೀ(ದೀ)ಶ್ವರದೇವರ ಕೋಲಲಳದು ಸರ್ವನಮಕ್ಕ(ಸ್ಯ)ವಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಕೆಯ ಕಂಬಂ  
ಮೂನೂರು ೨೦೦ [ || ] ಮತ್ತಂ ಶ್ರೀಮುನಿಚಂದ್ರದೇವರ್ ಆಯದ ಚಟ್ಟಮರಗ(?ಸು)ರ ಬಿನ್ನಪದಿಂ  
ಗ್ಗಾಣಾಯದಾಯಕಾರರಲ್ಲ ನೋಮವಾರಂ ಪ್ರತಿ ವೊ(ವೊ)ದು ನೊಲ್ಲಗೆ ಎಣ್ಣೆಯಂ ಕೊಟ್ಟುರ್ ||  
<sup>85</sup> ಇನ್ನಿನಿತುಮನಾ ಕೋಲಾರದ ಕೇಸಿರಾಜು ಸುಗಂಧವತ್ತಿಯ ನಾಗರಕೆಡೆಯ ಶ್ರೀಮಲ್ಲನಾಥದೇವರಿಗೆ ವೃತ್ತಿಯಂ  
ಪಡೆದು ಆ ಕೆಡೆಯ ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿ ಸುತ್ತಲುವಾರವೆಯನಿಟ್ಟು ತಂನಾರಾಧಿಸುವ ಮಾಳೈಯ ಕುದ್ರಳ್ಳವಮಾಗ್ಗಗಳಪ್ಪ  
ತಂನ ಸುರುಭಾಗಿಗಳ ಶಿರ್ಯರ್ ವಾಮಕತ್ತಿನಾಮಾಳಿದೆಯರಪ್ಪ ಬೆಳ್ಳಿಟಗೆಯ ಶ್ರೀಮೂಲನಾ ನದಾಚಾಯ್ಯಲಿಂಗಯ್ಯಂಗಳಿಗೀ  
ಸ್ಥಾನಮಂ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಕೊಟ್ಟನವರ ವಂಕಾನುಕಥನಮಿತ್ತಿನಿ || ಆ ಮುನಿದೂ(ದು)ವ್ಯಾಸಾನ್ವಯನೇಮಾತ-  
ನುಪಹತನೆಂದು <sup>87</sup> ದಿಬ್ಬಂ(ವ್ಯಂ)ಬಿಡಿದಾ ವಾಮಕತ್ತಿಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ಶೀಶಂ ಭೂಮಿಸ್ತುತನೆನಿಸಿ ಜಯನಿ ಪಸರ್ವದೆನೆದಂ ||  
ತತ್ತನಯದ್ದೇವಶಿವರುದಾತ್ತಯಶಸ್ಸುಕಲಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಸಂಪಂನಸ್ಸುತ್ಪತ್ತಿಸಮಾಜವಿರ್ವಿರಾಜಿಸಿದರುಮ್‌ವರ್ಯಾರಿಯಾಳ್ ||  
ತದವತ್ಯಲಿಂಗಶಿವವಿರ್ವಿರಾಜಮರತಕ್ಕೈಗುಣಗಣನಿಳಯಸ್ಸುರ್ದಮಳಚರಿತಶ್ರೀಶ್ವರಭವನಂ ಭಕ್ತಿಯುಕ್ತವಾರಾಧಿಸುಮಂ ||

\* To be read, for the sake of the metre, as if written ವಾಮಕತ್ತಿನಿಶ್ರೀಶಂ.

ಲಿಂಗನನಾರಾಧಿಪದೀ ಲಿಂಗಂ ಶ್ರೀಮಲ್ಲಿನಾಥಪದಸರಸಿಜದೊಳ್ ಭೃಂಗನವೊಲೆನೆನೆಂದು ಮನಂಗೊಂಡಾ ಕೇಸಿರಾಜನ-  
 ವರ್ಗದನಿತ್ತಂ || ನುತಶಾಸನಾರ್ಥವೆಪ್ಪೀ ಕ್ಷಿತಿಯಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳಪಂಗಿ ವಿಭವೋಂನತಿ ಸನ್ಮತವುದಿತೊಂದಿತವಕ್ಕಂ  
 ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳಸಲೊಲ್ಲದಳದನಸುಗತಿಗಳಿಗುಂ || ಗಯೆ ವಾರಣಾಸಿ ಕುರುಭೂಮಿಯನಿಪ ತೀರ್ಥಂಗಗಳ್ ಗೋಕುಲಮಂ  
 ತಂನಯ ಕುಲಮಂ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರಂ ದಯಿಗಿಡೆ ಕೊಂದನಿತ್ತು ಪಾವಮಿದನಳಯಲೊಡಂ || ಸ್ವದತ್ತಾಂ  
 ಪರದತ್ತಾಂ ವಾ ಯೇ ಹರೇತ<sup>91</sup> ವಸುಂಧರಾಂ ಪಪ್ಪೀರ್ವರ್ಷಸಹಸ್ರಾಣಿ ವಿಷ್ಣಾಯಾಂ ಜಾಯತೇ ಕ್ರಿಮಿಃ ||  
 ತಂನಿತ್ತುದ ಮಿಣಿನೈಕುಲೋಂನತರಿತ್ತದುಮನವನಿಯಂ ಧರ್ಮಾರ್ಥಂ ಮಂನಿನದಳದಾ ಮನುಜಂ ಮುಂನಂ ಕ್ರಿಮಿಯಾಗಿ  
 ಬಳಕೆ ನರಕಕ್ಕಿಳಗುಂ || ಮದ್ವಂಶಜಾ(ಜಾಃ) ಪರಮಹೀವತಿವಂಶಜಾ ವಾ ಪಾಪಾದಪೇತಮನನಾ ಭುವಿ ಭಾವಿಭೂಪಾ  
 ಯೀ ಪಾಲಯಂತಿ ಮಮ ಧರ್ಮಮಿದಂ ಸಮಗ್ರಂ ತೇಭಾಂ ಮಯಾ ವಿರಚಿತಾಂ(ತೋಂ)ಜಳಕೇಡ್  
 ಮಾರ್ಧ್ಯ || ತಾನೋಲಗಿಸಿದ ನೃಪಕುಲದಾ ನೃಪರಕ್ತನೃಭೂಪರಕ್ತೇ ಧರ್ಮಕೈನುಮನಳವಂ ತಾರದಡಾ ನೃಪರಿಗವಿದೆ  
 ಮುಗಿದ ಕಯ್ಯಂದಿಪ್ಪೆಂ || ಇದಾ ಕೇಸಿರಾಜನ ವಚನ || ಎನಿವೀ ಶಾಸನಮಂ ವಿರ[ಚೆ]ಸಿ ಬರೆದಂ  
 ಲುವ್ವಜನ್ಮದೊಳ್ ಸುಕೃತಮನರ್ಜ್ಜಿಸಿ ಕೇಸಿರಾಜವಿಭುವಿನ ಸಿಸುವಿನಿದ ಮಾದಿರಾಜನಾವಿಭುಮತದಿಂ || ಈ  
 ಧರ್ಮಮಂ ಸುಗಂಧವರ್ತಿಯ ಹಂನೀರ್ವ[ಗ್ನ]ವಂ]ಡುಗಳುಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳಸು[ವರ] || ]

No. VII.<sup>1</sup>

Reverence to Śambhu, &c. ! May this Lord<sup>2</sup> of the Mountain-born, who has in his love commanded his eight excellent forms of Earth, Sky, Moon, Sun, Fire, Air, Water, and Spirit to proceed into the world,—he Sadâśiva, who is resplendent on the sacred hill<sup>3</sup> with mental joy, (being one with) this same lord Mallikârijuna,—confer endless happiness upon those who betake themselves to him !

In the land of Bharata, to the south of the Golden Mountain<sup>4</sup> which is in the centre of the world encircled by the ocean, shines that country that bears the name of Kuntala ; lovely is that country and in it is the district of Kûṇḍî. The supreme lord of that district, king Lakshmana, was resplendent ; to Kârtavîrya, who was his son, Mâdêvi herself became wife<sup>5</sup>, and to them was born Lakshmidêva, who, if we describe him, was the delight of the wise people born in the world, the torment of all hostile kings, valorous as that (famous) Râma and other lords of the earth, endowed with all virtues. If you reflect upon it, Lakshmidêva was verily born to that virtuous woman,—possessed of a comely form, the preserver of the whole circle of the earth, the son of the king Śrî-Kârtavîrya, born in the family of the Rattas, worthy to be honoured amongst kings ; if you regard him, verily this Lakshmidêva excels in might, manifesting his glory in the race of the sun.<sup>6</sup> This fruitful offspring of the Râshtrakûṭa race, Lakshmidêva, of unequalled might,

<sup>1</sup> This inscription is from a stone tablet that formerly stood in the centre of one of the streets of Saundatti, in the Parasgad Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District ; in order to ensure its safe preservation I have had it removed and placed close to the Mâmlatdâr's Kachêri. The characters of the inscription are small and very finely engraved, and the stone altogether is an exceptionally good specimen of inscription-sculpture. The emblems at the top of the stone are :—In the centre, a *liṅga* ; to the right of it, an officiating priest, beyond him a seated figure, and above them the sun ; to the left, a cow, beyond it a crooked knife, and above them the moon.

<sup>2</sup> Śiva.

<sup>3</sup> The mountain Śrîśaila, in the Karnul country, on which is a temple famed for its sanctity.

<sup>4</sup> The mountain Mêru.

<sup>5</sup> But in line 15 of No. V. the name of the wife of Kârtavîrya is Êchaladêvi. Possibly the translation here should be “to Kârtavîrya, who was his son, she who was a most chaste wife” (compare one of the epithets applied to Êchaladêvi in No. V., line 15) “became queen” ; but Mâdêvi seems to be used here as a proper name, and, though the word ‘*mâdêvi*’ or in its full form ‘*mahâdêvi*’ has the sense of *queen*, *empress*, it is usual to add it in that sense to a proper name, e.g. Êchalamahâdêvi, and not to use it in that sense as an independent word.

<sup>6</sup> The Rattakula is a subordinate branch of the Sûryavainêa.



became famous, rivalling and surpassing Kandarpa<sup>7</sup> in beauty, and the sun in splendour, the son of the wind<sup>8</sup> in valour, and the Lord<sup>9</sup> of Rôhinî in being the delight of all mankind, the Lord<sup>10</sup> of the beautiful woman that is the Eastern Region in fortune, and Karna<sup>11</sup> in generosity.

Having with joy extended the Raṭṭa rule, Munichandra, the royal spiritual preceptor of the Raṭṭas, the lord of the woman Fortune, was considered the firm sustainer of the kingdom of the Raṭṭas. A very moon of a sage in that he was the delight of the lotuses<sup>12</sup> (that were his friends), a very moon of a sage on account of his lustre which dealt destruction to the lotuses<sup>13</sup> which were the faces of the hostile kings, a very moon of a sage through his might which, traversing the ocean of the Raṭṭa kingdom, extended so as to touch the borders of the regions—such was Munichandra, possessed of the name of ‘Moon.’ Through his mystic knowledge he became the spiritual preceptor of king Kârtavîrya; through his close acquaintance with the treatises on the use of the weapons he became the instructor of Lakshmidêva; through subduing many kingdoms he became the anointer of other kings;—thus, listen thou, did the title of ‘Spiritual Preceptor’ become applicable to him; and truly (the name of) ‘Spiritual Guide’ did belong to the excellent Munichandra. While this same Lakshmidêva, who was the son of Kârtavîrya the chief of kings, was firmly enduring, Śrî-Munichandrâdêva made the earth all of one standard of morality through his administration and, decorated with arrows, pursued with the excellent might of his arm the hostile kings, being a very lion to the elephants that were his enemies. Worthy of respect, most able among ministers, the establisher of the Raṭṭa kings, Munichandra surpassed all others in capacity for administration and in generosity. The counsellors of that same Muni:

<sup>7</sup> Kâmadêva.

<sup>8</sup> The Pândava prince Bhîma who was the son of Kunti, the wife of Pându, by the god Vâyu, the wind.

<sup>9</sup> The moon.

<sup>10</sup> Indra.

<sup>11</sup> A Purâṇic prince celebrated for his liberality; he was the son of Kunti, before her marriage with Pându, by the sun.

<sup>12</sup> ‘*Kumuda* ;’ i.e. the blue lotus which flowers in the evening.

<sup>13</sup> Here the original has ‘*abja*,’ i.e. the white lotus, which opens its flowers at sunrise and closes them in the evening.

chandrādēva, who were praised in the earth, were Śāntinātha, best of clerks, the son of Kāmarāja the granter of all the desires of his friends,—the glorious Nāga of Kūṇḍi, of great valour,—and Mallikārjuna who enjoyed happiness resulting from the greatness of his excellent and brilliant good fortune.

If you ask what was the unrivalled lineage of the thus glorious Mallikārjuna :—The seven sages<sup>14</sup> are worthy of worship in the assembly of the Fourfaced<sup>15</sup>, and among them the sage Atri is the best and greatest. Anasūye, the chief wife of that sage, true to her lord, accomplished for her husband every thing that is pleasing and useful and supreme prosperity, and Hari and Hara and the Lotus-born became the sons of that lovely woman ; from the eye of Atri was born the moon, and thus that race (became known) in the earth as the Indukula. In the race of Atri, which became diffused over the earth as the Induvaṁśa, were born many Brāhmaṇs<sup>16</sup>, versed in the best sciences, and among them was Rudrabhaṭṭa, the king of poets. He acquired from Sarasvati excellence of speech, and from king Kanna the supremacy over eighteen villages ; who may be compared in the excellence of his poetry and the greatness of his power with that same lord Rudrabhaṭṭa, the members of whose race used to become excellent poets in six months (after commencing their studies)? Through that excellent poet Rudrabhaṭṭa the family of Atri, known as the Sōmakula, acquired the name of Sāmāsīgakula<sup>17</sup>, and in that good family occurred a spotless achievement. For Rudrabhaṭṭa, having pledged a letter of his name as security for (a loan of) a thousand (pieces of) gold, received from people the appellation of ‘ Rudraṭa’ only, as a substitute (for his full) name, until the day when he redeemed the pledge. In the celebrated Sāmāsīgavaṁśa were born many of matchless strength, and amongst them Kalidēva, praised in the earth, rose to an eminence of power through his spotless fame. His offspring Śrīdhara was resplendent with the supremacy over eighteen (villages) of which the town Banihaṭṭi was the chief ; to him was born Mahadēva, the abode of

<sup>14</sup> Marichi, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasiṣṭha ; or, Marichi, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Vasiṣṭha, Daksha, and Bhṛigu ; there are other variations in the list.

<sup>15</sup> Brahma.

<sup>16</sup> In the original,—‘*ilāmarar*’=‘*bhūḍēvar*,’ *gods upon earth*, a common name for Brāhmaṇs.

<sup>17</sup> i.e., as explained to me, a family in which the direct lineal descent has never been interrupted.

increasing happiness; his fair son was Śrīdhara, brave and proud, and to him was born Mahadêva who enjoyed happiness as long as he lived. Enmity having arisen between that same Siripati<sup>18</sup> and the people of the city of Gaganasarôvara, Siripati was slain<sup>19</sup> at Hôlavêre in the front ranks of battle by the inhabitants of that city. His father having become a butt for the arrows of his enemies, he (Mahadêva), having heard it, straightway arose and went to other lands, and, having during twelve years<sup>20</sup> amassed wealth in the island, he brought and gave it to the king; and thus Mâyidêva, the most excellent one, destroyed his foe with the vehemence of his anger and with his infuriated elephants. As formerly Jamadagni-Râma, like a foul mist, twenty-one times destroyed the lords of the earth<sup>21</sup>, so Mahadêvanâyaka, the native lord of Banihaṭṭi, destroyed with his elephants the race of his enemies, and performed for his father the customary rites of the gift of water. Mahadêva, raising his hand against the Mâtāṅgaru<sup>22</sup> who are thieves and who were scorched by his enmity, valorously afforded protection, while all mankind honoured him as being ever the protector of those that took refuge with him. Having afforded protection to those that fled to him for refuge, having overcome the might of his enemies, and having done honour to those that deserved to be honoured, Mahadêvanâyaka shone in the earth, diffusing abroad a majesty because he was verily like one of the elephants of the quarters. The sons of the thus-described Mahadêvanâyaka were three, Śrīdhara, and Mallikârijuna, and Chandra; amongst them Mallikârijuna shone gloriously as the sun of the white lotuses of his family, becoming the advancer of his race and the increaser of its pure fame. A very ocean of good qualities, a mass of glory, the granter of the desires of learned men, of men of culture, and of his friends, the chief of the Sâmasigakula,—thus was the lord Mallikârijuna resplendent. The pure wife of the thus majestic Mahadêva was the lovely woman Gaurī

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<sup>18</sup> i.e., the second Śrīdhara mentioned above.

<sup>19</sup> Lit., "went to the city of Yama."

<sup>20</sup> Lit., "during years counted by the number of the sun;" the forms of the sun are twelve, and any word meaning sun may, therefore, be used to represent the number twelve.

<sup>21</sup> This refers to the legendary extermination of the whole race of Kshatriyas by Paraśurâma, son of Jamadagni.

<sup>22</sup> The Mâtāṅgaru are Chândâlas; the goddess of the caste is Mâtāṅgi, hence they are also called Mâtāṅgi-makka'u, 'children of Mâtāṅgi.'

eager in offering worship to deceased ancestors, to Brâhmans, and to gods, devoted to her husband; let me describe the lineage of that lovely woman.

Amongst the seven sages, Vaśishṭha, chief of sages, was esteemed the greatest; and, becoming manifest in the lineage of that sage, Mâdirâja, the lord of the city of Kolâra<sup>23</sup>, shone in the earth. The son of Mâdirâja was the famous Bhûtanâtha of spotless deeds, and to this prince were born five children, resplendent with fame, worthy of praise in the world; and amongst these five Mâdirâja became most celebrated, who acquired a name through the excess of his glory, so that people praised him as "a fishhook to the throats of his enemies, most high in majesty." Being himself a very cage of thunderbolts in respect of protecting those that fled to him for refuge, the lord Doṅkara<sup>24</sup>. Mâdirâja acquired for himself the title of "an outer shell of a coconut towards (in excoriating) those that opposed him." He, while living at Kôlâra, having well protected the sons of the lords that were of equal rank with himself when they sought refuge with him distressed in mind because they had been deprived of their estates, entered with his younger brothers into war and there acquired victory but also met his death, and then amidst the sounds of all the drums of the gods took his departure for the skies, followed by the acclamations of mankind. The elder sister of that same Mâdirâja, Bijjiyavve, praised in the earth, in the same fashion continued excellently well the magnificence of her younger brothers and that supremacy (of Kôlâra). That supremacy shone in Kôlâra, and Bijjiyavve, having become as it were herself the broad creeper of sovereignty, joyfully gave in marriage<sup>25</sup> to the lord Mallikârjuna, amidst the sound of auspicious musical instruments, Gaurî the charming daughter of Mâdirâja, together with that lordship, in his name<sup>26</sup>, and thus obtained mental happiness. In that the lovely woman Gaurî, born in a most famous race that had acquired

<sup>23</sup> This must be the town of Kolhâr on the banks of the Krishnâ about twenty miles to the N. E. of Kalâdgi. There is, I am told, a village named Banihatti in the neighbourhood of Jâmkhandi which is about twenty-five miles to the W. of Kolhâr, but it is not shown in the Trigonometrical Survey maps. Here in the text the first syllable of the name is short, but probably for metrical reasons only; in the other places in this inscription where the name occurs the first syllable is long. Kolhâr is on the north bank of the Krishnâ and just opposite it on the south bank is the small village of Korti; hence Kolhâr is usually spoken of as Korti-Kolhâr.

<sup>24</sup> This must be his surname.

<sup>25</sup> Lit., "brought near, united."

<sup>26</sup> i. e. acting as the representative of her deceased brother.

greatness by its glory such (as has been described above), was his wife, Mallikârjuna equalled in majesty the Eternal one.<sup>27</sup>

Whilst they, husband and wife, were living happily together :—To Śrî-Gauri and to the lord Mallapa, (to whom belonged) the eighteen villages which were considered his own lordship,—a heritage received from his father,—and,—because he had become daughter's-son<sup>28</sup> to Mâdirâja,—the single lordship of Kôlâra, was born a son, Kêsirâja, of brilliant achievements, a Chakôra, as it were, fluttering in the rays of the moon that is the nails of the feet of the lord of the daughter<sup>29</sup> of the sacred mountain. Having attained tranquillity through his excellent liberality, through his discrimination in recognizing the Supreme Lord in this same Lord of the Mountain-born, and through his firm belief and devotion towards him when he knew him, the lord Kêsavârâja was beautiful in the earth on account of his bravery which was (innate in him and) not dependent upon (the sensations of) joy, pride, or despair. Destroying not the wealth of others, and having no longing for their wives, how perfect in all his deeds was Kêsirâja, through having his thoughts intently fixed upon the feet of Hara ! The wife of the thus glorious Kêsirâja, Mâlaladêvi, born in the celebrated lineage of Agastya, obedient to her husband, became renowned in the earth for her pious deeds. Her pleasing deeds were only such as were agreeable to her husband, her mind was devoted to him, and her only speech was in praise of him,—thus the title of true wife was confirmed in her ; and so Mâlaladêvi, the lovely wife of Kêsirâja, renowned for her descent, was resplendent in the earth with a plentiful offspring of excellent children and grandchildren. How could other women who hoard up their riches for themselves, denying the existence of that which they have in their houses, be compared in merit with Mâlaladêvi, the ocean of affability ? Can women who, concealing what is in their houses, refuse even so much as an oil-seed to their husbands or their children be considered family-women (good housewives) ? ; (no ; but) the wife of Kêsirâja, devoted to her husband, full of pleasing virtues, was

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<sup>27</sup> Gauri is one of the names of Pârvatî the wife of Śiva ; hence the point of the comparison between Mallikârjuna and Śiva.

<sup>28</sup> It should be "granddaughter's-son ;" for the meaning evidently is that as Bijjiyavve, after the death of her brother, the younger Mâdirâja, became a mother to his daughter Gauri, Mallikârjuna, in wedding Gauri, became the son of Bijjiyavve and, therefore, granddaughter's-son of the elder Mâdirâja.

<sup>29</sup> Pârvatî.

indeed a good housewife in the earth. How can women who, if any one comes to their houses, run inside and hide themselves, or, if any one comes before them, say "Who are you?, (I know you not)," be compared to Mâliyavve? Cross, of bad conduct, contemptible, ugly, unfortunate, of bad character, vixenish, depraved, deceitful, of evil disposition, thoroughly wicked, bad, sinful, vexatious,—such are women, full of dissimulation; and can any of them be compared in merit to even the great toe of Mâliyavve?; if you ask whether any other women in this world (may be so compared, the answer is 'None'). Women who think it a great thing to despise their husbands and who attract other men with wanton behaviour,—say now, how may they be compared with Mâliyavve?; they are contemned. Can women who look at <sup>30</sup> their neighbours' houses, the yards in front of their own houses, or their front doors, and who mix with low people under pretext of going to.....<sup>31</sup>, or to visit other women that are pregnant, or to perform a vow, or of going to shops, or to the vegetable-market, or to present offerings to a goddess,—(can they) be termed "family-women"?; if you consider it, there are no others but Mâlaladêvi, resplendent as being so full of devotion towards her husband, (to whom that name may be given). The multitude of sins (that a man is considered to have committed in) having looked at wicked and shrewish women who put their husbands to shame by their improper behaviour is destroyed by enumerating the virtues of Mâlaladêvi. What manner of family women are those who in their deceit use poisonous herbs in order to bring their husbands under their control, and thus cause their husbands to waste away with consumption, jaundice, leprosy, or spleen disease?; but Mâliyavve, true to her husband, is indeed a family-woman in the world which is encircled by the ocean. The most virtuous wife Mâlaladêvi devoted to her husband, the fair mother of Malidêva, famous because to her belonged preëminently the virtues of a true wife of the Kṛitayuga, was pleasing. In simply looking at that most virtuous woman Mâlaladêvi, who is praised by mankind and who is possessed of unrivalled good qualities, one obtains the reward of worshipping the river of the gods <sup>32</sup>; how shall it be described? Anasûye, the wife of Atri the chief of sages, through her devotion to her husband bore, amidst the praises of the three worlds,

<sup>30</sup> i. e., frequent through curiosity.

<sup>31</sup> "Iṛiṭu"; meaning not known.

<sup>32</sup> The heavenly Ganges.

Viriñchi<sup>33</sup>, Achyuta<sup>34</sup>, and Triṇêtra<sup>35</sup>, so that they were called her sons ; and Mâlaladêvi was resplendent in that through her deeds devotion to a husband existed (again) in this fair age in the lineage of Atri. Through the deeds of Mâlaladêvi the saying that “ offspring and integrity of conduct become firmly established in the character of a family-woman through the quality of devotion towards her husband ” became well known in the earth.

His mother was Gauri, a most devoted wife, born in the family of Vaśishṭha,—his father was Mallikârjuna, a bee at the lotuses which are the feet of the Unborn,—his elder brother was Mahadêva, profound as the ocean, and his younger brother was that (famous) lord Mâdirâja,—his wife was the celebrated Mâlale ; thus the lord Kêśava-râja was pleasing.

Enjoying the choice pleasures of love with those good women, Mallikârjuna and Mâdirâja<sup>36</sup> begat sons and, doing obeisance as counsellors to the fortunate royal spiritual preceptor Munichandradêva, who was the consecrator of the Raṭṭa rule and a very Javarâja to the hostile Maṇḍalikas decorated with badges of honour, were governing in accordance with his directions the Sugandhavarti Twelve, which was an administrative circle of villages near to (? included in <sup>37</sup>) the Kûṇḍi Three-

<sup>33</sup> Brahma.

<sup>34</sup> Vishnu.

<sup>35</sup> Śiva.

<sup>36</sup> This must be a mistake on the part of the composer of the inscription or of the engraver of the tablet for Kêśirâja.

<sup>37</sup> The meaning of “ *baḷiya bāḍam* ” is to a certain extent doubtful. ‘ *Bāḍa*, ’ though not in the dictionaries and not known to Pandits, is evidently a Tadbhava corruption of the Sanskrit ‘ *vāṭa*, ’ enclosure, road, mud wall or hedge surrounding a town, site of a building, house, and as used in the inscriptions it means according to the context either a town or a circle of towns formed into an administrative post. ‘ *Alkerāḍam* ’ in the present passage and again in line 61 of this inscription corresponds exactly to ‘ *valitada sthālam*, ’ locality of administration, of line 46 of No. V. Again “ *Kûṇḍimûrusâsirada baḷiya bāḍam* \* \* \* *Sugandharartihanneradu (emba) kampanada modala bāḍam Sugandhararti* ” in the present passage and “ *Kûṇḍimûrusâsirada baḷiya kampanam Sugandharartihanneradaga modala bāḍam* \* \* \* *paṭṭanam Sugandhararti* ” in lines 60–1 below correspond exactly with the Sanskrit “ *Palâsikâdêśamadhyavartinô Dêgâmvêkampanasya prathamavâṭam* \* \* \* *Dêgâmvêgrâmam*, ” the village of Dêgâmvê which was the chief town of the kampana of Dêgâmvê which was included in the district of Palâsikâ, in line 34–5 of the Dêgâmvê inscription No. I. (see page 269 of Vol. IX., No. XXVII., of the Society’s Journal). These two Canarese passages illustrate both the meanings of ‘ *bāḍa*, ’ and show that in the second meaning that I have allotted to it above it is convertible with ‘ *kampana*. ’ And a comparison of the Sanskrit with the Canarese passages shows that ‘ *baḷiya* ’ is of the same purport as ‘ *madhyavartin*, ’ but ‘ *baḷiya* ’ means



thousand and was the locality of the administration of the fortunate royal spiritual preceptor Munichandradêva; and if you ask "of what nature are the delights of the city Sugandhavarti the chief town of that *kampaṇa*?" ;—Sugandhavarti is conspicuous in the fair plain of Kûṇḍi, abounding in the most perfect pleasures resulting from the grove of mango-trees that is outside the city, from its assemblage of hills, from its fruits, from its dense grove of coccanut-trees, from its pleasant plantation of Aśôka-trees, from its temple of Śiva, and from its beautiful shrine of Jinêndra. Twelve headmen in whom abode all the qualities of the majesty of a noble disposition, celebrated for their achievements, of great fame, without rivals, were the governors of that locality.

In that locality :—Kêsirâja, the lord of Kôlâra, of spotless deeds, joyfully worshipped the Unborn whose feet which are like lotuses are praised by demons, by snakes, by birds, by gods, and by Indra. When Kêsirâja went with joy to behold the feet of the famous lord of the sacred hill, there he vowed "If ever hereafter disease or other (troubles) shall manifest themselves among those whom I protect, I will come no more;" and so the Unborn, being propitiated, ordained that his sons and his wealth should endure in safety,—a most marvellous thing in the earth. And at that same journey to the sacred shrine :— "Let" death not come straightway, even when their appointed time has arrived, to those who assemble together (for me), not coming to me at my village with the intention of refusing to do my service with joy,"—uttering this urgent vow Kêśava was prosperous in the earth, the god Mallikârjunadêva being favourable to him. Having, with such fierce vows as these and others too, three times visited the god Mallikârjunadêva of Śrî-Śaila, and having through affection for him brought a *liṅga* (made

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*near to, in the vicinity of, and, though this meaning is not a suitable one here, for the Sugandhavarti Twelve was not near to but was actually included in the Kûṇḍi Three-thousand, I hesitate as yet to translate it actually by included in, which evidently is the meaning intended. We have, however, in the Old Canarese 'olayinke' = 'olage,' within, inside, which actually occurs as 'olayinge' in line 40 of the present inscription, a trace, I think, of an older form of 'ola,' inner, internal, ending in 'i' or 'e,' and 'baḷiya' may, therefore, be a secondary form of 'oliya' or 'oleya' = 'olagana,' internal, included in, through a form raḷiya; but here, again, the phrase now commented on being of frequent occurrence, 'baḷiya' is sometimes written in other inscriptions with the older form of the 'l,' thus 'baḷiya,' and I have not as yet found any instance of 'ola,' with its derivatives 'olage,' 'olagana,' &c., being written with the old 'l.' We have traces of 'bâḍa' in Bastwâḍ, Arjunwâḍ, and other modern names of villages, and in Bâsigavâḍa in line 83 below.*

•• The first part of this verse is very obscure.



of the stone) of the hill, and having in the name of his father Mallikârjuna set up a shrine of the god Śrî-Mallinâthadêva at the tank of Nâgarakere outside the city of Sugandhavarti which was the locality of the administration of the fortunate royal spiritual preceptor Munichandradêva and the chief town of the Sugandhavarti Twelve, a *kampana* near to (? included in) the Kûṇḍi Three-thousand:—

Hail ! In the Śaka year 1151, being the Sarvadhâri *samvatsara*, on Monday the day of the new-moon of Âshâḍha, on a very auspicious lunar day as being the occasion of a total eclipse of the sun, while the fortunate Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara king Lakshmidêva, possessed of all the glory of the titles commencing with “The great chieftain who has attained the five great *Śabdas*, the supreme lord of Lattanûrpura, he who is sung to with the musical instrument called Trivaḷî, the ornament of the Raṭṭakula, he who has the mark of vermilion, he whose fame is as pure as (the rays of) the moon, the owner of the banner of the golden Garuḍa, he who is a very Kâmadêva to wanton and amatory maidens, he who is a very Vṛikôdara to the forces of his foes, he who behaves as a brother towards the wives of other men, he who strikes the cheeks of Maṇḍalikas and curbs the pride of his mighty enemies, the most impetuous Boppanasiṅga,” was ruling at his capital of Vêṇugrâma amidst the delights of listening to pleasing stories;—in compliance with the order which the fortunate royal spiritual preceptor Munichandradêva had given to the cultivators, the twelve headmen of that same Sugandhavarti gave, as a grant to be respected by all, for the purposes of the *aṅgabhōga* and *raṅgabhōga* of that same god Mallinâthadêva, and for the repair and renewal of what might become broken or torn or worn out, six hundred *kambas* of cultivated land in a field to the W. of the village measured out in the circle of Kaḍimaṇṇu to the S. of the black-soil field of the *mānya*-lands of (the measure of) twelve *mattars* (which are part) of the black-soil fields of Muḷugundavaḷḷi, and to the N. of the road to Hasuḍi; and (with this land) they gave a house, five cubits broad and twenty-one cubits long in the royal cubits, in a street to the W. of the king’s highway to the W. of the gate called Sirivâgilu. And all the people, headed by the same twelve headmen, gave one *koḷaga* on each post in the corn-treading-floors as a perpetual gift to the god as long as the moon and sun should endure.

Also, in the presence of an assemblage composed of the same twelve

headmen together with Mâdigâvuṇḍa of Kaudi and the ascetics of the five *Muṭhas* and the *Enṭuhiṭṭu*<sup>39</sup>, Nâgagâvuṇḍa of Kaḍale, gave two hundred *muttars* of cultivated land, as a grant to be respected by all, measured in the circle of those rent-free lands of headmen in Kaḍale-yavaḷana-Haraḷahasuge which were his rent-free service lands being included in the rent-free service lands of Modalûru.

Also ;—Hail ! The entire guilds of the *Nakhara*<sup>40</sup> and the *Mummuri*<sup>40</sup> of the locality, headed by the twelve headmen of Sugandhavarti who were the protectors of the laws of the Virabaṇaṇju-guild<sup>41</sup> which is the very embodiment of truth, pure conduct, brilliant achievements, morality, modesty, and learning, adorned with innumerable good qualities acquired by five hundred strict edicts celebrated through the whole world, forming themselves into a great assembly on market-day, came to an agreement among themselves and set apart for that same god Mallinâthadôva the following taxes. They gave one hundred betel-leaves on each load of a beast of burden of betel-leaves, and fifty betel-leaves on each load of the same carried on the head. Inside the village and in the market-place the people of that place gave a spoonful on each kind of grain that was sold and on each paddy-shop. They gave two betel-nuts on each shop. With respect to green ginger, jag-gory, turmeric, and other miscellaneous articles, they gave one spoonful of each on each shop. Of cotton they gave on each shop as much as a man can hold in his hand. Also fifty cultivators gave a ladleful

<sup>39</sup> See No. VI., note 30.

<sup>40</sup> The guilds of the *Nakhara* and the *Mummuri* are mentioned also in lines 71-2 of No. VI. of the present series of inscriptions, and in line 42 of the Gulhalli inscription (see page 298 of Vol. IX., No. XXVII., of the Society's Journal) we have "the guilds of the *Mummuri* of many places" and "the guild of the *Mummuri*" again in line 54 of the same. Certain guilds of merchants are evidently intended, but I cannot at present offer any further explanation of these terms. In line 16 of a photographic copy of an inscription at Balligâve,—the modern Balagâmi in Maisûr,—of the time of the Châlukya king Vikramâditya II., (see No. 39 of a collection of photographic copies of inscriptions published for the Government of Maisûr by Major Dixon in 1865), we have, after the mention of the names of certain merchants, "the entire guild of the *Nagara* and the *Mummuri* thus composed ;" we have, therefore, here '*Nagara*' as a convertible term with '*Nakhara*.' As to '*Mummuri*,' it is given under No. 21 at page 402 of Mr. Kittel's edition of the *Śabdamanidarpana* of Kâśirâja as meaning *heated sand* ; I have not met with the word as yet in any other printed book or glossary.

<sup>41</sup> '*Baṇaṇju*' is the modern '*baṇajiga*, *baṇaṇjiga*, or *baṇijiga*,' which, though given in Sanderson's dictionary as a pure Canarese word, must be the original of or a Tadbhava corruption of the Sanskrit '*bāṇija*, *bāṇijika*,' *merchant*, *trader*. The Virabaṇaṇju-guild is a division of the class of Liṅgâyat merchants.

of oil on each oil-mill for the perpetual lamp of the same god. Also of oil that comes from Bērûru for sale they gave an *addu*<sup>42</sup> of oil on each *hūḍaru*. The potters<sup>43</sup> of that place gave on each kiln a vessel for the water of the god. Also five hundred (dealers in vegetables) gave two bundles on each cart-load of vegetables put up for sale and four vegetables on each load (of a beast of burden). The Bôvakkaḷu<sup>44</sup> gave a small tax such as a gift in alms on the vegetables that they brought for sale.

Also the twelve headmen of Eḷarāve gave to that same god, as a grant to be respected by all, four *mattars* of cultivated land, measured in the circle of Navilgundu to the E. of the high road to Sirivûru and to the N. of the watercourse of Kaddigura, within the boundaries of their own field (in the lands) of Savandhavatti and in the lands to the S. of their own village, and they gave also a house five cubits broad by twelve cubits long.

Also the worthy Sindaramaileyanāyaka of Beṭṭasura and the six headmen of that place gave, as a grant to be respected by all, four *mattars* of cultivated land, measured in the circle of Navilgundu to the S. of the watercourse of Kaddigura, within the lands to the S. of their village, and they gave also a house six cubits broad by twelve cubits long.

Also, to the same god, all the members of that sect of which Śubhachandrasiddhântidêva, who shared the same rites with Prabhâchandrasiddhântidêva the priest of the Jain temple of Mânikyatîrtha of Hûli, and Indrakîrttidêva and Śrîdharadêva, the disciples of that same Prabhâchandrasiddhântidêva, were the heads, at Hiriyakummi which was the locality of that same Jain temple of Mânikyatîrtha, together with the six headmen of that place, gave, as a grant to be respected by all, a house six cubits broad by twelve cubits long together with four *mattars* of cultivated land, measured in the circle of Navilgundu, to

<sup>42</sup> 'Yaddu' is a provincialism for 'ettu' ('yettu'), an ox, and 'addu' in the text or 'yaddu,' according as we regard the 'y' as an initial letter or as inserted for the sake of euphony, probably means some measure determined by the load of an ox. For 'hūḍaru' see note 50 to the translation of No. V.

<sup>43</sup> 'Aysāvantar' or 'āyasāvantaru' is equivalent to 'āyagāru,' those who enjoy the 'āya,' 'āyasāya,' or 'āyasvāmya,' i. e. the hereditary village servants collectively, the 'bārā-balutēdār' of the Marāṭhās. Here the word seems to be used to denote particularly the potters.

<sup>44</sup> 'Bôvakkaḷ' or 'bôvakkaḷu' is evidently the same as 'bôyi-makkaḷu' for 'bhôyi-makkaḷu,' i. e. 'bhôyiyaru,' fishermen, the bearers of palanquins, &c.

the S. of that same village, to the S. of the cultivated land belonging to Nêmana in the rent-free service lands<sup>45</sup> of Nelliya-Chattagauda, and to the E. of the boundaries of the field of Ūrugōlana.

Also to the same god two hundred merchants and the twelve headmen of Hasuḍi, the great *Agrahāra*<sup>46</sup> of the holy Anādi<sup>47</sup>, gave three hundred *kambas* of cultivated land, as a grant to be respected by all, measured in the circle of Digīśvaradêva of Sōgala within the locality of Hebbasuge, which is to the W. of their own Bâsigavâḍa, to the S. of the tank of Ghaissageṛe which is to the S. of their village, and to the W. of the black-soil field of Savaṇubela of Savandhavatti.

Also Munichandradêva, at the request of.....<sup>48</sup>, gave through<sup>49</sup> those who received the contributions on the oil-mills a *sollage* of oil each Monday.

And that same Kêsirâja of Kôlâra, having obtained all this as a portion for the god Mallinâthadêva of the tank called Nâgarakere of Sugandhavarti, built up that tank and planted a grove round it and gave the place, with oblations of water, to Liṅgayya, the priest of the original local temple of Beḷḷiṭage, who also bore the name of Vâmaśakti, the disciple of his own spiritual preceptor who practised the pure Śaiva rites which were the method of his own worship; and the account of his lineage is this:—"How is he, the descendant of the sage Durvâsa, overwhelmed with trouble!",—thus saying, that same Vâmaśakti, the best of devotees, having taken an oath and having become victorious, became celebrated in the earth and acquired a name. His son, Dêvaśiva, of great fame, versed in all the sacred writings, of good conduct, owning great possessions acquired by the might of his arm, was resplendent in the earth. His offspring, Liṅgaśiva, acquainted with the Śaiva doctrines, the abode of an inestimable number of good qua-

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<sup>45</sup> 'Baḷa' is the old form of the Canarese 'baṇa,' a party,—either a faction or a branch of a family of hereditary officials, especially of village headmen; and it means secondarily in inscriptions, as in the present instance, but not in the current language of the present day, the portion of the hereditary service lands allotted to such a branch of a family of hereditary officials or to any member of such a branch. In its secondary meaning it is equivalent to 'gauḍuvânya' which we have had in several places above.

<sup>46</sup> 'Agrahāra' means a village granted to a temple or to Brâhmanas for purposes of religion, education, and charity.

<sup>47</sup> "He who has no beginning."

<sup>48</sup> 'Ayada chattimaragara,'—meaning not apparent.

<sup>49</sup> i.e. caused them to give.

lities, of good and spotless deeds, worshipped devoutly the Unborn of Śrī-Śaila. Perceiving that this Liṅga, when worshipping the *liṅga*, shone like a bee at the lotuses which are the feet of Śrī-Mallinātha, Kêśirāja gave to him this (grant above described).

May he, who preserves this land, which has become the subject of a praiseworthy edict, ever possess an increasing eminence of power ; but may he, who, not willing to protect it, destroys (this grant), sink into misery ! If a man destroy this, his sin is as great as if he were pitilessly to slay cows, or his own family, or Brâhmanas, at the sacred shrines of Gaye, Vâraṇâsi, or Kurubhûmi. He who confiscates land, &c. That man who, not honouring piety, destroys (a grant of) land, whether it has been given by himself or by members of another family, shall afterwards become a worm and descend to hell. Those future rulers of the earth, whether born in my lineage, &c. Whether it be the kings of the royal race which I myself serve or other kings, if they do no injury to this deed of piety, to them I now join my hands (in respectful salutation). This is the saying of that same Kêśirāja.

Acquiring the benefit of good deeds performed in a former state of existence, Mádirāja, esteemed the son of the lord Kêśirāja, has in accordance with the wishes of that lord composed and written this brilliant edict. The twelve headmen of Sugandhavarti shall protect this act of piety !

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No. VIII.

ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪುರಮಗಂಭೀರಸ್ಯಾದ್ವಾದಾಮೋಘಾಂಧನಂ ಜೀಯಾಶ್ಚೈಕೋಕ್ಯನಾಥಸ್ಯ ಶಾಸನಂ ಜಿನಕಾಸನಂ ||  
 ನಿಶ್ಚಿಂಸಾರಿ ಪ್ರಿಯ ಕಂಠು ತನ್ನ ನಯನದ್ವಂದ್ಯಾಳವ್ರಾಶಮಂ ಜೈನಾಂಭ್ರಿದ್ವ(ದ್ವಿ)ನಖಾಳಯೋಳ್ಯಧುಕರವ್ರಾಶಂ ಸರೋಜಾ-  
 ಳಯಂ ಶಾನಂತಿಲ್ಲಗೆ ತಂದುದೆಂದು ಬೆದಳ್ಯಗತ್ವದಿಂದಾ ಜಿನಂ ಭೂನಾಥೇಶಧರೇಶಮೋಕ್ಷನಿಧಿಗಂಗೀಗಾಯುಮುಂ  
 ಶ್ರೀಯುಮು || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಪ್ರಭುವನಾಶ್ರಯಂ ಪೃಥುಧಾಶ್ರೀವಲ್ಲಭಂ ಕೂಕರಸ್ಯಸ್ತೇದ್ಧಧ್ವಜಲಾಂಚ್ಛನಂ ನುತಮಹಾ-  
 ರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜಂ ಯಶೋವಿಸ್ತಾರಂ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರಾಂಕವರಮಂ ಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಂ ಶಾತ್ರವೋನ್ಮಸ್ತಸ್ತನ್ಯಪದಾಶ್ಚನೂರ್ಜೈತಯಶಂ  
 ಲಕಾಳುಕ್ಯಕಣ್ಣೀರವಂ || ಸುಶ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಳಶಿಕಂ ಸನ್ಯಯುಧಿಷ್ಠಿರನೇಕವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಪುಣಂ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಕ್ಷವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತಾತ್ಮ್ಯಂ-  
 ತಯಶೋವಿಳಾಸಿ ಶ್ರಿಭುವನಮಲ್ಲಂ || ತದ್ರಾಜ್ಯಮುಕ್ತರೋತ್ತರವದ್ರಿಪ್ರಭುಚಂದ್ರಸೂರ್ಯ್ಯುರುಳ್ಳನೆನಂ ಭದ್ರಂ ಸುಖತ್ವಮಿರೆ  
 ರಿಪ್ತವಿದ್ರಾವಣಶ್ಚೈತ್ರಯಾತ್ಮಜಂ ಜಯಕರ್ಣಂ || ಜಯಕರ್ಣಾ೧ವನಿಪಾಳಭಾಸುರಲಗಲ್ಲಾಲಾಟಕಂ ಶ್ರೀವಧೂನಯನಾ-  
 ಳಾತ್ಮತರೂಪನೂರ್ಜೈತಯಶಃಶ್ರೀಕಾಮಿನೀನಲ್ಲಭಂ ಜಯಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಾಭುಜದಂಡನಾಹವಗದಾದಂಡಂ ಗುಣೋನ್ಮಂದಿತಂ ನಯದಿಂ  
 ಕೂಂಡಿಧಾರಾಧಿಪತ್ಯದೋಳವಲ್ ಜಾಮುಣ್ಣದಂಡಾಧಿಪಂ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಧಗತಪಂಚಮಹಾಸ್ತುತ್ಯವಿವಾಜಮಾನಕಲ್ಪಮಹಾಶ್ರೀ-  
 ವಿಸ್ತಾರಂ ಪೃಥುವಿಮಳಗುಣಶ್ಲೋಮಂ ಮಂಡಳೀಶ್ವರಂ ಸೀನನ್ಯಪಂ || ವದನಂ ನಿರ್ಮುಳವಾಗ್ವಧೂನು-  
 ದನವಾತ್ಮೀಯೋಽರುವಕ್ಷಂ ಲಸತ್ಪದಪಂಕಾರರಮಾವಿಳಾಸವಿಳಸಲ್ಲಕ್ಷಂ ಸ್ವದೋರ್ಧ್ವಂಧವನ್ಯದವೀರಾರಿಶಿಠ್ಯಪ್ರಕಂದುಕಹಕಿಕ್ರೀಡೋ-  
 ದ್ಭವಂಧಂ ನಿಜಾಭ್ಯುದಯಂ ಸರ್ವ್ವಜನಾನುರಾಗದುದಯಂ ಶ್ರೀಸೀನಭೂಪಾಲನ || ಇಭವತಿಯಂತಿರೆ ದಕ್ಷಿಣಕುಭದೋ-  
 ದ್ಯತ್ಯರವಿಳಾಸಿಭಾಸುರಶೇಷಂ ಸುಭಟಮದಕರಟವಿಘನವಿಭವಂ ಜಾಮುಣ್ಣರಾಯನಿರೆ ನಿಜಗಭಿಯೊಳ್ || ಕುಭಮತಿ ಯೋಗಂ-

ಧರನ ವೊಲಭಯಪ್ರದನಯ್ಯನಾಚ್ಚ ತಸುಯಶೋವಿಭವಂ ನಿಜನಭೆಯೊಳರಲ್ಪಭುಮಂತೋತ್ಸಾಹಶಕ್ತಿಗುಣಸಂಪನ್ನಂ ||  
 ದುಷ್ಕೋಗ್ರವಿನಿಗ್ರಹದಿಂ ಶಿಷ್ಯಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳನದಿನಿಳಿಯನಾಳುತ್ತಂ<sup>18</sup> ಶಿಷ್ಯೇಷ್ವಪ್ರದನತ್ಯುತ್ಕೃಷ್ಟದೇ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯುತ್ತಮಿರೆ ಸೇನ-  
 ನೃಪಂ || ಶ್ರೀರಮಣೇರಭಾಸಿಬಳತ್ಯಾರಗಣಾಂಭೋಂಧಿಕೊಂಡನೂರೊಳ್ ನಿಧಿಗಂ ಭೂರಮಣೀಮಕುಟಾಳಂಕಾರದಿನೆಸೆದೊಪ್ಪಿ  
 ತೋರ್ಪು ಜಿನಮಂದಿರಮಂ || ಎನೆದಿರೆ ಮಾದಿಸಿ ವೃತ್ತಿಯನಸದಳಮಿನಲೊನೆದು ಬಿಡಿಸುತುಂ ನಿಧಿಗಂ  
 ಪೇಳಿಸಿದನದಂತೆಂದದೆ ನಿಜಲನದಾಳಿಕಾಯಾರ್ಯನೃಪೋದ್ಭವಪ್ರಕೃಮಮಂ || ಶ್ರೀಲೀಲೋಭನಯಾಚ್ಚ ನಿರ್ಮೃಳದಯಾದೇಹಂ  
 ಗುಣೋನ್ಮುಲಿ ಕಾಮಾಲಾಕುನ್ದಳಭಾಸಿ ಭಾಸುರತಶ್ರೀಜೈನಧರ್ಮೋದ್ಭವಂ ಶ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯೋದರವತ್ತೀಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿ ವಿಳಸತನ್ವ್ಯದ್ವಾ-  
 ದನಾವಾಂಕಿತಂ ಮೂಲೋರಕಕ್ಕೆ<sup>23</sup> ನಿರಂತರಂ ನೊಗಯಿಕುಂ ಶ್ರೀಮೂಲನಂಘಾನ್ವಯಂ || ಜಿನಸಮಯಮೆಂಬ  
 ಸರಸಿಜವನದೊಳಗಲದೊರ್ಪಿ<sup>24</sup> ತೋರ್ಪು<sup>25</sup> ಹೇಮಾಯುಜದಂತನುಪಮಮಿನಿ ಕರಮೆಸೆವುದವನಿಯೊಳ್ ಸದ್ಗುಣಗಣಂ  
 ಬಳತ್ಯಾರಗಣಂ || ವಾರಿಧಿವೇಷ್ಟಿತಾಖಿಳಧರಾತಳಶೋಭಿತಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿತದ್ವೃಳತ್ಯಾರಗಣಾಯುಜಾಕರವನಾಂತರದಲ್ಲಿ ಮರಾಳಲಿಲೆಯಂ  
 ಚಾರುಚರಿತ್ರವಾಗ್ಗದ<sup>26</sup> ಜಿನೇಶಮುನೀಶ್ವರರುದ್ವೃಪಾವಹವ್ಯಾರಮದೇಭಕುಂಭವಿಲಿಲೋತ್ಕಟಶೂರರನೇಕಕೊಪ್ಪಿದರ್ || ಉದಯಗಿ-  
 ರಿಂದ್ರದೊಳನೆವತ್ಯುದಿತೋದಯವಾಗಿ ಬೇಳವ ತೆಹದಂತುದಿಲಿಸಿದಂ ಕುವಳಯಕಭ್ಯುದಯಕರಂ ತದ್ಗಣಾದ್ರಿ-  
 ಯೊಳ್ಳಣಚಂದ್ರಂ || ಪಕ್ಕೋಪವಾಸಿ ದೇವನಘಕ್ಕೆ ಯತನ್ಮುನಿಪದಾಜ್ಞಮಧುಕರಶೀಳಂ<sup>29</sup> ರಕ್ತಿ<sup>30</sup> ತಗುಣಗಣನಿಳಯಮುಮು-  
 ಕ್ಷಜನಾನಂದಿಯಪ್ಪ ನಯನಂದಿಬುಧಂ || ಆ ನಯನಂದಿಯ ಶಿಷ್ಯಂ<sup>31</sup> ನಾನಾವಿದ್ಯಾವಿಳಾನನೂಜ್ಞತತೇಜಂ  
 ಶ್ರೀನಾರೀನಾಥನವೊಲ್ ಭೂನುತನಾ ಶ್ರೀಧರಾರ್ಯಯತಿಪತಿಶಿಳಕಂ || ತನ್ಮುನಿಪದಾಜ್ಞಮಧುಕರಸುನ್ಯದಮಿಥ್ಯಾಕಥಾವಿಮುಢನಂ  
 ಮುನಿಪಂ ಸನ್ಮಾರ್ಗ ಚಂದ್ರಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿ<sup>32</sup> ವಿಷ್ಣುಗ್ಗದ ಚಂದ್ರನನ್ನೆ ಕುವಳಯತೂಜ್ಯಂ || ಅತಿಚತುರಕವಿ-

ಚಕೋರಪ್ರಶತಿ ದರಸ್ಯೇರನಯನವಿಾಂಬದವರು ದಂ(ಗಂ)ಬಿಶಕಣ್ಣ<sup>33</sup> ಚಂಚುಪ್ಪಟದಿಂ ಶ್ರುತಿಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಮುನೀಂದ್ರಚಂದ್ರವಾಕ್ಚಂದ್ರಿ-  
 ಕೆಯ || ಶ್ರೀಧರದೇವಂ ಸುಯಶಃಶ್ರೀಧರನಧಿಗತಸಮಸ್ತಜಿನವತಿತತ್ತ್ವ(ತ್ವೈ)ಶ್ರೀಧರನಿಸಿದಂ ಸದ್ವ್ಯಾಕಶ್ರೀಧರನಾ ಚಂದ್ರಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿ-  
 ದೇವನ ತನಯಂ || ಆ ಮುನಿಮುಖ್ಯನ ಶಿಷ್ಯಂ ಶ್ರೀಮಚ್ಚಾರಿತ್ರಚಕ್ರಿ ಸುಜನವಿಳಾಸಂ ಭೂಮಿಪತಿರಿಂಟತಾ-  
 ದಿಶಕೋಮಳನಖರಶ್ಯ<sup>36</sup> ನೇಮಿಚಂದ್ರಮುನೀಂದ್ರಂ || ಶ್ರೀಧರನಜದ ಸಿರಿಯಂ ಸಾಧಿಪನೇಋಂತಿಕೆಸನ ಮಧುಪನ  
 ಶಿಷನಂ ಶ್ರೀಧರವದಸರಸಿಜದೊಳ್ ಸಾರವ ವೋಲೆಸದು ವಾಸುಳುಜ್ಯಂ ಘೋರಂ || ಶ್ರೈವಿದ್ಯಾಸ್ತದವಾಸುಳುಜ್ಯ-  
 ಮುನಿಪಂ ಸ್ಯಾದ್ವಾದವಿದ್ಯಾವಚಃಪ್ರವೀಣ್ಯಪ್ರವಿಭಾಸಿ ನೋತನುಡಿಯಲ್ಪವ್ಯಾಳಗಾಯುಧ್ಧವಂ ನೋವಾಯ್ತು ಪ್ರತಿವಾದಿಗಳ್ಳಿ  
<sup>39</sup> ಪಿರಿದುಂ ಭ್ರಾಂತಾಯ್ತು ಮಿಥ್ಯಾಮದೋದ್ಗ್ರೀವಗ್ಗನ್ತು ನಿಜೈಕವಾಕ್ಯದಿನನೇಕಾನ್ತತ್ವಮಂ ತೋಷಿದಂ ||  
<sup>40</sup> ಶ್ರೀವಾಣೀನ[ದನಾಂ]ಬುಜಾತರಸಮಂ ತನ್ನಕ್ಕಿಳಿಂ ಪೀರುತುಂ ಲಾವಣ್ಯಾಂಗತಪಃಪ್ರಕೃದ್ಧವಧುವಂ ವ್ಯಾಲಿಂಗನಂಗೆ-  
<sup>41</sup> ಯ್ಯುತುಂ ಜೀವಾನಂದದಯಾವಧೂವದನಮಂ ಕೂರ್ತೃರ್ತ್ತಿಯಿಂ ನೋಡುತುಂ ಶ್ರೈವಿದ್ಯಾಸ್ತದವಾಸುಳುಜ್ಯಮುನಿಪಂ  
<sup>42</sup> ತಾನಿಪ್ಪನೀ ಧಾತ್ರಿಯೊಳ್ || ಬೃಂಹಿತಪರಮತಮದಕರಿಸಿಂಹಂ ಶ್ರೈವಿದ್ಯವಾಸುಳುಜ್ಯನುಜನುದ್ವಾಂಹಸ್ಸಂಹರನೆ[ಸಿದಂ]  
 ಸಂಹೃತಕಾಮಂ ಯಶಸ್ವಿ ಮಲಯಾಳುಧಂ || ಅತಿಚತುರಕವಿಕದಂಬಕನುತಪದ್ವಪ್ರಭಮುನೀಶರಾದ್ಧಾಂತೇ[ಕಂ ಶ್ರು]-  
 ತಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಪ್ರಿಯನಿಸಿದಂ ಯತಿವತ್ಶ್ರೈವಿದ್ಯವಾಸುಳುಜ್ಯತನೂಜಂ || ಶ್ರೀರಮಣೇಭಾಸಿಬುಳತ್ಕಾರಗ[ಣಾಂಭೋಜಮ]ಛುಪರಿಂತಿಕೆ  
 ಸತತಂ ಚಾರುತರಂ ಹಿಳ್ಳೆಯರವತಾರಂ ತದ್ಗುಣಸರೋಜಗುಣಾದ ವೋಲೆಸಿಗುಂ || [ತತ್ತ್ವ]ಲ[ರಾಜಾನ್ವಯ]ದೊಳ್  
 ಸತ್ಯವಿರಾಜಪ್ರಿಯಾವಳೋಕನಲೀಲೋದ್ಯುತನಕಾಂಬುಜದನ್ತೈ ಬೃಹತ್ಕಿರಣಂ ನೋರಿಗಾಂಕವಿಭು ಧರೇಸಿದಂ ||  
 ತತ್ತ್ವತರಮಳನಕಳಜ[ನೋ]ತ್ಯವಕರರು(ರ್ಪು)ಲೆನಚನರಚನಾಳಾವರ್ಗ್ನಾತ್ಯಯ್ಯಪ್ರಭುಸುಭಟಮರುತ್ಸುತರಾ ಬಲ್ಲಕಲ್ಲಗಾಮುಣ್ಣುಬುಧರ್ ||



ಶ್ರೀವಧುಗೆ ಭವತಿಯಂತಾ ಭೂವಿದಿತಮಿನಲ್ಯೆ ಮಾ \* ನಕಾಂಗಿಯನನ್ತಾ(ನ್ತ)ಶ್ರೀವಿಭುಕಲಿದೇವಂ ಐಲದೇವಾನುಜನೇಂಬ ಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿ-  
 ಗಾಸ್ತದನಾದಂ || ಅಳಕುಳಕುಂತಳ ಕುವಳಯದಳಲೋಚನೇ ಚಕ್ರವಾಕಕುಚಿ ಕನಕಲತೋಜ್ವ(ಜ್ವ)ಳಮಧೈ ಕನಕಿ  
 ಗಾಮಣ್ಣಲಸತ್ತಪ್ಪಭುಮನೋಜಸತಿ ರತಿಯನ್ನಳ್ || ವರಚೂತದ್ರುಮವೇವನೋಜ್ವ(ಜ್ವ)ಳಲತಾಪ್ಪವಾಂ(ಪ್ಪಾಂ)†)ಕುರೋತ್ಪತ್ತಿ-  
 ಯನ್ನಿರೆ ತದ್ವಂಪತಿಗಳ್ಳ ಪುಟ್ಟಿದನುರುಶ್ರೀಜೈನಧರ್ಮಾರ್ತವಂ ವರಭವ್ಯಾಳಮನೋನುರಾಗವಿಳಸದ್ವ್ಯಾಶೀರ್ವಚೋವಿಸ್ತರಂ  
 ಪರಮಾನಂದಯಶೋಧಿಕಂ ನಿಧಿಯಮಂ ಸತ್ಪಾತ್ರದಾನೋದ್ಯಮಂ || ಶ್ರೀಧರದೇವವದಾಜ್ವಶ್ರೀಧರನಾದೋಜ್ವನಿಂ ಹೃದಜ್ವ-  
 ದೋಳೀತಂ ಶ್ರೀಧರನಾದಂ ನಿಧಿಗಂ ಸಾಧಿತಗುರುಚರಣನಪ್ಪವಂ ಪದೆಯುದುದೇಂ || ತಪ್ಪತ್ರರ್ ||  
 ಶ್ರೀರಮಣೀಕನತ್ಯನಕಕುಣ್ಣಿಳರಾವನಿತಾವಿಳಾಸನ್ನೀರಕಟಾಕ್ಷವೀಕ್ಷಣವರಪ್ಪುರಮೋತ್ತಮರುದ್ಧುಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಗಲ್ ಶ್ರೀರಮವಾಗುಳೂಜ್ಯಮುನಿ-  
 ಪಾದಪಯೋರುಹಭೃಂಗರೋಪ್ಪು ವಚ್ಚಾರುಗಚ್ಚಾಡ್ಯ(ಚ್ಯ)ರಾಗಿ ಕಲಿದೇವಲಸದ್ಭಲದೇವರಿರ್ವರಂ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮಚ್ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ-  
 ವಿಕ್ರಮಕಾಲದ ೧೨ನೆಯ ಪ್ರಭವನಂವತ್ಸರದ ಪೂರ್ವಕೃಷ್ಣ ಚತುರ್ದಶೀವತ್ಸರಾದುತ್ಪರಾಯಣಸಂಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯಂದು ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಯ-  
 ಹಾಪ್ರಭುನಿಧಿಯಮಗಾಮಣ್ಣಂ ತನ್ನ ಮಾನ್ಯದೊಳಗೆ ಹೊಲದೊಳ್ ಸರ್ವಬಾಧಾಪರಿಹಾರವಾಗಿ ಕೂಂಡಿಯ  
 ಕೋಲಲಿರ್ಮೃತ್ಪ್ರಕೈರ್ಯುಮಂ ಪನ್ನೆರಡು ಮನೆಯುಮನೊಂದು ಗಾಣಮುನೊಂದು ತೊಂಟಮುಮಂ ತಳವೃತ್ತಿಯಾಗಿ  
 ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟನಾ ದೇವನಂ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಯಹಾಪ್ರಧಾ‡ .....ಣಃ § .....ಸೋೞಂ ತಜ್ಜಿನಾಲಯವಂದನಾರ್ಥಂ

\* There are traces of two letters, apparently ನಿ and ತು, after ಮಾ and before ನಕಾಂಗಿ &c.; they seem to have been written by mistake for ನಕಾಂ of the text and then erased.

† ಪ್ರಪ್ಪ is an established Tadbhava corruption of ಪ್ರಪ್ಪ, but it cannot be used correctly in the middle of a pure Sanskrit compound.

‡ Three or four letters effaced here.

§ Four or five letters effaced here.

ಬಂದು ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಣ್ಣಿ ಲೀಪ್ಪರಂ ಕನ್ನನ್ವ[ಪಂ ದೇವರಂಗಭೋಗರಂಗಭೋಗ]ಕ್ಕಂ ಖಂಡಸ್ಪುಟಪೀಠೋತ್ಸಾಹರಕ್ಕಂ  
ತನ್ನ ಸೀನಟದೊಳಗಣ ತ\* ..... † ..... ವಣನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿ ಶ್ರೀಧರಪಂಡಿತದೇವರ  
ಶ್ರೀಪಾದಪ್ರಕ್ಷಾ[ಲನಂ ಮಾಡಿ]† ..... † ..... ಪಾಳಸುತ್ತಂ ತತ್ಯಾಳ[ದ]‡ ಛನೆಯ  
ಪ್ಪನಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಪಾದಪುಕ(ಕ್ಲ)ತ್ರಯೋ[ದಶೀ] § ..... || ..... ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ವಿಕ್ರಮಪತ್ನಿಯ  
ಪ್ರಿಯಾತ್ಮಜ(ಜಂ) ಜಯ[ ಕಣ್ಣಂ ] ¶ ..... † ..... ಖನದಿಯ ಭೋಗಕ್ಕಂ  
ರಿ[ಷಿಜನಾ]ಹಾರ[ ಕೃಂ ]†† ..... ಧೀಗೋಷಿ ..... ಕಿನ್ ..... ಕರಂಜಗೋಹೂರದ  
|| ..... ಯನಾಮೃತ್ ..... ಗದ್ಯಾನ್ ..... †† ..... [ಶ್ರೀ]ಮದ್ವಾಸುಪಾಜ್ಯ[ಮುನಿ]ದೇವರ  
ಪಾ[ದಪ್ರಕ್ಷಾ]ಲನ[ಮ(ಮಂ) ಮಾ[ದಿ] †† ..... ಕಿನ್ ..... ಧರ್ಮರಕ್ಷಣಪ(ಫ)ಲಂ [ಸಂಗಾಪ್ರ]ಯಾಗಾ-  
ಕು[ ರುಕ್ಮೀತ್ರ ] |||| ..... ††† ..... ವಾನ್ತಮಹಾ(?)ರ(?)ರಿತ್ತ ಫಲಂಗಳಂ ಪಡ(ದ)ಸುಮ ||]

\* Nine or ten letters effaced. † In each case, six or seven letters effaced.

‡ This letter is omitted altogether in the original. § Eight or nine letters effaced. || Six or seven letters effaced.

¶ Ten or eleven letters effaced. \*\* Seven or eight letters effaced. †† Eight or nine letters effaced.

‡‡ Three or four letters effaced. §§ Seven or eight letters effaced. ||| Two or three letters effaced.

¶¶ Five or six letters effaced. \*\*\* Two or three letters effaced. ††† Six or seven letters effaced.

‡‡‡ Two or three letters effaced. §§§ Seven or eight letters effaced.

|||| Eleven or twelve letters effaced. ¶¶¶ One or two letters effaced.

ತದ್ಧರ್ಮಃ \* .....<sup>70</sup>ತತ್ಪೀಠಂ(?)ಫಲ(?)ತಕಂ || ಶ್ರೀಮೂಲಸಂಘದುಗ್ಧಾಫೋ-  
 ಗಣೋಜನಿ † .....<sup>71</sup>ಋಷದಿಯು ಸ್ತಂಭಸ್ಥಾಪನೆಯಂದು ನಿಧಿಯಮಗಾಮಣ್ಣಂ ಸರ್ವಬಾಧಾ-  
 ಪರಿಹಾರವಾಗಿ ಕೊ[ಟ್ಟು] ‡ .....<sup>72</sup>ಕೆಯ್ಯ ಮನೆ ೧ ಕೂಂದಿಯು ಕೊಲ್ಲ ಕಮ್ಮಂ ೧೫೦ [||]

\* Fifteen or sixteen letters effaced.

‡ Six or seven letters effaced.

+ Two or three letters effaced.

§ Seven or eight letters effaced.

No. VIII.<sup>1</sup>

May victory attend the command of the lord of the three worlds, &c. ! The beloved woman Śrī, having seen the curls upon her forehead above her eyes (reflected) in the (mirror-like) nails of the feet of Jina (when she bowed her head at his feet in worshipping him), said to herself in her astonishment “ How is it that the bees themselves (my curls) have brought hither the lotuses (my eyes)? ” ; may that same Jina confer long life and riches upon Nidhiga the king, the chief of the lords of the earth, who is desirous of emancipation !

Hail ! The asylum of the three worlds, the favourite of the lovely woman the broad earth, the owner of the brilliant banner of the Boar, the lauded supreme king of kings, he whose fame is extensive, he who is most excellent in having the marks of a supreme lord, he who is venerable, he whose feet which are like lotuses are placed on those who carry their heads high in enmity, he whose glory is great, he who is the lion of the Châlukyas,—such was Tribhuvanamalla, the glory of the Satyâśrayakula, a very Yudhisṭhira<sup>2</sup> in truth, skilled in many sciences, resplendent with infinite lustre as being a very sun in valour.<sup>3</sup> While his auspicious reign was current, ever increasing (so as to endure) as long as the king of mountains<sup>4</sup> and the moon and sun might last,—his beloved son, the destroyer of his foes, was Jayakarna.<sup>5</sup> And while the brilliant and charming servant of king Jayakarna, Châmaṇḍa, the commander of the forces, who was decorated with good qualities, whose beauty was adorned with the eyes of the lovely woman Śrī, who was the favourite of the lovely woman Great Fame,

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<sup>1</sup> This inscription is from a stone tablet belonging to a Jain temple at Konûr, in the Gôkâk Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District. The emblems at the top of the stone are ;—in the centre, a seated Jain figure with a *Yaksha* and *Yakshi* above it ; to the right of it, a cow and calf and a crooked knife, and above them the moon ; to the left, the sun.

<sup>2</sup> The eldest of the Pâṇḍava princes, celebrated for his truth and justice.

<sup>3</sup> This is a play on the meaning of his name ‘ Vikramâditya.’

<sup>4</sup> Himâlaya.

<sup>5</sup> Sir W. Elliot mentions only one son of Vikramâditya-Tribhuvanamalla, viz. Sômaśvaradêva III. ; but it should be remarked that he failed to ascertain the name of the successor and alleged son of Sômaśvaradêva III. ; his title only, Jagadêkamalla, is given. The authority on which Sômaśvaradêva III. is said to have been succeeded by his two sons successively is not given in the paper on Hindu Inscriptions, and it may be that his immediate successor was Jayakarna, his younger brother and not his eldest son.

the staff of whose arm was the lovely woman Victory, who was a very mace (in dealing death) in war, was continuing with justice in the government of the land of Kûṇḍi :—

Hail ! The Maṇḍalêśvara king Sêna, possessed of a multitude of spotless virtues, abounded with the great good fortune of the five great praiseworthy and resplendent *Śābdas* that he had attained. The mouth of the king Śrî-Sêna was the seat of the lovely woman Pure Speech, his broad chest bore the pleasing marks of the embraces of the lovely woman Brilliant and Good Ornaments, his arm was an excellent staff for the game of striking the pith-balls that were the heads of his proud and brave enemies, his prosperity was the cause of happiness to all mankind.

While king Châmaṇḍa, bearing, like a lordly elephant, the delightful and brilliant lustre of his auspicious and strong right hand<sup>6</sup>, taming with his prowess the infuriated female elephants that were the (hostile) warriors, was abiding in his assembly ; and while king Sêna, of clear intellect, giving freedom from fear like one who practises religious meditation, the best of good men<sup>7</sup>, possessed of great glory, endowed with the qualities of the regal attributes of power, wisdom, and perseverance, the granter of boons to good people, governing the earth with awards of severe punishment to the wicked and protection to the good, was ruling most excellently :—

Nidhiga, having had built in Koṇḍanûru, which was the ocean of the Baḷatkâragana<sup>8</sup> resplendent with the lovely woman Śrî, a shrine of Jina beautiful as being the crest-jewel of the lovely woman the Earth, joyfully set apart for it a portion never to be interfered with and caused to be declared as follows the order of the succession of those born in the race of his own glorious priests :—

The lineage of the original sect, born in the glorious Jaina religion, famous throughout the universe, and marked with the pleasing name of '*Syâdvâda*,' is ever charming in the three worlds,—having for its eyes the sportive glances of Śrî, and for its body Pure Love, and being resplendent as to the curls upon its forehead with a wreath of jasmine-

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<sup>6</sup> In the word '*dakshina*' there is also an allusion to the belief that the elephants of the south are much superior to those of the north.

<sup>7</sup> '*Ayyanayyam* ;' but the meaning is not certain.

<sup>8</sup> A certain sect.

flowers which are its virtuous qualities. The Baḷatkâragana, abounding in good qualities, is exceedingly lustrous in the earth, being without an equal and resembling a golden lotus blooming and manifesting itself in its beauty in the lotus-pool which is the religion of Jina. In the lotus-pool of the Baḷatkâragana, the fame of which is resplendent throughout the whole earth encircled by the ocean, many devout Jinêśas<sup>9</sup> were charming in the guise of swans, following the path of pleasing deeds, excellent destroyers of sin, very brave in striking the forehead of the infuriated elephant that was Lust. As the refulgent moon rises most gloriously and shines on the mountain of the east, so on the mountain which was that sect arose Gaṇachandra<sup>10</sup> causing happiness to the terrestrial globe<sup>11</sup>. He who resembled a bee at the lotuses which were the feet of (i.e. he who was the disciple of) that saint who was the destroyer of sin was the learned Nayanandi who fasted for a fortnight at a time, who was really divine, and who became the giver of joy to people who, being the abode of a number of good qualities cherished by him, were desirous of emancipation. The disciple of that same Nayanandi was Śrīdharârya, the best of ascetics, delighting in many sciences, of great glory, praised in the earth like the Lord of the lovely woman Śrī. A bee at the lotuses which were the feet of that sage, the refuter of proud and empty talk,—such was the sage Chandrakîrtti of the good path, worthy to be worshipped in the terrestrial globe<sup>12</sup> like the moon of the path of the sky. The crowds of Chakôra birds that are poets of great skill with softly smiling eyes drink in with their beaks that are their imitative ears the moonlight of the speech of that moon of a saint<sup>13</sup> whose radiance is holy writ. The son of that same Chandrakîrttidêva was Śrīdharadêva who was resplendent, possessing the goddess Good Fame, bearing the lustre of the real nature of all Jinapatis<sup>9</sup> which he had attained, sustaining the glory of good speech. The disciple of that chief of sages was Nêmi-chandra best of saints, a very universal emperor in excellent deeds, the delight of good people, having the lustre of his soft nails struck by the diadems of kings (when they bowed themselves at his feet).

<sup>9</sup> Saints of the Jain religion.

<sup>10</sup> i.e. 'the moon of the sect.'

<sup>11</sup> Or, in the second meaning of this verse, "to the lotuses."

<sup>12</sup> Or, "by the lotuses," in the second meaning of this verse.

<sup>13</sup> i.e. 'that most excellent saint.'

Like a bee that determines to acquire for itself the lustre of the lotuses of Śrīdhara <sup>14</sup>,—such was Vâsupûjya, shining like a bee on the lotuses which were the feet of Śrīdhara. The sage Vâsupûjya, the abiding-place of the three Vêdas, shining excessively through his acquaintance with the tenets of the science of *Syâdrâda*, became both in sight and in speech the life of worthy people, but a pain to those who opposed themselves to him in argument and a great cause of confusion to those who were stiff-necked through vain pride ; and thus through his unanimous accord he manifested a diversity of results. Drinking in with his writings the juice of the lotus of the mouth of Śrī-Vânî <sup>15</sup>, enjoying the embraces of a most excellent and lovely wife namely his penance, beholding with pleasure and affection the countenance of his wife who was his love that was (manifested in) pleasure in (sparing and preserving) life,—such indeed in this world was the sage Vâsupûjya, the abiding-place of the three Vêdas. The famous and learned Malayâla, the younger brother of Vâsupûjya who was acquainted with the three Vêdas, was resplendent,—a very lion towards the infuriated elephants that were those who cherished opinions opposed to his, the pleasing destroyer of sin, the restrainer of his passions. The son of the ascetic Vâsupûjya who was acquainted with the three Vêdas, Padmaprabha, best of sages, praised by a multitude of most skilful poets, was resplendent, being the master of demonstrated truths and dear to those whose glory is holy writ.

There being thus many bees on the lotus which was the Balatkâragana which was resplendent with the lovely woman Śrī, the race of the Ilileyaru, ever more and more charming, shone as if it were the filament of the lotus of that sect. In the royal lineage of that family the lord Sôrigânka, whose rays were very brilliant, like the golden lotus of the sportive dalliance of the glances of her <sup>16</sup> who is the beloved one of good poets and kings, was resplendent in the world. His sons were the learned Balla and Kalla and Gâmaṇḍa, the causers of joy to all pure people, who conversed in elegant diction, and who were like the son of the Wind towards the (hostile) warriors that were lords full of malice. In such a manner that it became well known in the earth, Mânakâṅgi took as it were the place of the woman Śrī, and so that same lord Kalidêva, who was possessed of endless good fortune,

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<sup>14</sup> Vishṇu.

<sup>15</sup> Sarasvatî.

<sup>16</sup> The goddess Lakshmi.

acquired the fame of being the younger brother of Baladêva<sup>17</sup>. The curls on her forehead resembled a number of black bees, her eyes were like the leaves of a lotus, her breasts were like two Chakravâka birds, her lovely waist was like a golden creeper,—such was Kanaki, whom you might compare with Rati, the captivating wife of that same charming lord Gâmaṇḍa. To that pair, who resembled (the husband) a lovely mango-tree and (the wife) the bursting forth of the flowers of the beautiful creeper that clings to it, was born Nidhiyama, the great joy of the Jaina religion, who abounded in the utterance of blessings which were resplendent with the mental joy of good and worthy people, who exceeded in glory the supremest bliss, and who was ever liberal towards worthy objects. From his goodness which was that he was the sustainer of the lustre of the lotuses which were the feet of Srîdharadêva, this Nidhiga, who brought to perfection the race of spiritual preceptors, became a very supporter of Śrî in the lotus which was his heart; what (more remained for him) to acquire? His sons:—Kalidêva and the charming Baladêva,—these two were pleasing, being the bright golden earrings of the lovely woman Śrî, intent upon regarding the sportive and laughing glances of that same lovely woman, the best of men, of pleasing fame, bees at the lotuses which were the feet of the sage Vâsupûjya the lover of Śrî, abounding in good qualities.

Hail! In the 12th year of the era of the prosperous Châlukya Vikrama<sup>18</sup>, being the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, at the moment of the sun's commencement of his progress to the north on Vaddavâra<sup>19</sup> the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of Pausha, the fortunate great lord Nidhiyamagâmaṇḍa formed into a portion and gave, free from all opposing claims, in the circle of Kûṇḍi and in the field of Hiṇḍâdhi which was included in his own *mânya* lands, two *mattars* of cultivated land, twelve houses, one oil-mill, and one garden. On the same day (at the

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<sup>17</sup> Baladêva is also another name of Balabhadra or Balarâma, the elder brother of Vishṇu incarnate as Kṛishṇa, and, as Kṛishṇa was an incarnation of Vishṇu, he is to be considered the husband of Śrî or Lakshmi the wife of Vishṇu. The meaning, therefore, is that, as Mânakânḍi the wife of Kalidêva resembled Śrî in all her qualities, she stood in the place of that goddess, and Kalidêva's elder brother was Baladêva, and accordingly Kalidêva was in both respects to be compared with Kṛishṇa.

<sup>18</sup> i.e. in the Śaka year 1009. According to the calculation of the preceding inscriptions, Śaka 1009 should be the Kshaya *saṁvatsara* and Śaka 1043 in line 63 below should be the Śârvarî *saṁvatsara*.

<sup>19</sup> It is not clear what day of the week is meant by Vaddavâra.



direction of) the fortunate prime minister . . . . the fortunate Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara king Kanna, having come to do worship at that temple of Jina, having made . . . . within his own *sīvaṭa* and having laved the feet of Śrīdharadêva, (gave) . . . for the *aṅgabhōga* and *raṅgabhōga* of the god and for repairing whatever might become broken or torn or worn-out through age.

While . . . . . was governing, in the 46th year of the same era<sup>20</sup>, in the Plava *samvatsara*, at the moment of . . . . . on . . . . . the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of Pausa, Jayakarna the beloved son of the fortunate emperor Vikrama, . . . . . (The next five lines are too much effaced to be capable of translation.)

Nidhiyamagâmaṇḍa, having established the Jain temple (of the priests of) the Balatkâragana (which was a division of) the original sect, gave, free from all opposing claims, . . . . . cultivated land, one house, and 150 *kammas* (of land) of the circle of Kûṇḍi.

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<sup>20</sup> i. e., in the Śaka year 1043.

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ART. XVII.—*The Evil Eye, Amulets, Recipes, Exorcisation, &c.*  
By E. REHATSEK, M.C.E., Hon. Mem. Bomb. Br. R. As.  
Soc.

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Read 8th August 1874.

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Superstitious persons often resort to means believed by them to be supernatural in order to ascertain future events, to ward off calamities, or to heal diseases. Some of these practices are of a semi-religious character, inasmuch as the formulas are either quotations from the Korán itself, or addresses to the Deity and to certain angels, all to be recited in Arabic. In Bombay many persons make a living by either privately or publicly offering their services to the people, and there are certain stations where men dressed in a religious garb sit with a book called a *Fúlnámah*, and are ready to tell the fortune of any person for a few coppers. I shall now, after a few general remarks, take up briefly the following subjects:—The evil eye, amulets, recipes consisting of invocations, exorcisation, the medical efficacy of various Surahs of the Korán, of the Tehlyl, talismans, and geomancy or vaticination. It is well known that disbelievers in the effects of mesmerism and electro-biology can never be operated upon successfully, and that, on the other hand, when a subject possesses faith, the most astonishing results are produced. This is so much the case that lately an operator, wishing to test

the power of faith, substituted for the electric metallic rings required, wooden ones painted like the real ones, and obtained the same favourable results. If the operator calls in religious faith to strengthen the natural belief of a person, success will be more certain, and what little experience I possess confirms this view. Hence it is no wonder that, in the practices now to be described, the religious element, consisting of prayers and verses from the Korán, plays the most conspicuous part.

The sun, the moon, and the planets, seven in all, presiding over the days of the week and the hours of the day, are endued with good and bad qualities, which influence not merely all the colours, precious stones, complexions, &c., but govern the whole course of nature, so that all events can be ascertained by a knowledge of astrology. In protecting man from evil influences, healing diseases, &c., amulets and incantations are playing a conspicuous part; there are amulets good for every distemper, whilst others apply to special complaints only. In astrological works each planet is treated separately, with all its influences, good or bad, so that people may know what to do or to omit when they are governing; and the first planet is always the sun, *e.g.* :— He is the sovereign of the stars; among the spheres the fourth is his, and among the days of the week the first, among the signs of the zodiac Leo, among the minerals gold, among clothes yellow silk, among the angels Rukýáyl [probably corrupted from Raphael], and among the beautiful names [of God] O ever-living! O self-subsisting!

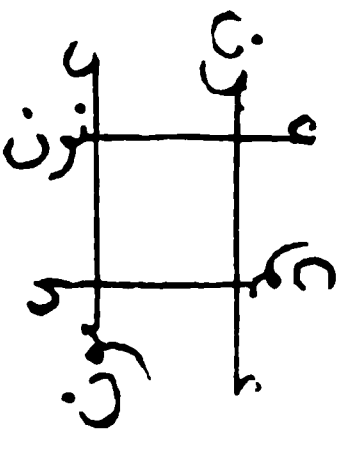
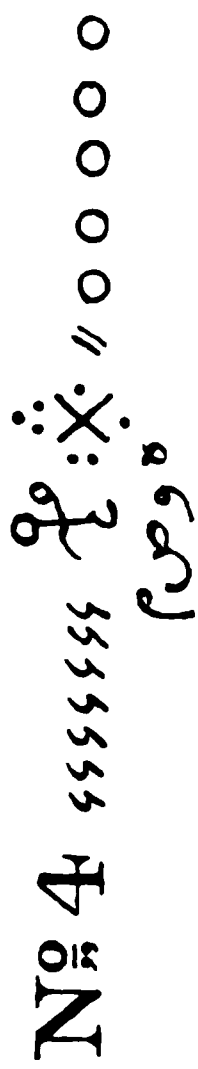
If you intend to do anything, ask for the aid of God through the aforementioned angel, and through His praise. Write your prayer down with your intention, because it will prosper only on this condition. The prayer is as follows:—“ O God! I ask Thee by Thy great and dear name which Thou hast exalted above all Thy other names, be they high or low, glorious or noble, small or large! I adjure thee, O Rukýáyl, by the God of glory and power, by the eternal God who dies not, and by the light which cannot be extinguished, by the throne which perishes not, and by the seat which moves not. I adjure thee, O Rukýáyl, by the merit of God who existed when the dark night was not, by the merit of God who existed when the illuminated night was not, by the merit of God who existed when rivers flowed not, by the merit of God who displays his omnipotence in the heavens, to aid me in this affair.” After that you may ask for success or anything else, and you will be directed if it pleaseth God the most High. If you recite the Surah “ The sun ” (XCI.) and “ The brightness ” (XCIII.) over a heap


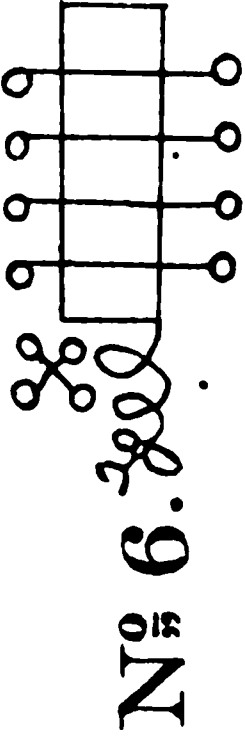



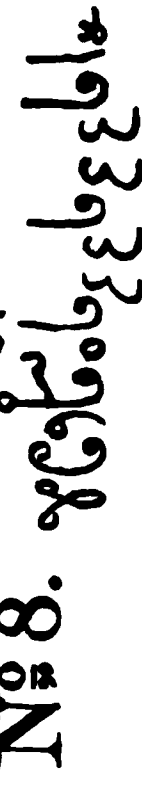
THE EVIL EYE, AMULETS, RECIPES, EXORCISMS, &CA.

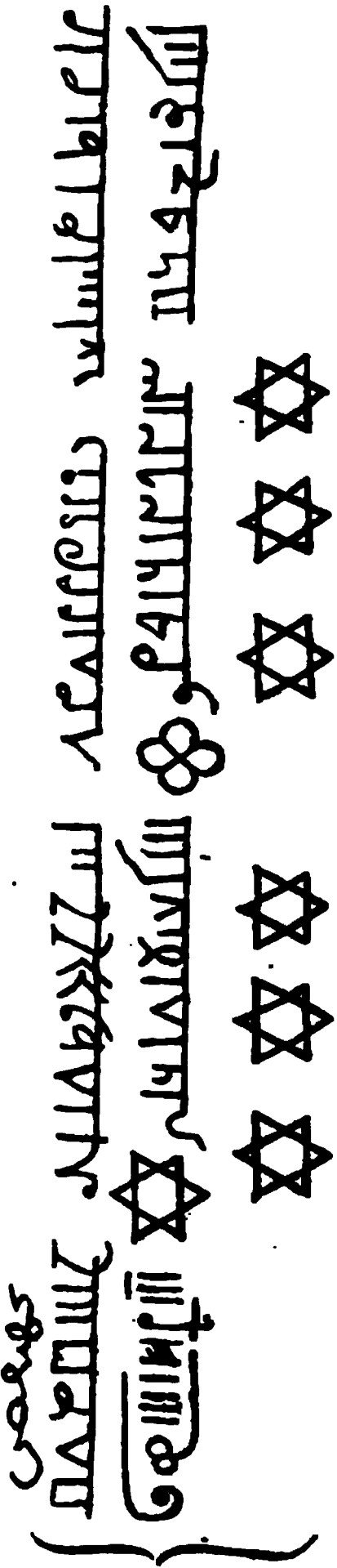
By E. Rehatsek.

N<sup>o</sup> 1.  N<sup>o</sup> 2. 

N<sup>o</sup> 3.  N<sup>o</sup> 4. 

N<sup>o</sup> 5.  N<sup>o</sup> 6. 

N<sup>o</sup> 7.  N<sup>o</sup> 8. 

N<sup>o</sup> 9. 

of dust and throw it into the face of enemies, they will flee by the permission of God the Most High.

The mass of recipes of all kinds is so large that it becomes difficult to make a choice, but I here insert one which is apparently intended for any kind of complaint not specified by external symptoms:—If a patient asks you about his disease, you are to say that it arises from the evil eye, from genii and men, and that it causes dryness and heat in his body. If he asks you about the medicine, you are to state that saffron, rose-water, lemon-juice, and sesame-oil are required for anointing the whole body during three consecutive days. Moreover, the verse of the Throne (Surah II. 256) is to be written thrice with the letters ح م ل ع to be soaked in lemon-juice, and to be drunk three consecutive days. If he asks you about an amulet, you are to write the following:—

“ In the name of God the Merciful, the Clement ! O God, bless our Prince Muhammad, his family and companions ! Praise be to the Lord of both worlds. (Then come some magic characters, for which see Plate No. 1.) Is not He who has created the heavens and the earth able to create others like them ? Indeed he is the most wise creator ! Verily according to His command anything He orders to be will be. Praised be He in whose hands is the universal power, and to Him you will return ! O ye who have believed ; fear God as He ought to be feared, and do not die except as Musalmáns ! I resign myself to him who has created the heavens and the earth as an orthodox believer, and I am not an idolater ; and He will give me a sufficient reward. There is no refuge and no power except with God the Most High, the Great. I conclude in the name of God the healer, in the name of God the all-sufficient او جوف اجوف من جوف مسارج اصباوت ال شد اعلي عظام الامو نسيد ما نحن كلاً مثلك اركض برجلك for God is very relenting and merciful this is a cold lotion and potion. There is no refuge nor power except with God the Most High, the Great.” (Here follows the trilingual amulet with the seal of Solomon described by me in a former paper. This concludes the piece. See Plate No. 2.)

The properties peculiar to mineral, vegetable, and animal substances are treated of in a very curious manner. Thus, for instance, it is asserted that the *loadstone*, called *Hajr-ul-maghnatys*, if rubbed with garlick, loses its property of attracting iron, but if washed with vinegar it again recovers it ; if it be anointed with oil, it will recede from iron just as much as the iron is brought near to it. In Yemen there is a

mountain from which water flows, but when it reaches the earth it becomes solidified, and this is the Yemen alum. If alum be placed under the pillow of a man who gets frightened in his sleep, he will be delivered of his fear; the same will also be the case if a crystal be suspended over his head.

It is the peculiarity of a *diamond* to break stones and gems, but it is said that if it be placed in goats' blood it gets broken. Any one who wears a ring of *turquoise*-stone will not be approached by a serpent or scorpion; this is well tried; and he on whom this stone is suspended will meet only with good and honourable treatment from everybody. He who has with him a *ruby* will be respected by men, and all his affairs will be easily accomplished; the *hair-stone* attracts hair, it is the lightest of all stones, and if any spot of a man's body be rubbed with this stone, hair will never grow on it. The *nail-stone* has the peculiarity of drawing blood from the nails of a man if it is brought near to them, and even to cause them to fall off. The *dog-stone* is any kind of gravel which has been thrown at a dog; but if it be required to produce enmity between two persons it is to be thrown into water; after both have drunk from it they will become foes to each other.

If noxious herbs or trees, the growth of which is to be prevented, be hewn with an axe made of *brass* they will never grow, and if a person's ear be perforated with a brass needle it will always remain open, and will never be overgrown by flesh. The properties attributed to vegetable substances are as incredible as those just detailed; a few words are, however, to be said on the peculiarities of animals:—A *lion* will never attack a menstruating woman, although he may at the time be very hungry. If a *camel* happens to look at the Dog-star, it will immediately expire. The web of a *spider* is good for restoring to silver its lost brilliancy by rubbing it therewith. If silver be boiled in pomegranate-water it will acquire a very nice white hue. If a woman puts on a man's clothes and he wears them afterwards without washing them, the quartan ague will leave him if he be afflicted with it. If the tooth of a dead man be suspended from the neck of a man who complains of the toothache he will get well. If the dung of a hare be suspended from the neck of a woman, she will not become pregnant as long as she wears it; and if the heel of a hare be suspended from a man's neck neither the evil eye nor sorcery can hurt him, because genii flee from a hare. If a man afflicted with the piles sits on a lion's skin they will leave him. If a cup is made of wax, and water be taken in it from the sea, it will be sweet.

Ebn Al-juzy says that the prayers in which God is invoked to cure a disease are called *Rekú*, and Sheykh Ahmed relates that the prophet used the following prayer:—“*Azhab bás, rabb alinás, ashuf, ant ashsháfý, la shefú illa shefávuk; shefú lú yaghúderhu sekýmín:*” which is explained to mean:—“Remove the sickness, Lord, of men; heal, thou art the healer; there is no cure except thy cure; a cure which will not leave him sick.” It is also narrated by A’ayshah, the mother of the Faithful, that the prophet was in the habit of mixing a little dust with his own saliva to cure people therewith. One day O’smán Ebn Ab-Aa’áz complained about a pain he felt in his body to the prophet, and the latter said: “Place your hand on the ailing part of your body and say thrice ‘In the name of God’ and seven times ‘I fly for refuge to the Majesty of God Most High.’” O’smán states that he did so and was delivered from his complaint.

#### *On the Evil Eye.*

According to Abu Haryrah, one of the companions, the prophet fully believed in the effects of the evil eye, which is often an omen of something predestined to happen. The prophet said *Ala’yn tadakhkhul arrajul alkabr, valhaml alkidr*, “The evil eye causes a man to enter the grave, and a sheep the kettle.” He also said that he who kills the snakes which have two white streaks on their backs, and those of blue colour with short tails, does well, because they injure the sight, emit poison from their eyes into the air, which affects those who look at them, and that there exist also such men.

The author of the *Allakat* states that there was a man among the idolaters, named Sáyb, who was in the habit of remaining without food a whole day, and even two or three days. Then he used to return to his dwelling, being sure to meet with flocks; when he perceived one of them he was in the habit of saying “I have never seen finer camels or sheep than this day;” and a short while after this several of them were sure to die.—*Allaṣmáyi* states that he was acquainted with a man who had an evil eye and who said “When I behold anything that pleases me, I observe that some heat issues from my eyes.” It is well known that some persons are not hurt by the stings of scorpions. *Ebn Kotaibah* narrates that the Khalif Motawakkel had a negro who was in the habit of eating snakes and all sorts of reptiles, but who threw their heads away. There is no doubt that a kind of poison exists in the constitution of some men, which issues from their eyes when anything pleases them; and that there are subtle fluids of this



kind is abundantly proved by the effects which the mere approach of a menstruating woman produces on various substances ; thus, for instance, when she goes near sweet milk or wine they get spoiled, &c.

The words (Korán, LXVIII. 51) “ It wanteth little but that the unbelievers would strike thee down with their [malicious] looks, when they hear the admonition [of the Korán] ” are generally believed to refer to the evil eye. The tribe Beni Asad were in possession of the evil eye, and it is said that the just-quoted verse was revealed to shield the prophet from it, when a man who had this power had been requested by the unbelievers to exert it upon him. The Ulemmas teach that a man possessing the evil eye is to be avoided, and prohibited by the Emám from having intercourse with men, and that an allowance of food is to be assigned to him, in order to prevent the necessity of his looking for a livelihood and committing mischief. There are many Rakyahs, *i.e.* formulas against the evil eye, said to have been given to various persons by the prophet himself, but the following specimen, picked out among many, will be quite sufficient to show their general character :—

To destroy the effects of the evil eye, recite the *Fúteha* seven times, and the Throne-verse (II. 256) ; then say “ We have revealed it during the night of Power.” Say “ He is the only God ; ” and recite the “ I fly for refuge unto the Lord of men (CXIV).” Then say : O evil eye which is in so and so, the son of so and so, I adjure thee by the Majesty of God and what was written by Him through Muhammad the son of A’bdullah (on whom be the blessing of God, &c.), to depart from him. There is no refuge nor power except with God the most high, the great. God is a sufficient protection to you, He is all-hearing, all-wise. He created the heavens and the earth ; which is greater than the creation of man, but most men know it not. “ And it wanteth little but that the unbelievers would strike thee down with their eyes when they hear the recital [of the Korán] ; and they say he [Muhammad] is indeed a madman (LXVIII. 51).”

#### AMULETS.

Some persons asked (according to a tradition narrated in the *Durrat-ulmuntakhabat*) the prophet whether it is permitted to write a *Hirz*, *i.e.* amulet containing verses from the Korán, and to suspend the same from the necks of children, women, or cattle, which would very likely allow all sorts of impurities to come in contact with them. The

apostle of God replied, however, that this may be avoided by encasing the amulet in wax, or in a leather bag according to proper instructions ; he also said : “ If one of you has a good opinion about [the salutary effects of] a stone, God will cause it to become profitable to him.” The *A'zymah* or adjuration, containing verses from the *Korán*, may likewise be tied on to the bodies of children, women, and cattle. The *Ta'ryz*, which is of Persian origin and is derived from *Avikhten* “to suspend,” is nearly the same with the *Hirz*, and is also suspended from the necks of children and others ; it is of a religious character, and not seldom composed in poetry ; the word *Tamymah*, the plural of which is *Tamaym* and occurs in the following distich of Amr-ul-Kays, is a synonym of it :—

فَمَثَلُ حَبْلِي قَدْ طَرَقْتُ وَ مَرَضِعِ  
فَالْهَيْئَتِهَا عَنْ ذِي تَمَائِمَ مَحْوِلِ

This distich already the illustrious Sir W. Jones has during the past century translated in the seven suspended poems, where it occurs as follows :—“ Many a fair one like thee, though not like thee a virgin, have I visited by night ; and many a lovely mother have I diverted from the care of her yearling infant adorned with *amulets*.”

There is no harm in writing verses of the *Korán* on vessels and drinking out of them, nor in writing them on any substances, such as paper, wood, metal, &c., and selling them for money, but no one is to write *Tilsims*, i.e. Talismans, the meaning whereof he does not understand.

It may almost be said that there is a *Koránic* medical science, because certain verses are said to cure certain diseases, as will appear from the following prescriptions :—

#### *Recipe against fever.*

In the name of God the Merciful, the Clement ! “ O fire, be thou cold and a preservation unto Abraham ; and they sought to lay a plot against him ; but we caused them to be the sufferers (XXI. 69, 70). O God the Lord of Jabráyl, of Mykáyyl, and of Asráfýl ! Heal the possessor of this writing by Thy power and strength, glory and might ! Lord of the creation ! ”

*Ditto.*

The following verses are to be written in a vessel from which the fever-patient is to drink, and he will get cured by the permission of God the Most High :—“ Those unto whom the most excellent [reward of paradise] hath been predestined by us, they shall be transported far off from the same” [*i.e.* from the anguish of hell-fire mentioned in the preceding verses] XXI. 101, as far as the words “ which ye were promised” [*i.e.* the end of v. 103].

*Against the headache.*

The following lines are to be put on the patient :—“ Praised be He who does not forget him who forgets Him, and neither forgets him who remembers Him. How numerous are his favours to his grateful and to his ungrateful servants ! and how many veins are there which pulsate and which do not pulsate ! In the name of God the Merciful, the Clement ! ‘ Lookest thou not at thy Lord, how He stretcheth forth the shadow ?’ If He had pleased He would have made it immoveable [XXV. 47]. Cease, O headache, by the merit of these names !”

*Recipe against headache, hemicrany, fever, the evil eye, epilepsy, all kinds of ailings from the genii, trepidations, &c.*

“ In the name of God the Merciful, the Clement ! In the name of God, under the protection of whose name nothing can hurt on earth or in the heavens ! He is the all-hearing, the all-wise ! Blessings from God be on our Prince Muhammad, on his family and companions ! I, the bearer of this writing, fly for refuge to the countenance of God the bountiful, the great, than whom there is nothing greater, and to the complete words of God which neither a righteous nor a wicked man can disregard, and to all the beautiful names of God, to those of them which I know, and to those which I know not [to deliver me] from the machinations of Satans, and from the blowings of such and such a male or such and such a female slave, or such and such a beast, more tight than the hide of a camel. This was copied from the handwriting of Allazrak : may God the Most High have mercy on him !”

I have translated the above specimen, as it forms an exception to the general rule, and contains no quotations from the Korán except the well-known formula at the head, with which nearly every Surah of it begins. The number of recipes with verses from the Korán is prodigiously large ; they apply to all possible diseases and calamities, not even excluding such a trifle as a soothing recipe to pacify crying infants.

- In order to cure the belly-ache, it is necessary to write the word **عسرون** four times on the abdomen in such a manner as to constitute a square, the centre of which must be occupied by the navel (see Plate No. 3). According to the *Kitáb-uddurrat*, the following characters (see Plate No. 4) are to be written thrice on the palm of the patient's hand, and he is to lick them up, whereupon the colic or belly-ache will cease. This amulet has been embodied also in the following verses:—

خذ حروفاً هنّ نور في اللفظ	خمس هاء آت و خط بعد خط
و ظباء ترتعي في روضة	و صليب حوله سبع نطف
و هميزات اذا اعددتها	فهي سبع لم تجد فيها غلط
ثم هاء ثم واو بعده	ثم صاد ثم ميم في الوسط

Take letters with hollows [lit. lights] in their bodies,  
 Five times the letter **ه** one after the other,  
 And a fawn grazing in a garden,  
 And a cross with seven dots around it,  
 And the Hamzas, if you count them  
 They are seven, you will find no mistake in them ;  
 Then **ه** and **و** after them,  
 Then **ص** then **م** in the middle [under the line].

But on comparing this description with the amulet it will be found that the “fawn grazing in a garden” is represented in the figure only by two lines, and that the character on the other side of the Andrew's cross is not alluded to in the verses ; otherwise, however, they agree very well with the figure of the amulet.

There are also various prayers to be recited for women who cannot conceive, or are not married, because they are bewitched. The following prescription will cause milk to flow either from women or from cattle :—

Write the Bismillah, then:—“When the heavens shall be rent asunder” as far as the words “what is therein” [LXXXIV. 1-4]. This is to be repeated seven times, whereon the milk will immediately begin to flow from the paps like a rushing torrent, and more strongly than that. The recital of the 112th Surah will produce the same effect.

The results produced by reciting certain Surahs of the *Korán*, or even single verses only, for the removal of the evils which they are supposed to cure, are marvellous. The *Fáteha*, i.e. first Surah alone,

is so pregnant with meaning that A'li asserted he could, if he were so minded, load seventy camels with explanations of it. The prophet stated that whoever says "Praise be to God, the lord of both worlds," four times, and then says it the fifth time, any angel that may have happened to hear his voice exclaims "Allah has approached thee, ask Him what thou listest!" The prophet has also said that whoever on entering his own dwelling says "Praise be to Allah, the Lord of both worlds," and recites the Surah "Declaration of God's unity (CXII)," Allah will remove poverty from him, and bestow many blessings on him. The prophet has also said that he who desires to be cured from weakness of sight or from myopy must watch for the new-moon on the first night, and if he cannot see it let him look again; and if, casting a glance on it for the third time, he perceives it, let him pass his right hand over both his eyes and recite the *Fátehah* ten times, and if he repeats after that *The declaration of God's unity* [i. e. the 112th Surah] thrice, he will be cured. Let him also repeat seven times the words "A cure from every disease results from Thy mercy, O Most Merciful." Then let him say "O Lord" five times and his sight will become strong.

*Exorcisation of evil spirits.*

There are various opinions about the way that genii take possession of men, but the most correct explanation was given by the prophet, who asserted the possibility of Satan's flowing in human beings in the same manner as blood in the veins. There are numerous accounts of the manner in which genii and Satans injure mankind, and the following tradition states that *Abu-nazr Háshem's* house being haunted by genii, his neighbours desired him to remove to another place. He felt aggrieved and wrote to Kufah, requesting Ebn Edris to send him an exorcism: the latter complied and stated that it had been used in Medynah on a well which had become dry, and that it had been recited over a bucket full of water, which being poured into the well a flame of fire issued from it. Accordingly Abu-nazr took a pail of water, recited the exorcism which is here subjoined over it, and then besprinkled the corners of the house with the water:—

In the name of Allah! We have reached the evening in the name of Allah who cannot be resisted! We fly for refuge to Allah from every devil, from the wickedness of Satans among genii and men, as well as from everything suspended; from the evil of whatever sallies forth in the night, and lies in ambush during the day, or lies in ambush during

the night and sallies forth in the day; from the evil of everything created; from the wickedness of Eblis and his hosts, and from what is dreaded. I fly for refuge to God the all-hearing, the all-knowing, from Satan driven away with stones. In the name of Allah the merciful, the clement! "And by [the angels] who rank themselves in order; and by those who drive forward and dispel [the clouds]," as far as the words "a shining flame" [XXXVII. 1-10].

If a man is possessed by a devil, the *Ezan*, i.e. invitation to prayers, is to be whispered seven times into his right ear; as well as the *Fútéhah* (I.), the *Fly for refuge* (CXIII. and CXIV.) the *Throne-verse* (II. 256), *The star which appeared by night* (LXXXVI.), the last part of *The Resurrection* (LXXV.), and the Surah *who rank themselves* (XXXVII.), and the devil will be burnt out.

*Efficacy of various Surahs of the Korán.*

The advantages to be gained by writing certain Surahs, reciting them, or drinking them with water, are numberless, but it will be interesting to mention a few of them in this place:—

Who writes the Surah *The story* (XXVIII.) from the words "And when he was journeying towards Madian" as far as "and God is witness of that which we say" (21-28), and suspends it on a person suffering from the bowels, spleen, or liver complaint, it will leave him by the permission of God. Who writes this and suspends it on a slave, he will not be treacherous, will commit no adultery, and will not run away. If a man writes the words "And when he arrived at the water of Madian" as far as "and imagined they should not be brought before us [to be judged] (22-39)," and is apprehensive that evil will befall him through false witnesses when he is summoned to a court of justice or through the tyranny of the Sultán, he is to recite the above verses seven times when he enters the court, and is to say thrice "Allah will prevail in His affairs:" every calamity of the kind will be averted.

If the Surah *The spider* (XXIX.) be written on water and the same is swallowed, it will remove the fever.

The Surah *Lokman* (XXXI.) written and drunk by persons afflicted with bowel complaints, or faintings, will remove them; it is also good against the quartan fever and against drowning.

According to *Uns*, the prophet said "Everything has a heart, and the heart of the Korán is the Surah *Ya Sin* (XXXVI.); who reads it Allah accounts it to him as if he had read the whole Korán ten times."

It is also stated that the prophet said "*Ya Sin* is a provision," and that on being asked for an explanation he continued: "It procures for him who recites it benefits in this world and in the next, and removes from him the calamities of this world and of the next, as well as the agony of death. It is also called *The repeller*, because it repels every evil; it is called *The accomplisher*, because it accomplishes every requirement. Who writes it and then drinks it, Allah causes a thousand medicines to enter his stomach, a thousand lights, a thousand certainties, a thousand wisdoms, a thousand blessings, a thousand mercies, and removes from him every complaint or disease. Who recites this Surah every morning and evening will not fail to experience joy till the next morning or evening; who reads it to a sick person on the approach of death, calls down by every word of it ten angels, who stand before the patient in lines to pray and to ask forgiveness in his behalf; they also accompany his bier and are present at his interment. If this Surah be recited to a person in the agony of death, his spirit will enter paradise. If any one reads the same for the purpose of attaining an object, he will gain it; if he be in fear he will experience safety; if hungry or thirsty, both his hunger and thirst will be appeased." The prophet also said: "In the Korán there is a Surah called *The beloved by God*, because it intercedes on the day of resurrection for him who recites it, and averts most evils in this world," and he meant the Surah *Ya Sin*.

### *On the Tehlyl.*

In Egypt the Tehlyl means simply the shouting of *Allah! Allah!* or the *Li-li-li-li*, the joyous exclamation which often resounds from the flat house-tops of the towns during still nights, and is audible far in the desert; but, from what will follow below, it appears that not merely a few words or sentences, but portions of certain Surahs, are to be thus shouted in order to ensure the blessings they are believed to confer.

The Tehlyl can also be drunk and then cures diseases. The Emám Alkashghary in his book *Sáfet ala'arif* relates that according to a tradition the prophet said: "In the Korán there are thirty-seven passages [suitable for the Tahlyl]. Who shouts *Lá Alah illallah* (There is no God but Allah), God will cause faith, knowledge, patience, certainty, sincerity, meditation, confidence, consolation, and steadiness to enter his heart. Who writes the above sentence and suspends it from his neck, or writes it on a vessel and drinks from it Zamzam-water or rain-water, God will cause fever and every disease to leave his body, his

flesh, his veins, his tendons, and all his articulations ; God will also protect him from every calamity, and if he be bewitched He will remove the spell, the pain, the disease, the complaint, and the effects of the evil eye."

The prophet also said : " I swear by Him in whose hand my soul is, that if a worshipper shouts the Tehlyl, God will look on him with mercy, and upon whom He looks with mercy him He will never punish, but will open to him the gate of wealth, and shut against him the gate of poverty ; He will avert the terrors of the day of the resurrection and will not take a strict account of his acts ; even if his liabilities should be as high as a mountain, God will annihilate them."

The principal *Tehlyls* are as follows :—Your God is one God, there is no God besides Him ; He is the merciful, the clement ! Then follows the whole of the Throne-verse (II. 256) and a large number of analogous verses from the Korán on the majesty and glory of God, which it would be superfluous to insert.

#### *Talismans.*

If it be required *to destroy the houses of foes, to ruin their harvests, and to injure their prosperity*, the following is stated to be a well-tried talisman, to be written when Mars comes in contact with Zānab (lit. "tail," but as there are several stars with this prefix, it is not known which of them is meant) ; it is to be written on a round brass plate, with an iron pen, or on a piece of wood taken from the bier of a corpse, and with vermilion ink. This is to be done in a cemetery or in a deserted locality, and is to be left there ; it will take effect. If it be necessary to effect the vacation of a place by its inhabitants, and to destroy their peace of mind, take wax and tar, or resin, and print the talisman therewith on a sheet of paper ; if it be thrown into the locality it will soon become deserted ; the same effect will ensue if the talisman be written on a piece of wood taken from a bier, and the place into which it is thrown will be quickly ruined. This is true and well tried, and the talisman is as follows (see Plate No. 5), which if made on brass must be written in a circle, but if on a piece of a bier it is to be in one line, as shown on the plate.

If a man has been robbed, and desires *to see the thief* in his sleep, he is to write the following talisman (see Plate No. 6), to purify himself, to read in the Korán what he likes, and he will see the thief in his sleep.



In order to induce the genii to bring a certain woman, the following incantation is to be written on white paper, to be fumigated with white frankincense, to be recited seven times, and to be sighed at seven times, and finally it is to be suspended in a deserted spot where no human eye can see it; it is as follows:—I hereby attract so and so (the female's name) towards so and so (the man's name) through *Allahmar Ben Alla'ur* and *Allashmat* and *Ashshmatá* with *Aryásh da'y-básh Marbúsh Ghaytásh Shamlyún Mayamún Tafnár Annás Sulym Matamakkin Matamkin*, if she (mentioning her name) be standing to compel her, if she be sleeping to awaken her, if she be travelling to cause her to fly, and to cause her to move as if a bird had snatched her away, or the wind were driving her; I adjure you, O all you *Alkurdah Almurdah*, O *Ahmar Ben Alla'ur*, by your homage to *Mytatrún*, or else Allah will let loose against you His heat, His punishment, and His stratagems, that ye bring to me so and so (mentioning the woman's name), from wherever she may happen to be, in the eastern or the western regions of the earth, on land or on sea; I adjure you by *Murdán Furdán*, O *Shahrán*, O *Shahrán*, O *Zuba'h*, O *Zuba'h*, who are endowed with four heads; hasten and speed the arrival of so and so (mentioning the female's name), four of you being on her right side, four on her left, four in her rear, and four in her front. “By the winds dispersing and scattering *the dust*, and by the clouds bearing a load of rain; by the ships running swiftly in the sea; and by the angels who distribute things necessary for the support of all creatures (Korán LI. 1-4),” may Allah bring you all, wherever you may be, for Allah is omnipotent.

The following two magic lines must be written as a talisman on a piece of paper and suspended in such a manner that the wind may blow them away, on a Thursday during the hour of Venus or of Jupiter (see Plate No. 7) with these words written after them:— I have attracted, subjugated, and turned the heart and whole nature of so and so (mentioning the girl's name), to cherish, obey, and love with all her might so and so (mentioning the man's name). Quick! Quick! Aluha! Aluha! The hour! The hour!

A woman may by writing and suspending from her neck the following incantation gain the affection of a man :—In the name of **Allah** the merciful, the clement !

[illegible]

I turn and subjugate the heart of so and so (mention the man's name) to cherish and to love and to accept so and so (mention the woman's name) by the power of these names. Quick ! Quick ! Aluha ! Aluha ! The hour ! The hour !

To avert anything, *e.g.* the marriage of a woman, the sale of a slave or of a house, or whatever you would like should not take place, write the following characters on the skin of a gazelle and suspend it from a wall (see Plate No. 8) with the words "I adjure you, O guardian-genii, to confine so and so (mention the person's name) as not to leave the house." Or "To compel so and so (mention the person's name) as not to leave the house." Or "To compel so and so (mention the girl's name) not to get married." Or "To impede the sale of the house." Because you are the guardians:—

قدوس قدوس هفتا سيرون قدمه فلايه بنت فلانه ودار سعل حمل  
اعنها اوصنم طمار باهدبا

The number of talismans is very considerable in books treating on subjects of this kind: but enough have here been given to show their character, and I insert only one more, which ensures invulnerability in war.

The following characters are to be written and suspended from the neck of a man or a woman when they enter a battle, and no sword can cut nor arrow injure them. This talisman is celebrated for averting all calamities; it is excellent and full of blessings. (See Plate No. 9.)

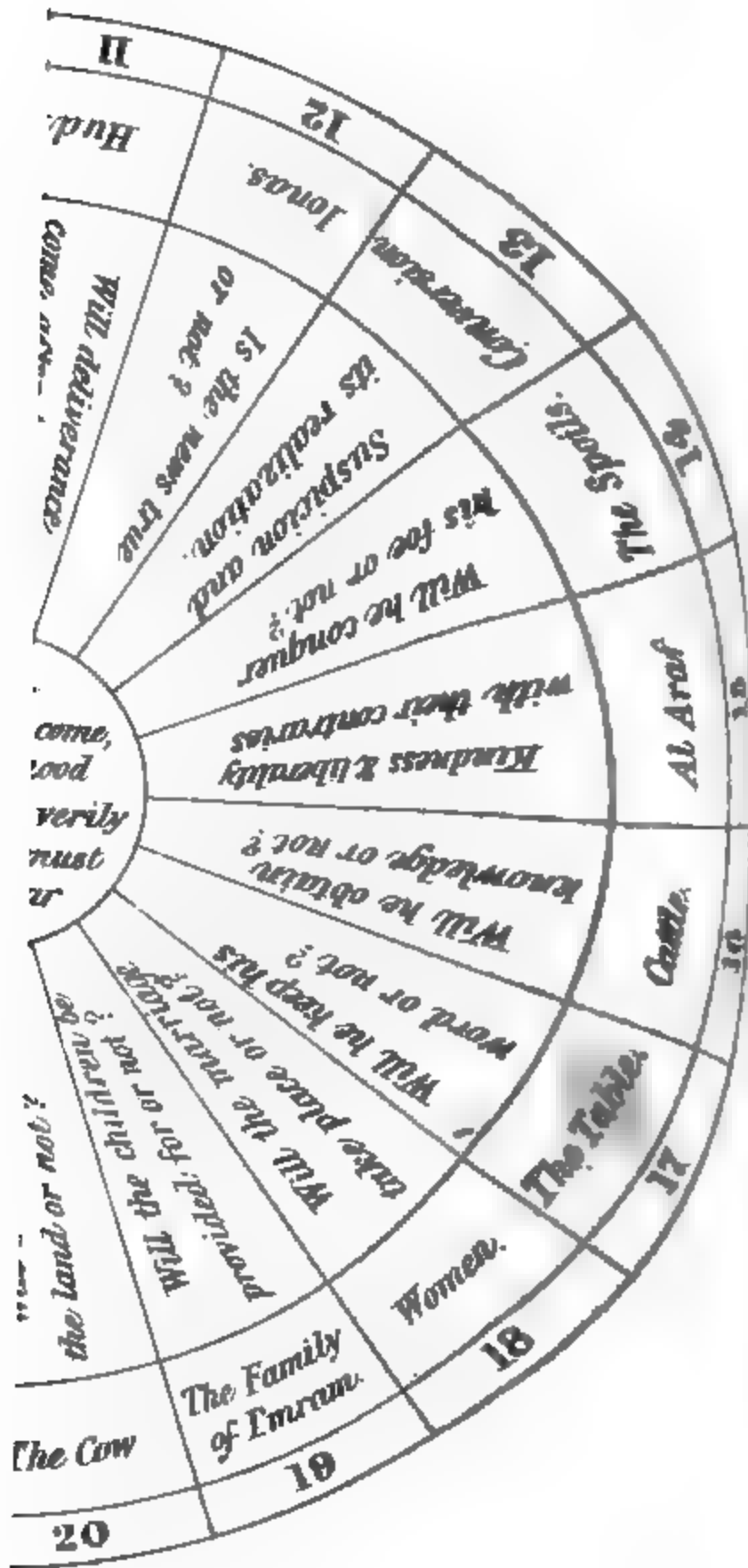
As the eight Arabic talismanic medicine-cups in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. S. have already been described by me in a separate paper, it would be superfluous to say anything more about them; but there is no doubt that although the said cups are Muhammadan, they are imitations of much older ones used by the Jews for the same purposes many centuries before the Christian era, inasmuch as the *terra-cotta* cups of the same kind and forms found by Mr. Austen H. Layard, M.P., in the ruins of Babylonia, and described by Mr. Thomas Ellis of the Manuscript Department in the British Museum, which are charms against diseases and every kind of misfortune, bear characters written long prior to any existing manuscripts of the ancient Hebrew and Chaldean languages, without divisions between the words or any vowel-points. The language of the inscriptions on these cups is Hebrew mixed with Chaldee. Mr. Layard also bears witness to the

fact that talismanic medicine-cups are used in many parts of the East even at the present day, and is likewise of opinion that the cups from Babylon now in the British Museum have been used for a similar purpose. The origin and use of all talismanic medicine-cups is the same, but, as they bear no dates, conclusion can be drawn only from the form of the language and the characters in which they are written, both of which testify to considerable antiquity in the Babylonian, and to recent times in the Arabic cups.

*Geomancy or Vaticination.*

It is almost incredible to believe what pains the Arabs have bestowed on the development of geomancy, their *I'lm-ur-raml*. I had before me a folio volume in which eighty pages are filled with tables divided into columns detailing the answers to all possible questions occurring in human life; the first column is always filled with a certain number of dots, which the asker, or he who works for him, obtains by means of a tedious operation, and against these dots the replies stand. The operation is as follows:—Many dots are made at random in twelve lines, then each line is treated separately by pairing off the dots from the right towards the left, until after the last mark either two dots remain or only one; according to this manner the first four lines are reduced to a very small compass, since only one or two dots can remain of each; these together constitute a figure containing at the utmost eight, or at least four dots, and the dots constituting it are called *ummaḥát*; the next four lines, after being treated in the same manner, are called *benát*; and the last four, after a similar abridging operation, are named *shiút*; after having obtained these three figures they are put in juxtaposition, and when their exact counterpart is discovered in the tables the answers standing against them are to be read, and to be considered as the required solutions. In some cases it is necessary to eliminate still more dots by placing the *ummaḥát*, the *benát*, and *shiút* near each other and pairing them off as above, so that one or two dots remain in each line, and the result of the three figures will be only one; the maximum number of dots being again only eight, and the minimum four. There are yet more complicated and longer operations considered necessary in order to elicit a perfectly correct answer, but it is unnecessary in this place to detail them. Geomancy is vaticination, but there are many other means of getting at the results of the latter, without employing the tedious processes generally resorted to by geomancers; the way in which the Emám Ja'fer,





surnamed Çádek (died A.H. 148, A.D. 765), ascertained future events will here be given, as he is held in great respect by all Moslems. When the house of Músa (died A.H. 183, A.D. 799), the son of the just-mentioned Emám, was searched by the servants of the Khalif Mámún, they found in it a casket of crystal encrusted with gold, which was delivered to Mámún. When he opened it he found in it a little tablet of marble, whereon the accompanying circular diagram was traced (see Plate No. 10), and on examining it he almost lost his senses for joy.—A person wishing to ascertain future events is first to read the portions of the Korán prescribed for such occasions, and is then to throw lots concerning the twenty numbers written on the circumference of the circle. This he is to do thrice, and after adding the numbers he must subtract twenty or ten if required, so that the remaining number may be one which occurs on the circumference of the circle, and the Surah inscribed over the number is to be consulted to obtain the reply. There are twenty tables attached, each being headed by the name of a Surah, the verses being all given in a certain way for the present purpose; they are to be read from the tables, and not from the Korán itself.

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ART. XVIII.—*Notes on the History and Antiquities of the Island of Bassein.* BY J. GERSON DA CUNHA, Esq., M.R.C.S. Eng., L.M., L.R.C.P. Edin., &c.

Read 12th September 1874.

THE island of Bassein lies between  $19^{\circ} 24'$  and  $19^{\circ} 28'$  N. Lat., and  $72^{\circ} 48'$  and  $72^{\circ} 54'$  E. Long. It is bounded on the north by the Dantura Creek, on the south by the Strait of Bassein, on the east by a narrow channel separating it from the mainland, and on the west by the Arabian Sea. It is about 11 miles long, about 5 broad, and has an area of about 35 square miles. It is distant nearly 32 miles from Bombay.

Ancient Hindu geographers included Bassein in the Varáláṭa (Varár), one of the seven divisions of the Paraśurāma Kshetra.\*

Its original name, *Vasai*, which is of Sanskrit origin, meaning a dwelling or residence, from वस to dwell, and by which it is still designated by the natives, was by the Mahomedans first changed into *Basai*, which the Portuguese made *Bicrim*, and the English *Bassein*.

Although insignificant in size, Bassein had at an early period attained some reputation from its connection with the celebrated places of Tuṅgári, Nirmala, Kalyāṇa, Śrīsthānaka, and Soupára or Śurpāraka of old; and at a later period it became famous from its having been the principal Portuguese settlement on the coast of the Northern Koṅkana.

The *Tuṅgári Mahātmya*, or “the greatness of Tuṅgári,” a part of the *Padma Purāṇa*, gives an interesting account of the establishment of Tuṅgāreśvara and its *tīrtha* in Bassein. It is therein stated that Paraśurāma had a fight with the *asuras* or evil spirits under the

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\* The seven divisions of the Paraśurāma Kshetra are “केरलाश्चतुलंगाश्च तथा गोतद्र्वातिनः कौरुगाः कर्हताः वज्रगश्च बर्बता,” i. e. Kerala, Tulanga, Gaurāshtra, Koṅkana, Karhāṭa, Varālāṭa, and Barbara. These seven divisions of land correspond to seven different tribes of the Brāhmaṇas inhabiting it and speaking different dialects. In ancient Hindu works this region is often described as Sapt Koṅkanas; whilst among the ancient Greeks a part of its coast was known as *Limyrica*.—*Sūrya Kh.*, bk. II., ch. viii., and *Mangesh Mah.* ch. ii.

† Śurpāraka or Śurpārakashetra शूर्पारक क्षेत्र is also the name of the whole western coast of the Paraśurāma Kshetra, so called from its resemblance to a शूर्प, a winnow. The Kshetra extends from the river Vaitarani to Cape Comorin, and from the Sahyādri range to the Arabian Sea.

championship of Vimala, who was in the habit of harassing the people in the Varálāta, in revenge for affronts done to the Bráhmaṇas. Paraśurāma being invincible, the demons were compelled to make a hasty retreat westward, but, being pursued, had to run into the sea. Here Vimala brought a mountain on his head, named Tuṅga, which in Sanskrit means a hill, placed it in the sea, and fixed there his residence. His defeat, however, having counselled him repentance and religious austerities, he pleased Śiva so much that he obtained from the deity immunity from death, and the privilege of a *tīrtha*, along with a *divyaliṅga* or divine phallus. This he was told to establish on the Tuṅga hill under the condition of his desisting from being aggressive towards the Bráhmaṇas in future, in which case Vimala need fear nobody in the three worlds. The condition being acceded to, the *liṅga* was settled on the Tuṅga hill, and named Tuṅgāreśvara, or “the Lord of the Mountains.”\*

This event is said to have taken place in the Tretá Yuga or Silver Age of the Hindus, before Paraśurāma had reclaimed the Koṅkana from the sea.

It is recorded in the *Skanda* and other Purāṇas that Paraśurāma, after reclaiming and colonizing the Koṅkana† with the Bráhmaṇas, established a certain number of *tīrthas*‡ in it, one of which was Nirmala or Vimala in Bassein.

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\* This is the modern Tungár Hill on the east side of the railway, which, promises to become a rival to Matheran Hill as a sanitarium.

† The *Sahyādrī Khanda* of the *Skanda Purāṇas* mentions that Paraśurāma, the sixth *avatār* of Vishnu and son of Jamadagni, having vanquished the Emperor Kārtavīrya Saṃvartana and annihilated the race of the Kshatriyas, gave over their lands to the Bráhmaṇas, but having no place for himself, asked Varuṇa, the Indian Neptune, to grant him a part of his dominions, which having been refused, Paraśurāma repaired to the top of the Sahyādrī, and, in spite of the opposition offered by Varuṇa, discharged fourteen arrows. From the points where they fell the sea receded, and the land thus extorted from the ocean was then divided into seven parts, mentioned in a previous footnote. This is said to have taken place between the Tretá and Dvāpāra Yugas. The legend typifies both the contests among the Aryas themselves and the geological changes in the Dekhan.

‡ The *Tīrthas* are “विमलं निर्मलं चैव खदिरं तीर्थमुत्तमं । हरिहरेश्वरं तीर्थं मुक्तेश्वरं तथैव ॥ बालुकेण महाभेदो वागंगा सरस्वती । तस्यास्तु दक्षिणे भागे कशस्थली तदुद्रिणी ॥ मठग्रामं तथा चान्ये गोमातल्ये च पर्वते । तत्रैव स्थपितं तीर्थं गोरक्षं च कुमारीजं ॥ रामकुण्डं कुड्मलं च प्राचीसिद्धं गुणोपमं” ॥ i.e. the Vimala, Nirmala, Khadira the best, Harihareśvara, Mukteśvara, Válukeśa the great, Baṇagaṅgá, and Sarasvatī; to the south of these the Kushasthali river and Mathagrāma; and on the Gománt mountain the Goraksha, Kumārija, Rāmakuṇḍa, Kuḍmala, Prāchísiddha, Guṇopama, and several others.—*Sahy. Kh.*, bk. II., ch. i.



The *Nirmala Mahátmya*, also a part of the same Purána, states that, while some Rishis were praising the name of Paraśuráma, Vimala, angry at hearing the praises of his deadly enemy, came down from the Tuṅga hill, and commenced to annoy the Rishis by placing a big stone on their *homakuṇḍa*, or hole in the ground for receiving the consecrated fire for an oblation. The Rishis made a complaint to Śiva, who sent Paraśuráma to chastise the incorrigible demon, forgetful of his promise. This hero arrived just in time to afford protection to a young daughter of Lomaharshaṇa Rishi, who, while engaged in performing her devotions on the banks of the Vaitaraṇi,\* was being carried off by Vimala. Paraśuráma had a fight with Vimala, but every time he cut off his hands and feet they were renewed more vigorously than ever by the blessing of Śiva, whereupon Paraśuráma had recourse to Śiva himself, and, duly backed by the latter, succeeded at last in defeating Vimala with his classical *paraśu* or axe.

Vimala, now fallen, began to invoke Paraśuráma's clemency, and praised his name. Paraśuráma, always compassionate, established then on the spot where Vimala fell a liṅga, which he called "Vimaleśvara" or "the Lord of Vimala," and erected a temple to commemorate the event.

Vimala is now called Nirmala, or *stainless*, since it was purified by Paraśuráma—from निर् *without* and मल *stain*.

In the 8th chap. of the *Nirmala Mahátmya* it is mentioned that on the eleventh day of Kártika Kṛishṇapaksha those who bathe in the waters of the Vaitaraṇi obtain the remission of their sins, and Narada, Vasistha, and other Rishis were the first to bathe in them.

This mythic fight of Paraśuráma with the *asuras* in the Tretá Yuga may possibly typify the contests of the Aryas with the aborigines, while the shelter Vimala found in the Tuṅga hill, to which Paraśuráma could get no access, seems to point to some geological change in the island of Bassein previous to the reclamation of the Koṅkana from the ocean.

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\* The Vaitaraṇi river takes its rise from Násik, and running through the Mahim Táluká debouches into Dantura Creek. In the *Mahábhárata Bhishma-parva*, ch. 9, in the description of Jambudvīpa, the Vaitaraṇi is alluded to thus: मंदाकिनीं वैतरणीं कौशांचापि महानदीं Again the *Harihareśvara Mahátmya*, ch. 2, vv. 44, 50, refers to it.

† The *Tuṅgarī* and *Nirmala Mahátmya* are very old Sanskrit manuscripts, which have been translated into Prākṛit by one of the Śankarāchāryas. Lithographed copies of the translations of these are obtainable from native booksellers. I am indebted for the perusal of them to my friend Mr. Eshvant F. Naik Danaita.

Besides these, there are numerous small *kundās*, or consecrated pools, and *tīrthas* in Bassein of great sanctity, but of little historical interest.

But to return to Vimaleśvara. The Portuguese, or rather the Inquisition, pulled down the temple, desecrated the *tīrtha*, and made the *linga* of Śiva disappear.\* On the Maráṭhās taking possession of Bassein, Nirmala was again purified, Pádukas of Śrī Dattátreya substituted for the *linga*, and a tank constructed in the neighbourhood for religious ablutions in lieu of the *tīrtha* destroyed.

The legendary lore of Bassein, full of extravagant and wild chaff, such as the abduction of the daughter of Lómaharshaṇa Rishi on the banks of the Vaitaraṇi by the terrible *asuras*, and other fictional matter, hopeless mazes of tradition and mythology without even the redeeming feature of probability, contains, however, some obscure hints, from which grains of truth may be extracted. Besides, the *Mahātmyas*, if they have no historical value, have at least some philological importance, and as they are fast disappearing, I have thought it advisable to save those of Bassein, in defiance of those who deem them but nonsensical.

The present temple, endowed at the public expense, is under the management of Gurú Śankarāchārya Svāmi, who occasionally pays a pastoral visit to Nirmala, as well as to the other divisions of the Koṭkaṇa, and is regarded in the same light by the Śaivas as Madhvāchārya by the Vaishnavas. Attached to the shrine there is an *annachhatra* or inn, where the Bráhmaṇas are fed gratuitously. A *játrá* is annually held on the 11th day of the month of Kártika before referred to, which is attended by numerous pilgrims.†

Very little is known concerning the ancient authentic history of Bassein, a few incidental allusions to it only being found in the writings of some old Hindus and Greeks. The latter, since the expedition of

\* An inscription dated 1261 A.D., in a grant of a place called Játakeśvara to Vimaleśvara, and of land in its vicinity to Mahideva of the Bhadravaja lineage, for serving in the temple, made by Śrī Kambhadeva of the Chálukya race, residing in the town of Kalyāṇa, shows plainly that the deity was revered even in those times, as follows :—

ततरतीर्थेषु विमलं नमलं नामसुंदरं संसारमलनिर्मुक्तं यत्रयान्तिपरंपदं ॥ ततो नदी वैतरणी-  
युक्तपश्चिमसिंधुना यस्याः स्नानेन दानेन न पश्येत यमयातना ॥

† There is also here the tomb of the first Śankarāchārya Svāmi, who repaired the schism between the Jainas and the orthodox Bráhmaṇas.

Alexander, found their way into the country both by sea and land, and entered into commercial intercourse with the natives. Ptolemy Philadelphus was the first to send one Dionysius to the southern part of India to inquire into the produce and manufactures of the Dekkan. At that time,\* it appears, there were three famous kingdoms in Central and Southern India, viz. *Plithanah*, which is supposed to be *Paithana* on the Godáviri; *Tagara*, modern Devagada or Daulatábád, the capital of a kingdom then called *Arike*, which comprehended a great part of Aurangábád and the Southern Konkana; and *Syrástrene* or *Lárice*, said to correspond to modern Gujarát, including Kalyána, Thana, Bassein, &c.†

Arrian, the supposed author of the *Periplus*,‡ records that long before his time the Greeks traded with Kalyána,§ but that since the conquest of Egypt by the Romans, who had monopolized the whole Indian trade and would not allow foreigners to enter the Red Sea, the trade of the Dekkan was wholly carried on by land. The king of the country about Kalyána, Bassein, and Bombay was then called *Sáraganos*|| (*Sáraṅga* or *Sáraṅgesha*), who was friendly towards the Greeks, but the *Sándanes* (*Aryas*?), having conquered the king, not only strictly prohibited those foreigners from trading at Kalyána and its neighbourhood, but even sent some of them under a strong guard to *Baráce* (*Broach*). Arrian does not give any reason for such a proceeding, but other writers are of opinion that the Greeks had attempted to effect a settlement on the island of Salsette with a view to its acquisition, and to facilitate their meditated conquests in the Dekkan. The king of *Tagara* had several harbours south of Kalyána in his possession, but

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\* The campaign of Alexander, B.C. 330, and Ptolemy's Geography, A.D. 150, or 480 years later.

† D'Auvillé's *Eclaircissements Géographiques sur la Carte de l'Inde*, p. 69; Viviené de St. Martin's *Étude sur la Géographie Grecque et Lat. de l'Inde*, p. 204. I am not unaware of the immense difficulty attending the identification of Greek names.

‡ *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, A.D. 200.

§ A few of the early Greek writers are minute in describing the kinds of articles of commerce for which they had made Kalyána a port of considerable resort and enterprise. The names of some of those articles have been transmitted to us in Greek, and of others in Latin, nomenclature, viz. ξύλα δηδμυὰ or *sesamin* (*sisu*?), logs; Φαλαγγων έρερινων or spars of ebony, *othonium vulgare*, dungaree or lighter sail-cloth; *sindones omnis generis*, muslins of all kinds; *molochna*, a kind of cotton stuff dyed of a purplish colour, &c.

|| Καλλιενα πολις, ή επί Σαραγάνου του

πρεσβυτέρου Χρόνων έμποριον ένθεσμον γενόμενον.—Hudson, *Geog. Vet.* I. 30.

they were all infested by the pirates,—a fact testified by Arrian, Ptolemy, Pliny, and others.

In the reign of Justinian the trade of Kalyána was as active as ever. Kosmas Indikopleustes, an Egyptian merchant who had made some voyages to India, for which he received the surname of Indikopleustes, mentions that Kalyána was a place abounding with Christians, who were subject to a Persian Bishop of the Nestorian sect.\*

Contemporaneously with Kosmas, we have the account of Hwen Thsang, a Chinese traveller, who was in India between A.D. 629 and 645; he mentions a place in Mo-ho-la-to or Maháráshtra, close to the Western coast, which is said to correspond to Kalyána.† Of Kalyána as an emporium of trade, Bassein seems to have been the chief entrepôt of foreign commerce, from its being at the head of inland navigation.

We learn also, from some inscriptions and copperplates,‡ that in 1017 A.D. Śrīsthaka (Tháná) was the seat of a reigning family called Silāra, or Siláhāra, who date their ascent to the throne from the time of Kapardi, which may be computed to be about 900 A.D. He traces his lineage to Jimutavāhana ‘the cloud-borne,’ of the race of Rājputs and Rāja of Tagara, exhibiting a long series of about nine princes who claimed to be the masters of 1400 villages in the Koṅkana, the principal of which was termed *Puri*, which, being a generic term for city, appears to stand for some such place as Ghárápuri, modern Elephanta Island;§ but this is rather doubtful.

These princes had frequent contests with the Kádamba and Chálukya kings; of the latter Śrī Kambhadeva is said to have made a grant of

\* Kosmas was in Kalyána about 547 A.D. On returning home he entered a monastery and wrote various works, among which his *Topographia Christiana* contains particulars about the trade and people of Kalyána. Don Bernard de Montfaucon, one of the Kosmas translators, suspects him to be a Nestorian, for which he gives what La Croze calls historic and dogmatic proofs. (*Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, by V. La Croze, vol. I, pp. 40-50.) I am not unaware that some writers contend that the Kalyána of Kosmas is modern Kalyánapur, near Udipi, but Col. Yule is of opinion that it is identical with the one I refer to. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I., p. 321; vol. II., p. 273.

† Stanislas Julien's *Hist. de la Vie de Hiouen-Thsang*, p. 202; and Alex. Cunningham's *Ancient Geog. of Ind.*, p. 554.

‡ *As. Res.* Vol. I., pp. 363-4.

§ Linschoten calls Elephanta Island *Pori*. He says:—"There is another Pagode which they hold and esteem for the highest and chiefest Pagode of all the rest, which standeth on a little Island called *Pori*. This Pagode by the Portugals is called the Pagode of the elephant."—*Dis. of Voyages into the E. and W. India*, Book 1, ch. 44.

land to Vimalēśvara in 1261 A.D., as before stated.\* One of the princes of the house of Kadamba, named Jayakeśi Deva I., king of Goa, is said to have slain the King of Kapardikadvipa, or the island of Kaparda, which is not yet ascertained whether it is Salsette or Bassein.

Bassein eventually passed from the Silāra family into the hands of the Yādavas, whose inscriptions, dated 1272 and 1290 A.D., have been discovered near it.†

Until the submission of the Yādavas to the Mahomedans, this part of the Koṅkaṇa was subject to constant political changes, being divided and subdivided between Bhimrāja of Mahim and Rāmadeva of Devagaḍa, as well as between other petty chieftains of the Náyaks, Bangolis, and Bhaṇḍāris.‡

The defeat of Rāmadeva by All-á-u-din, the emperor of Delhi, in the year 1294, placed the Dekhan and, some years subsequently, the greater part of the Koṅkaṇa, under the sway of the Mahomedans.§ About 1295 A.D. Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveller, was at Tháná, and describes it as the capital of a great kingdom in the West, its inhabitants as idolaters, speaking a language of their own, and under a sovereign subject to no other. He speaks of its great trade in leather finely dressed, and cotton goods, and also of imports of gold and silver. He likewise alludes to the pirates issuing from the Tháná river and infesting the coast.||

It is said that five Franciscan Missionaries suffered martyrdom at Tháná soon after its occupation by the Mahomedans.¶

\* *Lond. R. A. S. Jour.* vol. V., p. 177.

† *Ibid.*, vol. II., p. 380.

‡ *Trans. Bomb. Geog. Soc.*, p. 129.

§ Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. I., p. 304.

|| Editions of Marco Polo's Travels by Murray, Marsden, and Yule.

¶ Friar Oderic of Priuli, who was at Tháná in 1330 A.D., relates the occurrences as having taken place in 1320, about two centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese. P. Franciscode Souza, in his *Oriente conquistado*, quoting the chronicles of the Franciscans, gives a detailed description of it. He states that while a Portuguese nobleman, by name D. Antonio de Souza, was laying the foundation of his house at Tháná, he happened to discover in the excavations an engraving of a friar, which he supposed to be that of Jordanus, of the order of the Franciscans, who after having buried his four companions, all minorites or clergymen of low order, was killed. Their names the chronicle gives as Friar Thomas Tolentino and Friar Jacome da Padoa (both presbyters), Friar Demetrius and Friar Petrus (leigos or brothers), who had come down from Persia, whence, unable to prosecute their missionary career, they went to Ormuz and set sail for the coast of Coromandel. Somehow, however, they landed near Bassein, and soon after suffered martyrdom

It was in 1311 A.D. that the fury of the Mahomedan invaders was first felt in this part of Aurangábad, which was ravaged by Malik Kafur, the general of Allá-u-din Kilji, under whose sovereignty it continued for about forty years, and was subsequently subject to other Mahomedan rulers until its conquest by the Portuguese.

The coast of Bassein, according to Fariay Souza, was visited by the Portuguese in the year 1509 ; but it was not till about seventeen years later that they established a factory there. Duarte Barbosa says of it, about this period, under the Mahomedan name of Baxay, that "Having passed this town of Deudi, twenty leagues further on to the south is another town of Moors and gentiles, a good seaport, which also belongs to the King of Gujarat, in which much goods are exchanged ; and there is a great movement of the shipping which comes there from all parts, and many Zambucs\* from the Malabar country laden with areca, cocoas, and spices, which they delight in, and they take thence others which are used in Malabar."†

In 1530 the Portuguese made a descent upon the coast from Chikli, Tárápur to Bassein, and levied contributions on Tháná and Kalyána, compelling both places to promise to pay annual tribute to the crown of Portugal.‡ The geographical position of the latter inspired them with a desire to possess it permanently, and as a quarrel soon arose

in Tháná. Friar Oderic, who had come down to Tháná in 28 days from Ormuz, in what he calls a *jahas*, which is but the Persian *جهاز* the generic name of a ship or boat, took away their bones to Europe, and ascribes several miracles to them. On his return from Europe, he published his account, wherein the sad occurrence is described as the result of a religious dispute with the Cadi (Kasi) or ecclesiastical judge of the town, whom the Franciscans provoked by saying that "this prophet Mahomed was in hell with his father the devil," on which the governor of Tháná had them executed under excessive tortures ; but the King, whom he calls *Dodsi*, having found the martyrs innocent, put the Governor and his family to death for his despotism and cruelty, while the Kázi of Thána fled away.

In connection with this fact I should mention that according to Leonardo Paes, trat. 2°, cap. 1, and soon after the conquest by the Portuguese, some Franciscans discovered in the island of Karanja a blue stone with the image of the Virgin Mary engraven on it, which they called "Nossa Senhor da Penha," and gave this name to the Karanja hill, which is still denominated in the Portuguese State documents "Serra da Nossa Senhora da Penha." This is corroborated by Bishop Jeronimo Ozorio, who adds that there existed in Karanja a majestic temple of the Christians long before the arrival of the Portuguese. This is, however, a controvertible subject, doubted as much by early Portuguese writers as by ourselves.

\* *Zambucs* or *Sambuks*, Arab undecked boats.

† *Description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar*, p. 68.

‡ *Faria y Souza*, tome 1, pt. iv., ch. 2.

with Bahádur Sháh, King of Gujarát, whom the Portuguese historians call *Sultaõ de Cambaia*, or *Melique*,\* recourse to arms could no longer be avoided. The result was a treaty by which they obtained formal cession of Bombay and Mahim, Diu, Damaun, Chaúl, and Bassein; permission to erect forts, and the right of levying duty on the Red Sea trade: engaging themselves in return to afford him assistance against the emperor Humáyun of Delhi.† In virtue of these concessions the fort of Bassein was in 1536 founded by Nuno da Cunha, on the southern extremity of the island of that name, facing the narrow inlet of the sea which divides it from Salsette, and was placed under the command of his brother-in-law, Garcia de Sá, who is known as the first Captain of Bassein, and was subsequently appointed Governor of India on the death of the last of the Portuguese heroes, D. Joaõ de Castro, in 1548. But, to enter into details, it was in 1530 that Antonio de Sylveira made the first descent upon the coast of Bassein, and burnt and pillaged it to an enormous extent. His march of depredation was, however, arrested at the island of Bombay, where the King of Tháná, panic-stricken at the news of the ravages made by the Portuguese, came down to offer, as a check to further waste, the islands of Bombay and Mahim, which being duly accepted, an annual tribute was also imposed on him.

In 1531 Antonio de Saldanha, on his way to Goa from Cambay,‡ partly to retrieve his misfortunes in the Court of the King of Gujarát, and partly to punish the recalcitrant Sultán Bahádur, who had refused to cede Diu to the King of Portugal, made a second descent upon the coast from Chikli Tárápur to Bassein,§ setting fire to it again. Saldanha was followed in 1533 by Diogo de Sylveira, who, having already gained elsewhere the unenviable reputation of an incendiary,|| was

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\* *Melique*, from the Persian ملك a king. Some writers also call him "Rei de Cambaia," or King of Cambay, his principal port.

† *Tuhfat-ut-Mujahidin*, pp. 136-7.

‡ J. P. Maffei, *Hist. Ind.*, p. 428.

§ J. T. Lafiteau, *Hist. Dis. Decouv. et. Conq. de Port.*, vol II., p. 215.

|| Diogo de Sylveira, though so fierce in temper, had also his better side of nature. It is written that once while cruising in the Red Sea, Sylveira came across a vessel under a Mahomedan captain, who saluted him, and having obtained an audience, brought him a letter from a Portuguese, which the Mahomedan believed to be a commendatory letter. The contents of the letter, however, disclosed the fact that the ship was laden with valuables, and the writer of the letter wished Sylveira to seize it as a very good prize, and make a prisoner of the captain, whom the writer described as a wicked man. Sylveira did not know which to admire most, the impudence of the one or the rashness of the other. He treated the



chiefly instrumental in burning and plundering the whole seacoast from Bandora along Tháná and Bassein up to Surat, which scarcely had had time to recover from the devastating effects of the two previous invasions of his comrades Saldanha and Antonio da Sylveira. Having accomplished this, Sylveira returned to Goa rich with the spoils of his pillaging, among which there were four thousand slaves, who were afterwards employed in the building of convents and churches of Goa.

While this summary castigation of their deadly foes was going on under the immediate supervision of Captains Saldanha, Sylveira, Martin Alphonso de Souza, and others, the General Nuno da Cunha was all the while devising means to take possession of Diu. His whole mind appears at this time to have been engrossed in this object, while Bassein seems scarcely to have been thought of. Having, however, of a sudden been made acquainted with the fact that Malik Tokan, son of Malik Jaz, Governor of Diu, was fortifying Bassein, which would certainly prove a useful addition to the Mahomedan citadels on the coast, especially as this place and the country around yielded timber of the best quality for the building of fleets, he set out to put a stop to it. In the meanwhile Malik Tokan had built his citadel of Bassein, fortified both margins of the river with trenches and ramparts surrounded with a ditch that admitted the water from the sea, and garrisoned the fortress with cavalry and infantry amounting to about 15,000. He had, besides, improved its condition by facilitating means for the increase of the general population, attracted there by the commercial importance of the place, which, however dated from very remote times, and by the building of edifices both public and private, the vestiges of which are now with difficulty traced, especially among the ruins of the circular castle in the centre of the fort, to be described hereafter.

The General Nuno da Cunha, solely intent on putting down any fortified place that might prove troublesome to his ambitious views, prepared a fleet of 150 ships manned by 4,000 men, half of whom were Portuguese, and the rest Canarese and Malabarese.

Malik Tokan, on seeing this formidable array of the naval power of the terrible *Firangi*, lost no time in making overtures

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captain with extreme kindness, gave him a passport in better form, and told him that he rather preferred that the world should learn that a man of his nation would willingly lose an opportunity of enriching himself than show bad faith.



of peace, which being entertained by Cunha only under extremely hard stipulations, Tokan had no resource left but to try his fortune on the battle-field. Thereupon the Portuguese landed a little to the north of the citadel, and, led by Diogo da Sylveira and Manuel de Macedo, glided on to the moat of the fortress, scaled its ramparts, mounted its parapets, and gained a position from which Malik Tokan, with his whole host, could not dislodge them. Once within the citadel, the Portuguese, not at all daunted by their numerical insignificance—for only the vanguard of the Portuguese army was engaged in the combat—threw themselves amidst the ranks of the enemy with such impetuosity and rancour, that Malik Tokan's troops were entirely dispersed. The terrible havoc wrought among the Mahomedans caused them to retreat precipitately, leaving behind a prodigious quantity of stores and munitions of war. This mere handful of valorous Portuguese, whose daring deeds in this action often extorted the admiration of their foes, fought with success so decisive that the whole island of Bassein fell into their hands. Only two persons of mark and a few soldiers, says Lafiteau, were killed, while the whole field seemed to be strewn with the corpses of the enemy.

Nuno da Cunha, naturally elated by so signal a victory, intended to celebrate this action by bestowing the honour of knighthood—in imitation of the son of the great admiral Vasco de Gama, who knighted his young companions at the shrine of St. Catherine on the mount Sinai—on a few of his officers, distributing among his brave troops the spoils of war; but the council of war having determined, like the Roman senate's decree *de delenda Carthagine*, that the ramparts should be demolished and the whole citadel rased to the ground—more on account of its proximity to the fort of Chaul, and its consequent uselessness, than, like the Romans, from hatred—the Portuguese General retired with four hundred pieces of artillery to Goa, where he was received with great rejoicings.

After his defeat, Malik Tokan endeavoured to console himself with a systematic series of intrigues, underhand machinations, and organized hypocrisy with Bahádur Sháh on the one side, whom he hated from the very bottom of his heart, and with the Portuguese on the other, also his detested enemies, that it would be simply tedious, if not unpleasant, to write about it. The General, Nuno da Cunha, at the request of each party, sent an emissary to treat of peace, Vasco da Cunha going to

Malik Tokan, and Tristaõ de Ga to the court of Bahádur Sháh; their missions, however, having proved fruitless, the General himself sailed with a fleet of eighty ships, and began that brilliant course of diplomacy which eventually secured for him not only the possession of Bassein, but even the realization of the *songe doré* of his life, the building of the fort of Diu, which the Portuguese had hitherto failed to accomplish, from the King Don Manuel, who had in 1519 sent Diogo Lopes de Siqueira with a fleet of eighty ships to conquer it, which utterly failed; Henrique de Menezes, who followed Siqueira, but whose premature death put a stop to his otherwise well-conceived tactics; down to Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, who, having spent an incredibly large sum of money, had prepared one of the most formidable armadas that India ever saw, but with the same result. The King, Don Joaõ III., frequently wrote to the Governor, Nuno da Cunha, not to slacken his efforts to gain possession of a place that commanded the whole trade of India, Persia, and Arabia, and whose possession subsequently gave rise to those two memorable sieges which have been sung by poets, and have few rivals in deeds of valour and gallantry in the annals of warfare.

Bahádur Sháh, who had succeeded in winning the confidence of Ibráhim II., and obtained the governorship of Gujaráta, succeeded on the death of his sovereign in making himself an independent king. The Mogul, however, would not forgive the treachery of his former servant; and Bahádur Sháh, being left without a single friend to help him against the threats of Humáyun of Delhi, had recourse to the Portuguese, who having, under the eminent general Martin Alphonso de Souza, reduced Damaun, the loss of which citadel Bahádur Sháh had felt most poignantly, and knew the great value of such an alliance, accepted the offer of a treaty of peace, which was concluded and sworn to under the following conditions:—That Sultán Bahádur Sháh should cede to the King of Portugal the sovereign right to Bassein, with all dependencies; that the Portuguese should have the right to levy duties on the Red Sea trade; that all his vessels should sail with a passport from the Portuguese Crown; that his harbours should no longer have any armed boat; and that the Rumís should have no protection from the Sultán. This took place in 1533.

Again, being about the following year invited by the Mogul to an alliance offensive and defensive, which request was highly flattering to his feelings as being sought after at the same time

by two of the most powerful of the kings of India, Nuno, though rather vacillating at first, came to the conclusion to reject the Emperor of Delhi's proposal, and remain content with that of his former ally, Bahádur Sháh, who then entered into another league, the conditions of which gratified to the full the ambition of the Portuguese general. The conditions were : That the Sultán Bahádur Sháh should cede to the King of Portugal a site for the building of a fortress in Diu ; that the Sultán should in particular give the King the ramparts that were on the seaside close to the port, and at the same time confirm the cession he had made the preceding year of Bassein and the territory around. Another clause was to the effect that the Portuguese should engage in return to afford him assistance against the Emperor Humáyun, which assistance was eventually given and proved highly valuable to Bahádur Sháh, though it has not been acknowledged by the Mahomedan historian Ferishat.

This treaty, containing conditions so hard for Bahádur Sháh, although signed in 1534, did not urge the Portuguese general to found the city of Bassein until 1536, when, the Mogul having threatened to take possession of it, he was obliged to appoint his brother-in-law Garcia de Sá to conduct its defence ; but Garcia, having but a factory established there by the Portuguese several years before, and some slight fortification hastily constructed, thought it better to abandon the place. Thereupon Antonio Galvaõ, whom the chroniclers call the great Christian hero, who in after-time as a governor of the Molukas not only distinguished himself by repairing the ruins caused by his predecessor, the inconsiderate Tristaõ de Ataide, but made himself beloved of the whole native population,—opposed a resolution so unworthy of the Portuguese, and determined on fighting. The Mogul's hope of becoming master of Bassein being thereby frustrated, he, in the presence of the warlike attitude assumed by the dauntless Galvaõ with his gallant company, thought it prudent not to risk an attack, and retreated without even firing a shot. Nuno, who had arrived soon after the Mogul had withdrawn from the field, commenced to lay the foundations of his citadel of Bassein, and was so pleased with the valorous action of Galvaõ that, in order to do him honour, he asked him to lay the corner-stone of the fort.

Having once built Bassein, Garcia de Sá was made its first Captain or Governor, and continued to improve, by all means within his power, the condition of the place, until the year 1548, when, on the

death of Don Joaõ de Castro, the *cartas de sucessaõ* or royal letters of succession, being opened with the usual formalities, the following names in succession were read out :—Don Joaõ Mascarenhas, Don Jorge Tellese Menezes, and Garcia de Sá. The two former being absent in Portugal, Garcia de Sá was proclaimed Governor of India, while his place of Captain of Bassein was given to Jorge Cabral, who eventually, on the death of Garcia de Sá, which took place in 1549 at Goa, where his remains lie buried in the church of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, was also called from this place to Goa to occupy the position of acting Governor until the year 1551, when the Viceroy Afonso de Noronha came down to hold the reins of the Portuguese empire in Asia. Jorge Cabral, the historians tell us, was at first averse to leaving the humble post of captain of the fort of Bassein for the more splendid but burdensome position of acting governor, but, induced by his wife, who was young, handsome, and ambitious, he accepted the situation and returned to Goa, where he was received with all the honours due to his high position.

The founder of Bassein belongs to that brilliant galaxy of intrepid soldiers of old Lusitania, who for about half a century dazzled the world with their splendid achievements.\* He was not less known as an accomplished general and statesman than as a man of culture and attainments. Musgrave writes of him, "His conquests were numerous, and his measures so skilfully and nicely framed and concerted, that he stands preëminent amongst the Viceroys who acquired the most brilliant

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\* A Sampaio feroz succederá  
Cunha, que longo tempo tem o leme ;  
De Chalé as torres altas erguerá,  
Em quanto Dio illustre delle treme :  
O forte Baçaim se l'he dará,  
Naõ sem sangue porém ; que nelle geme  
Melique, porque á força so de espada  
A tranqueira soberba vê tomada.

Camões, *Lusiadas*,  
Canto X., LXI.

To fierce Sampaio Cunha shall succeed,  
Who long the great machine of state shall guide :  
In Chalè lofty tow'rs he shall erect,  
And Dio, apprehensive for her fate,  
Shall tremble ; and to him Baçaim shall yield,  
But not a bloodless conquest, for the sword  
Alone shall force Meliqué to submit,  
When, agoniz'd, he sees his strongest hold  
Assaulted with success.

*The Lusiad*, translated  
by Musgrave, p. 382.

reputation.”\* His sayings are characteristic of his ready wit. It is stated that at the siege of Diu a soldier by his side being struck with a bullet on the head, Nuno da Cunha coolly exclaimed, in the words of the Holy Scriptures, “*Humiliate capita vestra Deo*,” “Humble your heads to God.” His case affords one of the many illustrations of the proverbial ingratitude of princes. He was, notwithstanding his great services to his king, recalled at the instigation of his enemies, but died near the Cape of Good Hope on his way home, in February 1539, uttering with the indignant Roman the words “*Ingrata patria, ossa mea non possidebis*,” “Ungrateful country, thou shalt not possess my bones.” His will, when opened, disclosed his dying wish that his king should be paid for the iron chain with which he would be buried in the sea, for he had incurred no other debt. The irony, as it was, met with another stern mind to carry it into effect, for his old father, the distinguished navigator Tristaõ da Cunha, presented himself to the King, Don João III., and offered to pay the amount. What followed the chroniclers have not transmitted to us. We are simply told that the King regretted the way he had treated his subject, as great and as unfortunate as Alfonso d’Albuquerque.

The Portuguese were in possession of Bassein for about two hundred and ten years, during which period it gradually rose to a state of grandeur and opulence that obtained for it the noble appellation of “a Corte do Norte,” or “Court of the North,”†, for it had become the resort of the most prosperous *fidalgos* and the richest merchants of Portuguese India, so much so that it became proverbial in those times to call a great man “Fidalgo ou Cavalheiro de Baçaim.” It abounded with sumptuous edifices both public and private, civil and religious, which latter, besides the *Matriz* or Cathedral, consisted of five convents, thirteen churches, and one *Misericordia* or asylum for orphans and maidens; and the ruins of which even at the present day serve as a silent epitaph of departed greatness.‡

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\* Musgrave’s *Lusiad*, p. 565.

† *Dic. Hist. Exp.* art. *Baçaim*, p. 10, Goa edition. It was more precisely the capital of the province of the North.

‡ The fort of Bassein consisted then of a strong stone wall with eleven bastions mounting ninety pieces of artillery, twenty-seven of which were of bronze, and seventy mortars, seven of which were likewise of bronze. There were besides many detached fortifications in the districts around, equipped altogether with 127 pieces of ordnance, out of which 34 were of bronze, and 118 mortars. Its port was defended by twenty-one gunboats, each of them carrying from 16 to 18 guns.—*Dic. Hist. Exp.*, p. 10, and *O Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. III., pp. 250-8.

The writings of several travellers, both foreign and Portuguese, afford us an insight into the state of Bassein during its palmy days, and as some of them have never been published before in English, I shall make no apology for quoting passages from them. Diogo do Couto writes:—"The city of Bassein is the largest, and comprehends more territory than all the others of India, because towards the east it extends to the forts Assarim and Manora, which are about eight leagues, and contain rich villages yielding great revenue. Towards the north it extends to the river of Agaçain, and towards the south to the river of Bombay, or even a little farther to another arm which is called Carania, as it makes between the one and the other a small island in which we have a castle of that name. The river which surrounds the island of Salsette has two branches; that to the north is the river which runs along the city of Bassein, and continues its course to the south in several windings; and about halfway, in a place distant about three leagues, the Portuguese established a colony called Tanah, which is the residence of about sixty Portuguese, who possess in that island their villages, which are very productive. Here the river has two very narrow passages, and a person can ford it at low water from the country of the Moors to the Island of Salsette; near these passages there are two castles seated on a rock over the water to defend this pass. The river then continues its progress to the west about three leagues, and forms the beautiful harbour of Bombay, which extends itself to the sea more than half a league in breadth, where all the ships from Portugal and other countries ride in on account of its good soundings, having no sandbank nor any other impediments; and before it reaches the sea it extends one arm towards the south, which makes the Island of Caranja, and another towards the north, which is the Island of Bandora. From this mouth of Bombay river it directs its course to the north coast about four leagues until it enters the harbour of Bassein, and leaves the Island of Salsette on the seaside, which is reckoned to be fifteen leagues in circumference and two in breadth."\*

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\* Decada VII., liv. iii., cap. x., and *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. I. pp. 3-5. The same Diogo do Couto writes:—"When the Portuguese took Bassein and its dependencies, they went to this Pagoda (Elephanta) and removed a famous stone over the gate which had an inscription of large and well-written characters, which was sent to the King, after the Governor of India had in vain endeavoured to find out any Hindoo or Moor in the East who could decipher them. And the King, D. Joao III., also used all his endeavours to the same

Francis Pyrard, a French traveller, who seems to have been in Bassein in the year 1607, writes about the trade of Bassein thus :—“ From Bassein is exported the best timber for the building of houses and ships, the greater part of which latter are built here ; it also yields a building stone that is fine and as hard as granite, and I never saw columns and pillars of entire stone so large as in this place. All the churches and sumptuous palaces of Goa are built of this stone.”\*

Dellon, another French traveller and a victim of the Inquisition, was in Bassein on January 2nd, 1674. He was landed as a prisoner from Damaun, and sent with other prisoners directly to the jail, which he describes thus :—“ The jail of the city of Bassein is larger and cleaner than that of Damaun ; there I met with a large number of companions in misfortune, whom the Rev. Commissary of the Inquisition of this city kept imprisoned for a long time, waiting the opportunity to send them over to Gôa.”† He embarked on the 7th on board a ship belonging to the fleet, along with his companions in chains, and set sail the next day to Goa.

Dr. Fryer, who visited Surat and Bombay in the year 1675, says that he was sent for by the captain of Bassein, by name John de Mendos, (João Mendes?) to treat his daughter. The captaincy, he says, was triennial, and was entailed on certain descendants of the conquerors, who succeeded to the office in rotation. The city is described as en-

purpose, but without any effect, and the stone thus remained there—and there is now no trace of it.” Dec. VII, liv. iii., cap. XI. James Murphy, an architect, in his *Travels in Portugal*, published in 1795, gives a copy of the inscriptional stone found among the trophies of D. João de Castro, carefully preserved in his family mansion, the *Penha Verde* in Cintra. Both Lafiteau and Murphy are of opinion that it is the one alluded to by Couto ; it is in Sanskrit ; I have shown it to our venerable Vice-President, Dr. John Wilson, and when translated, intend to bring it forward before the Royal Asiatic Society.

\* *Viagem de Francisco Pyrard*, vol. II., pp. 226-7.

† *Narração da Inquisição de Goa*, p. 48. The author of the *Historia das Inquisições* adds to this quotation from Dellon the following :—“ The city of Bassein is situated about twenty leagues to the south of Damaun ; at the time it was under the Portuguese it was larger than Damaun, but wanting a good fortress, although possessing walls and a good garrison. It was built about a quarter of a league from the sea, on the margin of a river, where ships of any tonnage could enter and anchor any time in safety, for the harbour was well protected from winds. On this account it was the residence of a great number of merchants, and the emporium of a large trade ; it had excellent houses, straight roads, large squares, rich and magnificent churches, the climate salubrious, and the soil fertile.” The Portuguese had no city in India with so great a number of noblemen as Bassein, whence the proverb “ Fidalgo, ou Cavalheiro de Baçaim.” p. 187.



circled with a "stone wall" with "a gate for each wind," where only the Christians lodge, the Banians repairing to the suburbs. There were in his time six churches, four convents, and two colleges, one belonging to the Franciscans and another to the Jesuits, who also possessed a fine library, consisting principally of commentaries and works on history and morals. Their college is said to have had five square cloisters, with cells on two sides, a spacious refectory, and a goodly church. The Fidalgos, who tolerated no artisan among them, or within the walls, had, according to this writer, stately dwellings, two stories high, graced with covered balconies and large windows.\*

We have next the account by Dr. Gemelli Careri, who visited Bassein in 1695, and describes it thus:—"The compass of Bazaim is three miles, and has eight bastions, not all finished," while "on the south side, towards the channel, there is only a single wall, that place being less exposed to the danger of enemies, and sufficiently defended by the ebb and flood. One-third of the city, towards the north, is unpeopled by reason of the plague, which some years rages in it. The streets are wide and straight, and the great square or market has good buildings about it. There are two principal gates, one on the east, and the other on the west, and a small one towards the channel or strait."

\* \* \* \* \* "nothing appearing for fifteen miles but delightful gardens planted with several sorts of country fruit-trees, as palm, fig, mango, and others, and abundance of sugar-canes. The soil is cultivated by Christian, Mahomedan, and Pagan peasants inhabiting the villages thereabouts. They keep the gardens always green and fruitful by watering them by certain engines, so that the gentry, allured by the cool and delightful walks, all have their pleasure-houses at Cassabo (Cassabé), to go thither in the hottest weather to take the air and get away from the contagious and pestilential disease called carazzo,† that used to infect all the cities of the northern coast. It is exactly like a bubo, and so violent that it not only takes away all means of preparing for a good end, but in a few hours depopulates whole cities."‡

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\* *A New Account of East India and Persia*, pp. 74, 75.

† *Carazzo*, in the opinion of my friend the Italian Consul, is a word of the Neapolitan dialect, and not to be found in the lexicons of the Italian language: the symptoms, however, point to the plague.

‡ *A Voyage round the World*, by Dr. J. F. Gemelli Careri, Churchill's Voyages, vol. IV. p. 191.



Captain Hamilton, who visited Bassein about the same time, says :—  
 “Its walls are pretty high and about two miles in circumference around the city, which has a little citadel in the middle of it. It contains three or four churches, and some convents and monasteries, with a college and hospital.”\*

The Portuguese, though in full and uninjured possession of Bassein for about two hundred and thirty years, were not unfrequently disturbed. The principal disturbing elements were the Mahomedans and the Maráthás, whose opposition, it appears, was less provoked by the Portuguese government than by the religious intolerance of the Inquisition. Ovington writes that “the Mogul’s army has made several inroads into this country, plundered some small towns, and threatened Bassein. He adduces several reasons for their pillaging incendiarism, one of which is that the Portuguese burnt formerly a Cogee (Khasi), a person skilled in their law, at Goa. Another reason is because the Portuguese proselyte the children of all persons deceased among them, whether their parents are Moors or Pagans, and seize their estates into the church, which raises a loud clamour against them, and grievous complaints to the Mogul.”†

Orme mentions that Síváji and his successors made raids into the Portuguese territory of Bassein, in revenge for the Inquisition burning the Maráthá prisoners. In 1674 Moro Paṇḍit came down the Gháta, with 10,000 men, and, being quartered in the ruined town of Kalyána, sent messengers to Bassein demanding the *chaut* or fourth part of the revenue of all the Portuguese territories in those parts. The cause of this demand was enmity borne towards the Portuguese, who, Orme adds, “had lately inflicted great severities on many families of the Marathee religion within their districts, because they refused to become Christians; and this time of retaliation, by requiring them to become tributaries, seems to have been expressly chosen.‡

Again, Goetz, who was in Bassein about the year 1650, says :—  
 “When the Portuguese find an idol they burn or break it; they destroyed a tank at Bassein where the Hindús used to bathe for the remission of their sins; the persecution of the Portuguese had made many Hindús, Mussulmans, and Parsees abandon their homes and live

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\* Capt. A. Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, vol. I., p. 180.

+ “*A Voyage to Surat in the year 1669*,” by J. Ovington, pp. 206, 207.

‡ Orme, *Hist. Eng.*, p. 15.

in the dominion of Shah Jehan, where they had liberty of conscience ; and that between Bassein and Damaun there are few natives, the greater part of the village lands being uncultivated."

Modern Portuguese writers do not ignore the harm the Inquisition did to their Eastern Empire. One of them\* says that very stringent decrees were issued throughout Portuguese India by the Provincial Council (a peripatetic institution auxiliary to the court of the Inquisitors at Goa) affecting populations of towns and parishes. The neophytes were strictly prohibited from living with the infidels under the penalty of paying one *pardaõ* (six annas) to the individual who should prefer the charge against them. It was also determined that no convert should keep friendship with a heathen, or even have him as a servant except as a groom, in which case the practice of his religion would not be allowed. In Bassein the Christians were not to employ the Parbús,† neither lend them money nor admit them into partnership, nor even give them shelter in their houses, under pain of transportation, subject to the approval of the Viceroy. No infidel was allowed to serve in a public office as a clerk, *náyak*, peon, *mukádama*, receiver, *parpate*, interpreter, attorney, solicitor, broker, or *shroff*, nor were the Christians of Goa and Bassein permitted to rent their property to the pagan. It was, moreover, decreed that a roll or register of all infidels residing in each parish of the city of Goa, Bassein, &c., of a hundred persons each, should be kept, half of whom were compelled to attend every Sunday afternoon alternately a meeting where Christian doctrine or catechism was forcibly inculcated by a priest appointed for the purpose by the prelate of the diocese, and those who remained absent were mulcted one *tanga* ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  annas) for the first occasion, two for the second, and three for the third, the amount to be paid to their accusers.

Another cause of the decadence of Bassein was more internal, and unfortunately more deeply rooted,—the laxity of morals. Soon after the middle of the sixteenth century,—or, more precisely, about the time Portugal was usurped by the Spanish crown,—the dissipation of habits was of public notoriety, and was not only animadverted upon both by foreign travellers and a few of the far-sighted among the Portuguese

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\* See the interesting articles on the "Administração da Justiça em Goa," by my friend Senhor Abranches Garcia, one of the Judges of the High Court of Portuguese India.—*Instituto Vasco da Gama*, No. 27, pp. 66, 67.

† The Portuguese used to call all the high-class Hindus of Bassein Parbús.

themselves, but were complained of to the King, Philip II. of Spain, who, apparently zealous both about the prosperity of his territory and conduct of his delegates in the East, used to write to the Viceroy letters at each *monção*,\* advising him to be solicitous to punish those who should offend public morals by their demeanour.

The captains of Bassein were themselves engaged in trade, which the King being aware of, writes to the Viceroy that he is informed all the forts of the north are much injured for little or no care, or rather for positive negligence on the part of the captains, who think more of their own trade and profits than of his service; that the captaincies of Bassein and Damaun are provided with timber for the building of ships of his armada from captains themselves, who charged far higher prices than their value in the market, which would not happen if they had no traffic of their own.†

Another proof of the royal solicitude about Bassein is to be found in the fact referred to in an excerpt of his letter to the Viceroy, Don Duarte de Menezes, in the year 1587, of his having sent a miner (geologist?) named Agostinho de Souto-Maior to Bassein on being informed that there were signs of the existence of iron and also of copper and silver in that island; that he would be glad to learn whether anything of the sort had really been found.‡ Again, in January 1591 the King writes to the Viceroy, Mathias de Albuquerque, that he had been informed that a scandal had taken place in Bassein, and of which he had no knowledge until about two years had elapsed. The King then commands the Viceroy to prosecute the delinquents, as he had heard that for some years past it had been a very common practice in India to shoot people without the courts of justice putting a stop to it, which, the King regrets to say, is against both the service of God and his own.§

In spite of all these depressing causes, the prosperous condition of the court of Bassein was apparently as striking and as unshorn of its grandeur as in its former days; for we read that as late as 1720

\* *Monção* is the Portuguese term corresponding to monsoons, or the season during which the ships from Lisbon used to sail for India.

† *Carta Regia*, dated the 13th March 1587—*Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. III., p. 106.

‡ *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. III., C. R. dated 1587, p. 506.

§ C. R. dated January 1591, *Archivo Port. Orient.*, fas. III. pp. 287, 288.

the population of Bassein was 60,499, of whom 58,131 were Native Christians, the rest being Europeans. The revenue of Bassein in 1686 was 172,920 Xs.,\* and the expenditure 91,588. In 1709 the revenue was 194,748, and the expenditure 100,161. From 1718 to 1719 the revenue was 310,779, and the expenditure 315,426. The last item we get is that of 1729, in which we simply get the revenue of 914,125. In the ecclesiastical department the sum of 14,357 Xs. was allotted to the priests as *congruas*, besides the emoluments they derived from their church ministrations. All this revenue was derived from the following seven divisions, which were subject to "the Court of Bassein," excluding of course Bombay, and the villages of *Mazagaõ*, *Parela*, and *Warly*, since its cession to the British crown, according to the instrument of possession made by the public notary of Bassein on the 17th February 1665. Here follows the list of divisions:—

1. Saybana de Baçaim.
2. Caçabé de Tanah.
3. Ilha de Salsette.
4. Ilha de Caranja, including the islands of Nevem, Seveon, and Elephante.
5. Ilha de Bellaflôr de Sabayo.
6. Pragana de Manora.
7. Pragana de Asserim.

Each of these divisions consisted of a great number of villages, caçabés or groves and orchards, hortas or cocoanut-gardens, *pacarias* and *sarretores*, which terms have now become quite obsolete and even meaningless.

The Portuguese in India had, however, in the second half of the sixteenth century, received so many warnings of gradual decline of their power, that they became apprehensive that only a strong blow from a determined foe would be sufficient to wrest Bassein from their feeble grasp.

Corruption and depravity of manners† were making rapid strides

\* A *xerafim* is equivalent to a shilling.

† The narrative entitled *Viaggio al l' Indie Orientale* of the Carmelite Vincenzo Maria, one of the emissaries of Pope Alexander VII., explains better the culmination their depravity had attained. I forbear, however, quoting him. It is highly tinged with hatred, and the hatred of the priest knows no bounds. He is quite indignant with the ladies of Bassein for eating 'areca and betle' (*pán supári*); but though not so elegant, it is perhaps not worse than tobacco-smoking, at least physiologically.

among the citizens of every class ; the original conquerors of India were not in existence ; the mother-country, on the death of Don Sebastian, was distracted by civil factions and overrun by the Spaniards ; the flourishing colonies of Malabar snatched away by the Dutch ; the spirit of religious intolerance and inquisitorial atrocities driving away from the Portuguese towns all native industry, riches, and talent ; the trafficking of the captains ; rapacity and unrestrained abuses in the management of the public money ; the African slavery ; and last, though not least, the absolute want of discipline, subordination, or love of glory, animating those squalid and drooping remnants of the Portuguese, would in themselves be enough to weaken beyond recovery any empire in the world, much less to cause Bassein to fall a prey to a powerful enemy, as it subsequently did.\*

Some element of valour and chivalry, however, inherited from "that nation of heroes" who, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, founded an empire extending from that promontory to the frontiers of China, still lingered in the breasts of the Portuguese of Bassein, and when, on the 19th May 1739, Captain Caetano de Souza Pereira capitulated and handed over the noble court of Bassein, the seat of hundreds of feudal lords who spent here their lifetime, and whose bones† are still there mouldering in vaults covered over by deformed heaps of brick and mortar,—nay, the very nests of venomous reptiles ; the scene of many a romantic episode, of violence and martyrdom, of many a valiant soldier and not less heroic missionary ; it was like the last groan of a lion that, enfeebled by decrepitude, still frightens his assailant. But "it is a melancholy view to contemplate the fall of nations," says Abbé Raynal. Let us hasten to the narrative of the siege.

The conduct of the Maráthás towards the Portuguese was from the beginning marked by duplicity. They did not even dare to appear before the fort of Bassein until they had first taken possession of a small fort on the opposite side of the river named Arnalla,‡ and put the commandant and his whole garrison to the sword, when their troops crossed.

\* See note at page 334.

† Mrs. Postans, in her *Western India*, vol. I., pp. 183-4, mentions the name of the great Alfonso d'Albuquerque among those buried in Bassein. But this is a mistake. Albuquerque died in Goa, and was buried in the church of *N. S. da Serra*, from whence his bones were conveyed to Portugal in 1566.

‡ The ruins of Arnalla are still visible. Antonio Bocarro in his MSS. describing the Portuguese fortresses in India, discovered some time ago in the Public

The Portuguese governor of Salsette, Luis de Botelho, called immediately a council of war, where it was decided that he should retire to Caranja, leaving Captain Pereira to defend the fort, and Captain Ferraz to command the garrison of Bandora.

A small attack followed, which was gallantly repulsed until the chief officers were severely wounded. Goa being itself distressed by the invasion of the Bhonsales, no aid could be procured thence, nor any assistance obtained from the English authorities at Bombay, notwithstanding constant representations made to them in pathetic terms by Joaõ de Souza Terras.

All these circumstances concurred subsequently to encourage the Maráthá general, Chimnaji Appá, the brother of Peshwá Báji Ráo, to press the siege, scale its walls, and enter, sword in hand, overwhelming the Portuguese by numbers.

All these operations, however, occupied a considerable time.

When the Maráthás laid siege to Tháná and Salsette, they took the precaution of occupying the islands of Varsova and Dháravi, and the creek between Bassein and the main, to prevent all assistance reaching the forts on the island; then advancing, on the 17th February 1739, and approaching the ramparts by sapping, they commenced the memorable siege of Bassein, which lasted for more than three months, and was conducted with such skill, courage, and perseverance as they have seldom, before or since, displayed. Notwithstanding all these qualities, the Maráthás could not succeed until they had killed the brave commandant, Sylveira de Menezes, and, encouraged by their partial success and the tacit concurrence of the English, had sprung some twelve or thirteen mines, two of which exploded, making a large breach, which they promptly mounted, but a third blew up hundreds of the assailants in the air. The besieged kept up their defence by throwing hand-grenades among the crowds in the rear, and shell and huge stones from mortars\* in their batteries and trenches, driving the besiegers away and plying with musketry those who had ascended, thus spreading terrible havoc and slaughter among the enemy. The Portuguese who had come from

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Library of Evora, and printed a few years ago by the indefatigable secretary to the Government of Goa, Senhor Cunha Rivara—calls this place “a ilha das vaccas” —*Chron. de Tis.*, No. 24.

\* Among the relics of the siege, some stone balls about six inches in diameter are still to be seen in a magazine in the fort.

Europe exhibited prodigies of valour ; it was with difficulty that Captain Pereira could restrain them from sacrificing their lives. Many of them would sally out in the dead of night to attack the besiegers in their lines. The Maráthás at length succeeded in effecting a breach in one of the curtains, but, as it was not large enough to be of use, other mines were fired, which made at last a very large breach under the tower of St. Sebastian, which, having been wholly brought to the ground, was resolutely mounted by the Maráthás, who succeeded in gaining a position from which they could not be dislodged ; and the garrison, having been worn out by famine and fatigue, and having lost the flower of their officers and men, and the sea-face being at the same time blockaded by the Angria, held out a white flag and offered to capitulate.

In this memorable siege the Maráthás lost about 12,000 men in killed and wounded, while on the side of the Portuguese it is said the loss did not exceed 800, and when the treaty of surrender and capitulation was signed on the 16th May 1739, it was stipulated that "all the garrison, as well regulars as auxiliaries," should be allowed to march out of the town with all the honours of war, whilst eight days were allowed to those of the inhabitants who so wished, to leave it with all their moveable property.\*

\* *Burgess's Visit to Guzerat*, p. 9.

Off. Doc. Treaty in the *Bomb. Quart. Review*, vol. IV., p. 84-5.

(a) The organized system of plunder and despotism followed by the degenerate Portuguese of India was, according to the judicious remarks of Abbé Raynal, Teixeira Pinto, and latterly the distinguished American statesman and traveller William H. Seward, but the result of a small nation becoming of a sudden mistress of the richest and most extensive commerce of the globe. They lost the foundation of all their real power in the East through simply making themselves merchants, factors, sailors, and priests, to the utter neglect and even abandonment of agriculture, natural industry, and population ; when their schemes of trade and projects of conquest, never being guided by the true spirit of international law, soon assumed that of rapine. It was then evident that when a free and enlightened nation, actuated with a proper spirit of toleration, should appear on the stage, to contend with them for their empire in India, it would succumb, and so it did. The travellers Linschoten, Tavernier, and several others bear out the statements, and openly sympathize with the natives for forming confederacies to avenge affronts.

Amboyna was the first to avenge itself ; other places followed, and at last from the very centre of their capital settlement of Goa rose that spirited confederacy of brave patriots known as '*sublevação dos Pintos*,' which, though unsuccessful through no fault of theirs, was the harbinger of more peaceful and prosperous times, and of that true constitutional régime, inaugurated under the auspicious reign of King Pedro IV. of Portugal, and first Emperor of Brazil, which, skipping over past resentments and old barriers of national antipathy, has concurred materially to reconcile the dependencies with the metropolis.

The patriotic Pintos, who, unlike modern Christians, sunk their time-honoured surnames to assume some commonplace Portuguese patronymic, and a couple of



In conclusion, I cannot offer a more fitting remark on the subject of this remarkable siege and capitulation of Bassein than by quoting here the following words of an English writer :—" Thus fell a European city in India, as a stately tree, the growth of two centuries, which falls never to flourish again ! Melancholy as was the issue, yet no contest had been so glorious for the Indo-Portuguese, in none had they earned such unsullied fame, since the days when Pacheco, with his four hundred countrymen, repelled the Zamorin's army, and Albuquerque twice conquered Gôa." The writer then adds, " But no one who ever told the tale of Bassein's last days breathed an insinuation against the honour and courage of its Indo-Portuguese defenders, and this portion of Anglo-Indian annals would have had a brighter hue for us if the English had not been restrained by their calculations and mercantile propensity from rendering the unhappy city more prompt and valuable assistance, if for the sake of England's ancient ally the Government of Bombay had expended some of their increasing treasure, and responded to the moving appeals of the chivalrous Caetano de Souza."\*

Bassein now, though in the hands of the Maráthás, did not lose much of its lustre as a city, for it was soon made a *Sar Subhá* and chief place in that section extending from the Bánkoṭ river to Damaun, but there being no Hindús of the high caste to take the place of those driven away by the Portuguese, Mádhavaráo Peshwá offered grants of land free to those who would like to settle in the city or its neighbourhood. He also instituted a tax in support of Brahmanás to purify the native Christians, whom they regarded as polluted Hindús, before receiving them into their former castes. Both these measures brought down a crowd of the Hindús from Maháráshṭra and Gujásṭra, especially Parbús, whose influence is still paramount in the country.

The Maráthás, however, did not long retain possession of Bassein. It was taken from them by General Goddard's army in the year 1780, after a siege that lasted about twelve days. It was restored by the treaty

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dozens of the old families in Goa gave now their support to this now liberal government as consistently as they had formerly resisted the 'reign of terror and oppression.' Even yet it is mostly from their families, scattered over the three old provinces of Goa, that have risen those distinguished men who have so honourably represented their mother country in the Cortes of Lisbon and elsewhere. The University of Coimbra and the Polytechnic Institute of Lisbon have since those times numbered among its professors not a few of those who are either lineal or collateral descendants from these old patriots of Goa. These facts have their historical significance, and should not remain unknown to the student of Indian annals.

\* *Bombay Quarterly Review*, vol. IV., pp. 71—87.



of Salbai in 1752, and again resumed by the English on the overthrow and deposition of the last of the Peshwás, in 1818, when it was incorporated into the Bombay Presidency.\* Its present condition is that of a prosperous *táluká* with its fertile soil, the island being generally low and flat, with the exception of two rugged hills of considerable elevation, laid out in plantain and sugarcane gardens, in which rice and pan (*Piper Charica* or *Piper Betel*) are also cultivated.

The town of Bassein is now called *Bájpura* or the city of *Báji Ráo*, while the whole district is divided into 161 villages, out of which four are *ináms*, and the principal divisions of which are *Khani Vadem*, where there is a small bandar; the mahál of *Mánikapura* in the south-east, where there is a railway station; the mahál of *Aganasi* or *Agasi* in the north; *Sayavana*, remarkable for its fort; the mountainous *Tuñgári*, known by its pagoda called *Tuñgáreshvara*, already mentioned; *Nirmala*, above described; and *Soupara*,† once a famous bandar, but now almost abandoned; and *Pápari*, a village about a cannon-shot from *Bájpura*, chiefly inhabited by *Bráhmaṇs* of *Chitpáwan*, *Karada*, and *Deshastha* divisions,‡ as well as *Palshás*, *Sonárs*, and other inferior castes of the *Hindús*. It yields an annual revenue of about 1,80,630 Rs.§

In 1840 the Court of Directors sanctioned the construction of an embankment across the *Kalyána* creek to the island of Bassein, which has prevented the encroachment of the sea and reclaimed from it several hundred acres of culturable land, and lately an elegant and solid iron bridge has been built by the B. B. and C. I. Railway, which connects Bassein with Bombay.

In speaking now of the antiquities of Bassein relative to the Portuguese period, I must begin with its walls and ramparts, which are found to be in a good state of preservation, except where they are breached at two opposite ends, through which runs the modern road to

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\* It was on the last day of 1802 that Col. Close and *Báji Ráo* concluded here the famous treaty of Bassein, in which the "latter purchased protection by allowing his independence to be circumscribed."

† *Soupara* is identical with the ancient *Śurpáraka*, which Lassen says means 'fine shore.' It is mentioned as *Supera* by Father Jordanus, already mentioned, and contemporary with Abulfeda, who calls it *Sufálah*. Abul Nihan Mahomed, surnamed *ab-Berini*, in the early half of the eleventh century, speaks of it as *Subarah*, five *parangsangs* from *Thána*. It is the *Soupara* of Ptolemy and *Oepara* of the *Periplus*.

‡ Vaupell, *Trans. Bomb. Geog. Soc.* vol. II., pp. 158-9.

§ टाणें जिल्ह्याचें वर्णन, p. 26.

the bandar, dividing the fort into two unequal parts. The principal bastions were named Cavalleiro, Nossa Sra. dos Remedios, Reis Magos Santiago, Sam Gonçalo, Madre de Deos, Sam Joaõ, Elefante, Sam Pedro Sam Paulo, and Sam Sebastiaõ,\* the latter being the *Porta Pia* of Bassein, through which the Maráthás entered it in 1739. Of the two mediæval gateways the one on the seaside, the 'Porta do Mar,' with its massive teak gates cased with iron and spikes, is in a state of perfect preservation; while the other, on the land side, the Porta da Terra, is imperfect without those appendages.

Within the enclosure are still several buildings, but all more or less in a desolate and dilapidated condition. Standing near the portal of the ancient citadel, and viewing around the precincts of the once splendid city, the tourist beholds, with the exception of the glorious Christian monogram I.H.S. carved on doors of churches, and which are still intact, nothing but crumbling walls everywhere; the antiquated moss-covered cross, that traditional symbol of Christianity, which the Portuguese loved to raise at every corner and cross-road; the gates, windows, and walls overgrown with creepers and other tropical plants thriving luxuriantly, and sending their twisted roots and tendrils into, and displacing the stones of, massive walls, immense pillars with beautifully carved capitals, porches, pilasters, cornices, abutments, vaulted ceilings, and the remains of some elegant façades testifying to the opulence of olden times, now, alas! passed away for ever. Silence and gloom reign supreme where once the air resounded with the tramp of gorgeous pomp and pageants, and the chant of the religious who kept high festival and held gaudy and solemn processions within this recess, and at the same time a busy stage of missionary activity consecrated by the footsteps of the celebrated St. Francis Xavier; † but these edifices are now roofless, and the tomb of their founder without even a decent slab—a pregnant theme for the contemplation of the philosopher and the moralist, a Montesquieu or a Gibbon. Bishop Heber, who visited it in

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\* *Chronista de Tissuary*, No. 35; *Inst. Vasco de Gama*, No. 14; *Proceed. R. As. Soc. Beng.* 1874; *Telbort's Port. Settlements in India*, p. 139.

† St. Francis Xavier was twice in Bassein, in December 1544 from Cochin to see the Governor Martim Affonço de Souza, and to request him to despatch a fleet to punish the tyrant of Jaffanapatam, where the Portuguese some time afterwards got possession of a relic of Buddha Sakya Muni, supposed by others to be but the tooth of a monkey, to redeem which a large sum of money was offered by the king of Pegu, and rejected; and again in March 1548 from Malacca, to meet the Governor, D. Joaõ de Castro, who was here visiting the "forts of the north."—*Vida de S. Francisco Xavier*, pp. 59—111.

1825, says—"There was a small guard stationed in one of the gates, under an English conductor of ordnance;" within, he adds, "perfectly uninhabited, and containing nothing but a single pagoda in good repair (built perhaps by the Marathás after the fall of the Portuguese), and a melancholy display of ruined houses and churches."—"It reminded me," says Heber, "of some story of enchantment which I had read in my childhood, and I could almost have expected to see the shadows of its original inhabitants flitting about among the jungle which now grows in melancholy luxuriance in the courts and areas of churches, convents, and houses."\*

To the left of the street leading from the sea-gate are the sublime ruins of the *Matri* or Cathedral, over the door of which is engraved the following inscription in stone :—"No anno de 1501 sendo Arcebispo Primaz o Ilmo. Sr. Dom Frei Aleixo de Menezes, e Vigario o Pe. Pedro Galvão Pereira, se reformou esta matriz." A little further, at the end of the street, is a portal which is supposed to be the gate of the castle or circular citadel in the centre of the fort, before alluded to. On this portal are two inscriptions commemorative of St. Francis Xavier having been chosen patron of Bassaia in the year 1531.† One of them runs thus :—"Governador e Estado da Índia o Vice-Rei Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares, se fez este portal em o qual se poz por padroeiro d' esta cidade a Santa Francisco Xavier. A deo de maio 1531." The other is as follows :—"Senho Capitão d' esta cidade Gaspar de Mello de Menezes e vereadores Gonçalo Coelho da Silva, Pedro Ferreira e João Baptista Michalão ed os mais officiaes se poz n' este portal a Santa Xavier que e patrono por seu padroeiro . . . no anno de 1531." The former occurs on a pillar which appears lately to have fallen to the ground; the latter is on the face of the portal and to the right of the spectator.

In the name of a modern church which was called "A Igreja de Santo Antonio," has recently been established a sugar-refinery, which has imparted some life to the deserted city, but has not in any way served remuneration to the shrewd though enterprising speculator. It is the oldest church in Bassaia, was built close to the citadel in 1537

\* Heber's *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 130 in 1828, vol.

† According to the *Journal* of the *Journal* of Bassaia at the time of its first visit, the *Journal* of St. Francis Xavier was substituted in his place. The *Journal* of St. Francis Xavier was substituted in his place. The *Journal* of St. Francis Xavier was substituted in his place.

by order of King John III., and endowed by him annually with 1,272 xerafins, and subsequently by a pious lady with 100 xerafins a year.

In the ruined house of the Captain of the citadel are still seen a coat of arms, a cross and a sphere bearing an illegible date, probably 1606. A chapel in its vicinity is converted into a warehouse in connection with the sugar-refinery.

In front of the square are the ruins of the Dominican convent. Its vast church is roofless, and its thick walls, partially discoloured, are still standing. The *Capella-mor* or principal chapel, with its beautiful arch, is in very good condition. On the gospel side of the altar is the tomb of the patron, in ruins, the epitaph being scarcely legible. This church is very large and might be easily restored.

A little beyond, overtaken by similar misfortune, and belonging to the rival order of the Jesuits, is the church of St. Paul, which must have formerly been a really fine structure, with its vast and elegant façade and Corinthian columns of basalt. In the principal chapel are several gravestones and epitaphs, only two of which are readable:—  
 “Sepultura de Dona Filipa da Fonseca, Dona viuva, insigne bemfeitora d’esta egreja aquem em sua vida deu tudo quanto tinha. Faleceo a 20 de Julho da era de 628.” “Sepultura de Isabel de Aguiar, Dona viuva, insigne bemfeitora d’este collegio. Falleceo a 24 de Janeiro anno de 1591.”

The greater part of the college and its cloisters, so highly spoken of by Dr. Fryer and others, is now more or less dilapidated, the ruins being the most extensive and interesting within the fort.

In another street running along the walls there is a modern English tomb, and opposite it an ancient postern with the following inscription in the wall above:—“Reinando ho muio alto e muito poderoso Rei D. Joam de Portugal 3 d’esde nome, e governando a India o Vice-Rei D. Afonso de Noronha filho do Marquez de villa Real, sendo Francisco de Sá, capitaõ d’esta fortaleza e cidade de Baçai, fundon este baluarte per nome Sam Sebastiam aos 22 dias do mes de fevereiro era 1554 anos.” Strange coincidence! The only bastion honoured with an inscription was that by which the Maráthás entered the fort! How fatal has the name of Sebastian been to the Portuguese!

There is another church and monastery still visible, which appear to have belonged to the Franciscans. The principal chapel has its arch

in a tolerable state of preservation, and contains a number of tombstones, some with and others without epitaphs. One running thus :—“ . . .

. . . . . e do Conselho de Sua Magestade. Faleceu em 24 de Agosto de 1558 e de sua mulher Dona Luiza da Silva e seus erdeiros.” In one of the chapels to the left of the high altar may be read :—“ Aqui jaz Dona Francisca de Miranda, mulher de Manoel de Melo Pereira, instituidora desta capella, e sua filha Dona Ines de Melo, e seu neto Luis de Melo, a qual faleceu a 10 de novembro de 1606.” In another, about the centre of the edifice, is legible “Sra de Dona Giomar Daguiar, mulher que foi d'Alvaro de Lemos que deus aja. Faleceo a 4 de março de 96 (1596 ?). He sua he de seu filho.”

Another inscription was lately discovered outside the Fort and close to the Travellers' bungalow. It runs thus :—“Sendo V. Rei Pero da Silva e capitam desta fortaleza Rui dias da Cunha a cidade de Baçaim D. Luiz d' Ataide Francisco Pereira ..... e Alvaro Coelho mandou fazer esta prisam, a qual se acabou send, capitam André Salema, e vereadores Antonio Telles, Tristaõ.....”

It is plain that it once belonged to the Jail described by Dellon.

Other buildings and streets have quite lost the features by which they could be identified. It is like the ancient '*Campus ubi Troia fuit.*'

There are a number of churches *extra muros*, most of them more or less restored by the exertions of their respective parishioners from the devastation to which the Maráthás had subjected them through vindictiveness. The following religious edifices are under the jurisdiction of a dignitary styled “O Vara de Baçaim” :—

I.—Igreja de Espirito Santo.—The oldest among the rural churches, and the only one extant in its primitive state, *i.e.* whose restoration has not interfered with its primitive shape.

II.—De Mercês.—Built in 1606, and consecrated by D. Frei Aleixo de Menezes. Belonged to the Franciscans.

III.—Dos Remedios.—The doors of this church once formed the lateral doors of St. Paul's above mentioned. Diogo do Couto states that this was built by the Dominicans midway between the fort of Bassein and Agassin, close to a lake (*tírtħa* ?) to which the natives ascribe a peculiar virtue in healing the sick.

IV.—De St. Thiago Maior.

V.—De St. Thomé. Belonged to the Jesuits.

VI.—De Sra. de Graça. Also belonged to the Jesuits.

VII.—Da Sta. Cruz de Calvario. Belonged to the Franciscans.

VIII.—Da Sra. de Saude. This is sometimes written in old document “Nossa Senhora da Vida” and belonged to the Augustinians.

IX.—De S. Joaõ Baptista. Belonged to the Franciscans.

X.—Da Sra. do Rozario—This is in Tárápur, but is included in the *varado de Baçaim*.\*

Three other churches were lately abandoned for want of congregations.

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\* Architectural remains are not, however, the only monuments of the Portuguese sway in Bassein. It was one of the centres from which radiated the influence of their polity, the effects of which are yet discernible in the religion and race they left behind.

I am not quite sure whether Portugal does feel at all proud of these monuments of “social amelioration and moral and religious regeneration” planted by them on both the western and eastern coasts of our peninsula. Of this, however, I am certain, that the Christianity of Bassein is but a mixture of Christian dogma and Hindu ritual, of Roman Catholic liturgy and Pagan ceremonial; it is in fact a *religio sui generis*. It has been undergoing so many phases of spasmodic progress and retrogression, that, although of historical interest, it is but a part of discretion to leave it alone. Let the sceptic refer to the decrees of the Provincial Council, which bear me out. The race is well known to us. The title of *Portuguese*—for it is but a title—assumed by those people is both ethnologically and politically incorrect. The physical and mental organization of this and other mongrel races scattered all over the Konkan—the mixed product or bastard offspring of such heterogeneous elements as a European soldier and a low-class native woman—for no high-class woman would marry him—is a sociological problem in itself, and too vast a theme to enter the narrow sphere of this paper, besides requiring an amount of patient research and study scarcely compatible with the avocations of an active medical practice.

ART. X.—*A new Châlukya Copperplate ; with Remarks.*

BY KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG, Esq., M.A., LL.B.

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Read on 10th October 1874.

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The *tâmrâpatra* of which I present to the Society to-day a transcript and translation consists of three rectangular sheets of copper, each measuring 9 inches in length by  $2\frac{2}{3}$  in width. The three sheets are connected together by a large ring of copper passing through holes in the middle of one of the larger sides. At one part of the ring there is added on to the copper a thick coating of iron, extending over a little more than two inches, and expanding towards the middle into something like a solid cone turned upside down and with its angular head lopped off. The base of this cone bears in relief what is intended to be the figure of a boar, with all its legs distinctly visible. As it stands, however, one of the fore-legs has been broken away.

The plates, I am informed, have been for the last twelve years or thereabouts in the possession of a Portuguese living somewhere in the vicinity of Goa. He found them when ploughing a certain hilly plot of ground in his village in order to its cultivation. A transcript of this copperplate in Devanâgarî characters was first handed over to me for translation by my friend Mr. Nârâyaṇ Mahâdev Parmânand, a few days ago. The transcript had been carefully prepared—I do not know by whom—and on revision and comparison with the original copperplate, which I subsequently obtained from Mr. Nârâyaṇ, I found it to be generally correct. With one or two exceptions, it is not at all difficult to decipher the letters, which are written in lines parallel to the longer sides of the plates. The document occupies the whole of the inner side of the first sheet, both sides of the second, and the inner side of the third sheet, and extends in the aggregate to nineteen lines. Except the breaking away of one of the boar's legs, and of the edge of the base of the cone in one part, the plates and their appendage are in excellent preservation.

The style of writing requires a few remarks. Taken all together, the letters appear to me to range themselves by the side of those in the fourth line of Prinsep's list. The form of the ऋ in this plate—a semi-circle standing on a diameter but extending some distance beyond it—



The plates are copies of an impression taken from the copper-plate, so the writing is reversed, and must be read from the back, through the paper. By a mistake Nos. 1 and 2 have been printed upside down.







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seems nearer to that in Prinsep's fifth line ; but that differs from ours by the spur-stroke at the foot of its left side. Accordingly the अ in our plate differs from all those given by Prinsep, coming nearest to that in his fourth line. I should therefore be inclined, in consideration of this and other similar instances, to place the letters of this plate somewhere between Prinsep's fourth and fifth lines. Some particular letters merit a more special remark. The word अङ्ग is written as if it was अङ्ग with the guttural nasal. The *visarga* followed by ण is also noteworthy. It occurs twice in this plate,—once thus, अङ्ग, and on the second occasion thus, अङ्ग.\* In the one case, it will be noted that the ण is formed by a continuation of the right side of the quadrilateral figure ; while in the other, it is formed by a continuation of the line which cuts that figure into two. The figure अङ्ग would seem to be the sign for the *upadhmānīya*, which is optionally substituted for the *visarga* before ण (Pāṇini, VIII. 3, 37). There are other minor differences between the letters as written in our plate and as given in Prinsep's list. But they need not be specially dwelt on. We need only add that there is an evident predilection shown in the plate in favour of doubling letters, as for instance in the case of अङ्ग or अङ्ग ; and, apparently, we have also the first beginnings, though still imperfectly developed, of the line at the top of each letter.

The language of the copperplate is Sanskrit. In one or two places it is not as clear as it might have been ; and the date is stated to be 532 of the Śaka Kāla, in language which is not quite grammatical. The grantor appears to have been stationed at Vijayarevatī Dvīpa, probably identical with the Revantīdvīpa of one of Mr. Wathen's inscriptions.† By Mr. Wathen,‡ and it would seem by Col. Wilford,§ the Dvīpa has been identified with Sumatra. Professor Wilson, however, with greater probability, thinks that "it is more likely to be some place off the coast of Malabar."¶ Some further remarks, suggested by the mention of this Dvīpa, will find a more appropriate place in the sequel. With regard to the two other places mentioned in the plate, viz. Khetāhāra and Kārellikā, their identification also can at best be conjectural,

\* This mark may be seen in several places in the "Iwullee" inscription (*Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX., opposite p. cxviii.). Mr. Fleet (*ibid.*, pp. 230 and 233) mentions "special signs for the *visarga* before अङ्ग and अङ्ग"; what are those signs?

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II. 382. At *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. V. 345, it is spelt Revatīdvīpa.

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. V. 345. § *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II. 395.

as nothing else is stated about them. And I will at present offer no further remark about them than this, that Khetâhâra sounds sufficiently like Kittore (between Belgaum and Dharwar) to render it probable that it was the original from which Kittore was derived.

The more important inquiry, however, which this plate suggests, is the historical inquiry—How does it affect our present information concerning the Châlukya dynasty? But before we can obtain any answer to this inquiry, it is necessary to take a review of the information which we do possess. Now the main facts regarding the Châlukya kings after the Śaka year 895 may be taken to be settled with reasonable certainty.\* At any rate the present paper is not concerned with them. But in spite of the great and fruitful labours of Sir Walter Elliot and others, we can scarcely be said to be yet in full possession of the facts regarding the earlier Châlukyas. Sir Walter Elliot himself, to whom we are indebted for the best part of the information which we possess about this dynasty, implies that the period before the Śaka year 895 is not well authenticated, expressly mentions “difficulties” and “improbabilities” attaching to the statements of the inscriptions in his possession,† and endeavours to escape from these “difficulties” and “improbabilities” by what Mr. Fergusson describes,—and, I may add, justly describes—as a “violent adjustment.”‡ This is in 1836. In 1858 Sir Walter returns to the subject, and still speaks of “chronological obscurity” which he “hopes to clear up hereafter,”§ but which, I own, appears to me to have remained nearly as dark at the end of his paper as at the beginning. He gives a fresh list of the Châlukya kings, about which it is to be noted, that it contains two very important modifications of statements contained in the previous list, without any explanation of those modifications. Meanwhile in 1844 Professor Bâl Gangâdhar Shâstri, and in 1851 Sir LeGrand Jacob (then Major Jacob), had published in the Journal of our Society|| several copperplates of Châlukya princes, and made out their own lists from them, differing in some respects both from Sir Walter’s original list of 1837 and from his amended list of 1858. In 1864 Professor Dowson appears on the scene, but he too still notes “deficiencies,” still points out “discrepancies,” still complains

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\* See *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IV. 12.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)*, vol. IV. 92, and see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. 94.

§ *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)*, vol. I. 251.

|| *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II., pp. 1 *et seqq.*, and *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. III., pp. 203 *et seqq.*

of "the loose and varying nature of the genealogies."\* Next comes Mr. Fergusson, who, although he does not, like his predecessors, add to the raw material available, proposes a new mode of working it up, so to speak ; sets aside Sir Walter Elliot's "violent adjustment ;" substitutes in its stead the theory of a "mislection or wilful alteration ;" and makes rather short work of Professor Dowson's suggested additions to Elliot's list.† Lastly, in 1870, our late learned Vice-President Dr. Bhāu Dājī brings forward an inscription,‡ assigning to one of the most eminent of the Chālukya kings a date quite irreconcilable with that which is given in Elliot's amended list, and which has been pronounced by Mr. Fergusson to be "fixed within very narrow limits."§

It must, I take it, be at once admitted, that this looks very much like a hopelessly tangled web. Yet until it is unravelled, our knowledge of the early Chālukyas must be held to be, in great measure, imperfect. Mr. Fergusson's suggestion, indeed, with reference to the inconvenient Buddha Varma and Vijaya Rāja of Professor Dowson's plate, namely, that they should be referred to a different branch of the Chālukya family,|| would, if employed in all similar difficulties, place the several threads separately in our hands to re-arrange them afresh as we please. But that suggestion, I confess, appears to me equivalent to cutting the knot, not untying it. Dr. Bhāu Dājī, in his paper just referred to, promised us "the fullest notes" upon the Chālukya among other dynasties.¶ But, unfortunately, his recent lamented death has deprived us of the benefit of his acuteness and extensive information in these matters.

Upon the best consideration that I have been able to give to the subject, I am bound to say, that I have not succeeded in hitting on any mode of reconciling all the published statements of copperplates and inscriptions regarding the Chālukyas. I will endeavour, however, to evolve some order out of at least one part of the chaos. And let us first take the earliest document available for our present purpose, namely, that translated by Professor Dowson. That document purports to bear the date—Vaiśākha Śuddha of the Samvatsara 394. Professor Dowson takes this to mean the Samvat or Vikrama year 394, equivalent to 338

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\* *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)*, vol. I. Professor Dowson's paper *passim*.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)*, vol. IV. 94.

‡ *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. 815.

§ *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)*, vol. IV. 93 ; and see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. 94.

|| *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)*, vol. IV. 94.

¶ *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. 333.

A.C.,\* and thus raises a factitious difficulty which, be it said with all deference to the learned Professor, does not exist. The notion that the word *Samvatsara* necessarily indicates that the so-called *Vikrama* era is referred to has been, I believe, attacked on various occasions, and may now be safely taken to be exploded.† *Samvatsara* is a common name for ‘year,’ and refers to no particular era whatever. Even the word *Samvat*—the word now-a-days employed to designate the *Vikrama* era—is not by any means confined to that sense. And in the *Amarnāth* inscription deciphered by Dr. Bhāu Dājī, we have the expression—which is very noteworthy in this connexion—of *Śaka Samvat*.‡ Professor Dowson, indeed, at the very beginning of his paper, after saying that “some doubt has hitherto been felt as to the era in which these plates are dated,” goes on to ask—“Was the ‘*samvatsara*’ that of *Vikramāditya* or that of *Ballabhi* ?”§—holding apparently that any other era but these two is out of the question. I cannot concur in this opinion. And in the particular case before us, the undoubted and indubitable fact that the other known grants of the *Chālukya* dynasty which bear any date are expressly dated in the *Śaka Kāla*,|| should lead us, I think, not only to discard both of Professor Dowson’s alternatives, but to accept the one to which he does not even refer, namely, that the plate is dated in the *Śaka* era. If that is so, the year 394 of this plate must be taken to be the *Śaka* year, equivalent to 472 A.C. Professor Dowson has also given the name of the grantor in his plate as *Vijaya Rāja Sarva*, which, on the face of it, is rather an odd name. But the oddity is the result of an inadvertence on the part of the learned Professor. In the copperplate itself, of which he has luckily published a facsimile, the name is much less singular, being simply *Vijaya Rāja*. And now mark the results to which these rectifications lead. Taking the *Śaka* year 411 given by Captain Jervis’s copperplate

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\* *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. I. 256.

† See, *inter alia*, *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. cxl. ; vol. X., pp. 22 *et seqq.*, 72 *et seqq.* See too *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. IV. 132, note.

‡ *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. 219.

§ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. I., p. 250.

|| Mr. Fergusson, admitting this (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., vol. IV. 91), apparently refers this year to the *Valabhi* era (p. 95). Standing by itself, his argument for referring the plate to another branch of the *Chālukya* family, viz. that it was found at *Khedā*, is not of great force. His other argument is met by what is stated in the text. Mr. Fergusson cites with approval the words of Professor Dowson, that “to decide the era of one is to settle that of all” (p. 49). If so, Prof. Bhāṇḍārkar’s plate (*Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. X., p. 25) is conclusive in our favour. It may be added that Professor Dowson expressly rejects the *Valabhi* era.

to be the correct date of Pulakeśi I.,\* the Vijaya Râja of Professor Dowson's plate may fairly be placed immediately before Pulakeśi. Now Sir Walter Elliot's amended list does give us a Vijaya Âditya just before Pulakeśi.† And with him, therefore, this Vijaya Râja may reasonably be identified. But here we are faced by a little difficulty. Sir Walter's statement, in the narrative which he has prefixed to his amended list, is inconsistent on this point with the list itself. In the narrative Vijaya is Pulakeśi's son ; in the list he is Pulakeśi's predecessor. There is evidently some mistake somewhere, and in all likelihood it is in the narrative. If so, then it would seem to result, from the substantial identity of the names, and from the agreement of the dates, that the Vijaya Râja of Professor Dowson's plate is the same person as the Vijaya Âditya of Sir Walter Elliot's list. And it follows further that one of the reasons which led Mr. Fergusson to assign Professor Dowson's plate to another branch of the Châlukya family falls to the ground‡; and it also follows that there is no necessity for those "additional names" which Professor Dowson "required to fill up the interval" between Vijaya and Pulakeśi.§ The name of Vijaya's father in Professor Dowson's plate is Buddhavarma, and that does seem to create another difficulty. For in Sir Walter Elliot's lists, as well as in Mr. Wathen's list, the name we find is Ranarâga. This, however, may be regarded as a mere epithet meaning "lover of war."|| About Râjasimha, which Sir Walter states to be another name of the same prince, he himself expresses misgivings.¶ In his amended list he gives still another name, viz. Vishnu Vardhana, but on what authority we are not told.\*\* This being the state of the case,

\* *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IV. 8. This date, however, is questioned by both Sir W. Elliot and Mr. Fergusson (l. c. and *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. IV. 93); see too *Ind. Ant.* II. 94). But this only on the ground that it is not reconcilable with the other dates we have. Prof. Eggeling hints also at "some doubt as to its genuineness on palæological grounds, the character of the letters being very nearly the same as that of some inscriptions of the Eastern line in the tenth century of our era : " *Ind. Ant.* II. 272. Professor Dowson does not express any suspicion about the plate.

† See the extract from Sir W. Elliot's paper in *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. I. 253. It is worthy of remark here that Sir Walter Elliot's first list makes on allusion at all to either Vijaya Râja or Vijaya Âditya. And in this it follows the Yeur inscription and Captain Jervis's copperplate.

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. IV. 94.

§ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. I. 262.

|| *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IV. 8.

¶ It may be added, for what it is worth, that Buddhavarma is described in the plate as रणविक्रान्त, which Professor Dowson translates by 'heroic in battle.'

\*\* At p. 154 of vol. XXXIX., Part 1, of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* also this name is given; but no authority is there referred to, and the authority may be that of Sir W. Elliot himself.



I do not think that we need have much difficulty in accepting as correct the information which Professor Dowson's plate gives us. We obtain, then, the following series :—

- I. Jayasimha.
- II. Buddhavarma, *alias* Ranaraga.
- III. Vijaya Rāja or Vijaya Āditya ... 394 Śaka.
- IV. Pulakeśi ..... 411 Śaka.

After Pulakeśi, by all accounts, comes Kirtivarma.\* True it is, indeed, that in one of the plates published in the Journal of our Society, Kirtivarma is stated to have been not Pulakeśi's son but his father.† But as that Pulakeśi is in the same plate eulogized as conqueror of Harsha Vardhana, he cannot be the Pulakeśi of Śaka 411. The question about him will have to be considered further on. To Kirtivarma succeeded Mangalīśa, according to Sir Walter Elliot's list, and also according to the list of Mr. Wathen, which coincides with Sir Walter's list except at but a single point.‡ General Jacob's first two plates, indeed, do not mention Mangalīśa at all, nor do we find his name in another plate which is in the possession of Professor Eggeling.§ But General Jacob's third plate does record the name of a Prince Mangala and his father Vallabha, and the General's identification of this Mangala with Mangalīśa may, I think, be safely accepted.|| Mangalīśa is also mentioned in one of those inscriptions in Dhârwaḍ and Mysore for an analysis of which we are indebted to Dr. Bhān Dâjī.¶ We may, therefore, take it upon these authorities that Mangalīśa was the immediate successor of Kirtivarma. And the absence of his name from the other plates mentioned is probably to be accounted for by this—that although he was a predecessor of the grantors in those other plates, so far as occupation of the throne was concerned, he was not in the direct ascending line of descent, and a mere statement of their genealogy, therefore, did not require the mention of his name.

Thus far our authorities may be said to have proceeded, and they are in perfect harmony, but still pressing the question—Who, now, succeeded Mangalīśa in the line? According to the plates published—

\* In Mr. Wathen's list (*Jour. Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. 272) Kirtivarma, probably by a mistake.

† Vol. II. 5.

‡ See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. 272.

§ *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IV. 93, note. Who are the family whom Mangala put to death?

¶ *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*

\*\* *Comp. Ind. Ant.*, vol. I. 100. on Mangalīśa at the end of the

one, the king who comes after Mangalīsa is Satyâśraya. Professor Dowson's list constitutes the single exception. Let us consider his arguments in the first instance. Discussing the place in the Châlukya line of the princes mentioned in the late Professor Bâl Shâstri's second plate, Professor Dowson identifies the Pulakeśi of that plate with the fourth king in Elliot's amended list. Professor Dowson does not see—certainly does not allude to—one of the difficulties which this identification involves, namely, the one alluded to above, as caused by the statement of the plate that Pulakeśi defeated Harsha Vardhana. He does see, however, the other difficulty, that whereas Pulakeśi is by all accounts the father of Kîrtivarma, this plate makes him the son of Kîrtivarma. But, seeing this difficulty, he still adopts the theory of the identity of the two Pulakeśis, and places Nâga Vardhana and Jayasimha, the two kings mentioned in Professor Bâl Shâstri's plate, after Mangalīsa and before Satyâśraya.\* And he adduces two reasons for this arrangement. He says, firstly, that the interval of 120 years between Pulakeśi and Satyâśraya is too long for "occupation by only two names ;" and secondly, that his plate and Bâl Shâstri's plate are so similar in their styles of writing that the kings mentioned in the one should be placed as near as possible to those mentioned in the other. The first reason is undoubtedly true as a fact ; but I do not think that it is enough to support a proposition surrounded by such difficulties as have been pointed out. To me, I confess, those difficulties appear to be fatal. And the truth seems to be, as Dr. Bhâu and others have contended, that there were two Pulakeśis—the one being he who is stated to have flourished about the Śaka year 411, the other being identical with the Satyâśraya whose position in the line of princes we are now discussing. One ground for holding this is that the name Satyâśraya appears to have been a generic appellation† adopted by some members of the Châlukya family, and that while one of Professor Bâl Shâstri's plates calls the conqueror of Harsha Vardhana by the name Pulakeśi, and describes him as son of Kîrtivarma, General

\* *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. I. 257-9.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IV. 9. *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. I. 260. Professor Bâl Shâstri also identifies the two Pulakeśis. He gets over the difficulty about the relationship to Kîrtivarma by considering that name to be only another name of Ranarâga, whom he takes to be Pulakeśi's immediate predecessor, according to Elliot's first list. The other difficulty is not, as might be expected, alluded to by him. He relies for the identification on the allusion to the horse "Kantha Chitra" and the Aśvamedha. But in the inscription to which he refers, there is no allusion to the horse, and the Aśvamedha is ascribed to Pulakeśi, while in Professor Bâl Shâstri's plate it is ascribed to Kîrtivarma, his father.

Jacob's plates call him Satyâśraya, and describe him also in the same manner. Professor Dowson, indeed, attributes the honour of defeating Harsha Vardhana to the first Pulakeśi, who, he says, "also bore the appellation of Satyâśraya or Śatya Śrî."\* But this suggestion seems to be negatived by the circumstances above stated. If all this reasoning is correct, it follows that Jayasimha and Nâga Vardhana cannot be placed before Satyâśraya, but must be placed after him. Professor Dowson's second reason for his arrangement is based on the style of writing of his own and Professor Bâl Shâstri's copperplates. On this I have little to say, except that this reason can be satisfied nearly as well without Professor Dowson's arrangement as with it. Thus, according to Professor Dowson's hypothesis, the interval between the two plates—with which the Professor is *not* dissatisfied—is one of 270 years, namely, the interval between 338 A.C. and 609 A.C. On our hypothesis, taking the former date as correct, the interval will be 60 years more or thereabouts. But now, if we take the date of Professor Dowson's copperplate to be, not 338 A.C., but 472 A.C., as shown above, then the interval on our hypothesis is very much less than 200 years—considerably less, in fact, than it is even on the Professor's own hypothesis. The two reasons assigned by Professor Dowson for his arrangement appear thus to fall to the ground, and with them falls the arrangement based on them. The question, therefore, again presents itself,—What is the place of Professor Bâl Shâstri's plate in the Châlukya series? That question appears to me to be one of some difficulty. Taking the plate by itself, I should be strongly inclined to rehabilitate the theory rejected by Professor Dowson, and to identify the Nâga Vardhana and Jayasimha† of the plate with the first two princes of the Eastern line in Sir Walter Elliot's list. The difficulties in the way of this theory are stated by Professor Dowson.‡ They are, first, the partial dissimilarity between the names Vishnu Vardhana and Nâga Vardhana; and, secondly, the difference

\* *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. I. 258.

† It should be noted, too, that in Bâl Shâstri's plate the name is not simply Jayasimha, but Jayasimha Varma, which introduces, perhaps, a little more complication into the matter.

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. I. 158. Another circumstance to be noted in connection with this plate is, that in the description of Śrî Pulakeśi Vallabha, the conqueror of Harsha Vardhana, we find the expression श्रीनागवर्देनपादानुध्यात "who meditated on the feet of Śrî Nâga Vardhana." I am not aware that this circumstance has been either noticed or explained. No list and no copperplate, that I know of, mentions any Nâga Vardhana "on whose feet" Pulakeśi might be expected to "meditate," unless, indeed, that Pulakeśi be Pulakesi I. and Nâga Vardhana be the same as Raṇarâga, one of whose names was, according to Elliot, Vishnu Vardhana.

between the order of succession as stated in the plate, and the order as stated in Sir Walter's list. These difficulties exist, and they ought not to be lost sight of. On the other hand, we have also to remember that the relationship stated in the plate between Satyâśraya and Jayasiṃha is exactly the relationship stated by Elliot between Satyâśraya and the first king in the "Eastern line." It should also be noted that the authorities on which Sir Walter Elliot's statement is made do not appear. On this last point Professor Dowson remarks—"The evidence upon which Mr. Elliot has placed Jayasiṃha after Viṣṇu Vardhana does not appear; it was no doubt cogent, and the result ought not to be lightly disturbed."\* I admit the abstract principle involved in this remark. I admit that thus much respect is due to one who is, after all, our best and fullest informant on this subject. Nevertheless, where the facts and probabilities, as they are before us, do not quadrate with Sir Walter's statements, I do not think we are bound—I do not think we are entitled—to throw them aside merely in reliance on such a principle. If, in order to adapt them to the facts before us, we slightly disturb some of the statements of Sir Walter Elliot, I do not think we can be charged with lightly disturbing them. But on this subject we shall have to say another word in the sequel.

Since writing the above, my attention has been drawn to two other plates which have a bearing on this point. The first is one translated in the first part of the thirty-ninth volume of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. I am indebted to Professor Bhāṇḍārkar for information about this plate. As it speaks of Viṣṇu Vardhana as younger brother of Satyâśraya,† it affords support to Sir Walter Elliot's statement. It is noticeable, however, that the plate contains no allusion to Viṣṇu Vardhana's conquest of Vengi, after which event, nevertheless, the grant it records must have been made. And it is to be remarked also that the genealogy of the grantor is not given in the plate, his elder brother Satyâśraya Vallabha Mahârâja being the only king whose relationship with the grantor is stated. The other plate is one of which a translation has been published in the *Indian Antiquary*.‡ This also speaks of Viṣṇu Vardhana as brother of Satya Śrī Vallabhudu—evidently the same name as Satyâśraya Vallabha. But then this latter is here the younger brother, whereas both according to Elliot, and according to the grant first spoken of above, he is the elder brother. Again, the list in this plate knows not of any Jayasiṃha, but goes on to

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\* *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. I. 258. † P. 159. ‡ Vol. II. 571.

speak, immediately after this first king, of Vishṇu Vardhanudu, son of Indrarâja, his elder brother. In Elliot's list, on the contrary, Indrarâja is the brother—whether elder or younger is not stated—of Jayasimha, not of Vishṇu Vardhana I. And further, while Indrarâja, according to Elliot's list, appears actually to have reigned, the inference which seems to be suggested by the language of this plate is quite different. The result is, that while the suggestion made above by us with regard to Professor Bâl Shâstri's plate is to a certain extent weakened, these plates do not help us in coming to any other positive conclusion, but only introduce a further complication into the matter.

It may be convenient here to glance also at the first of the two plates deciphered and translated by Professor Bâl Shâstri. That plate, too, occasions some difficulty, as the line of succession stated in it, namely, Raṇa Vikrama, Kîrtivarma, and Vishṇu Vardhana, does not agree with any part of Sir W. Elliot's list. Professor Bâl Shâstri finds the first two names—Vikrama and Kîrtivarma—in Sir W. Elliot's list ; and he concludes that the third, Vishṇu Vardhana, must have been the grandson of the Vikrama who is stated by Sir Walter to have reigned in the Śaka year 655. The character of the writing, however, appears to him to be older.\* Professor Dowson concurs in this last part of Bâl Shâstri's remarks, and accordingly identifies the Vishṇu Vardhana of this plate with the first king of the "Eastern line," and looks for Raṇa Vikrama in Raṇarâga, the second king in Elliot's list. He sees the difficulty attaching to this identification, but thinks "a solution may possibly be found in the fact that Raṇarâga was known also under the names of Râja Siṃha and Vishṇu Vardhana. The latter being the name of the author of the grant, may have induced him to single out and record the monarch who bore the same name as himself."† This does not, I own, appear to me very likely. Besides, if it were correct, would it not be more natural, that this name Vishṇu Vardhana should have been mentioned instead of Raṇa Vikrama ? I agree in thinking the Vishṇu Vardhana of this plate to be probably identical with the first king of the "Eastern line." But for Raṇa Vikrama, I cannot persuade myself to go up as high as the second king in Elliot's list. Raṇa Vikrama does not appear to me to be a proper name ; nor, I think, is it to be identified with Raṇarâga.‡ It seems to me to be, like

\* *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II. 1.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)*, vol. I. 259-60.

‡ It ought to be mentioned, however, that the epithet 'Raṇavikranta' is applied in Professor Dowson's plate to Buddhavarma, whom we have identified with Raṇarâga.

Raṇarāga, an ornamental epithet. Can it not have been applied to Pulakeśi ?

But let us now return to Sir Walter Elliot's list. King Satyâśraya was set down in his first paper as reigning in the Śaka year 488, or 566 A.C. In the second paper his reign is stated to have commenced in 609 A.C. The grounds for this modification do not appear. Doubtless the date of Harsha Vardhana being fixed on independent data,\* and our authorities informing us that Satyâśraya defeated Harsha Vardhana, some such date as 609 A.C. becomes very probable. The other date, 566 A.C., cannot be adopted, unless we are prepared to give Satyâśraya a reign of nearly a century, since, according to Mr. Fergusson, he was "alive and vigorous when Hiouen-Thsang visited him in 638-9, and may have lived for ten or twenty years afterwards."† But although this date cannot be adopted except on the strength of overwhelming evidence, which certainly is not forthcoming, still it would have been of great use to know upon what evidence the other date given by Sir Walter Elliot has been arrived at. It is true, that in a part of his paper entitled "Numismatic Gleanings," which has not been extracted by Professor Dowson, Sir Walter Elliot mentions a coin of Satyâśraya bearing the date 534 of the Śaka era.‡ But that is obviously not an authority that will help us to fix the commencement of his reign. The same observation applies to another grant, which is mentioned in the paper already referred to, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and which also bears the same date as the coin above mentioned.§ But there is a copperplate in the possession of Professor Eggeling which is of much more value, for it is dated in the Śaka year 534 and states that to be the third year of Satyâśraya's reign. This, it will be observed, agrees with the statement of Sir Walter Elliot, but at present it is not possible to say whether Professor Eggeling's source of information is different from Sir Walter's.|| On the other hand, there is the "Iwullee" inscription No. III. deciphered by Dr. Bhāu Dājī, which he states to have been "written in the time of the Chālukya Pulakeśi II." That inscription is dated 506 of the Śaka era.¶ But if Satyâśraya was king in the Śaka

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\* See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. 94. Dr. Bhāu Dājī thought that the date should be transferred back some distance : *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. VIII. 250.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)*, vol. IV. 93.

‡ *Mad. Jour. of Lit. &c. &c.*, vol. XX. p. 93. § P. 155.

|| See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. 272.

¶ *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. 315 ; but see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. 93.

year 506, he could not have *commenced* to reign in the Śaka year 532. Here, therefore, we have an irreconcilable conflict of authorities. However, Dr. Bhāu Dājī himself speaks of the “Iwullee” inscription in such a way, and the inscription itself is of such a description, as at present before us, that we cannot, I think, attach much weight to it. And we may therefore accept—at any rate provisionally—the date given us by Sir W. Elliot and Professor Eggeling.

And here the copperplate before us to-day requires consideration. It purports to bear date in the Śaka year 532, which is stated to be the twentieth year of some king's reign. I say ‘some king's reign,’ because it seems to me clear that the grantor in this plate was not himself a full king. For, first, the grantor is “directed by the great king the lord of the earth”—an expression not consistent with the grantor's having been himself a king; and, secondly, the absence of those preliminary flourishes about the genealogy of the grantors, so invariable in the plates of the regular Chālukya kings,\* would seem to point to the same conclusion. Still there can, I think, be no doubt, on the other hand, that the plate is *connected* with the Chālukya dynasty,—the emblem of the boar on the ring spoken of above, the name Satyāśraya, the title Prithivī Vallabha Mahārāja, would all seem to be conclusive on that point. Nor, again, need there be much hesitation, I think, in saying that the reign of twenty years spoken of is that of the reigning Chālukya monarch, and not of the subordinate grantor, for the expression प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरम् is one of very frequent occurrence in the grants of the Chālukyas,† and is not likely to have been applied to the duration of a mere subordinate's enjoyment of office.‡ We may, therefore, take it, I think, that this plate refers to a Chālukya king who reigned from the Śaka year 512 for at least twenty years. Now according to Professor Eggeling's copperplate above alluded to, the Śaka year 534 was the third year of the reign of King Satyāśraya or Pulakeśi II., which gives 532 as the first year of his reign. And this year is the year in which our plate is dated. It results, therefore, that the king who was reigning at the date of this grant must have

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\* The grant translated in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* is, however, an exception.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IV. p. 10, where it occurs more than once. See, too, *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II. p. 11; vol. III. p. 208; vol. IX. p. 318. Also now *Ind. Ant.*, vol. III. p. 305.

‡ The word दृष्ट ‘seen,’ in the margin of the plate, also requires explanation. Does it mean ‘sanctioned,’ *scil.* by the ‘great king the lord of the earth?’ If so, that will further support the view in the text.



died very soon after that date, and been succeeded by King Satyâśraya. There is another circumstance worthy of note. The grantor in our plate has already been spoken of as stationed at Revatî Dvîpa, and was, it would seem, governor of that island. Now we know from other authorities that Revatî Dvîpa was conquered by Mangalîśa, the immediate predecessor, according to Elliot, of King Satyâśraya.\* And it therefore follows that the king reigning at the time of our plate must have been either Mangalîśa himself or some one of his successors. Which of these alternatives are we to accept? Unluckily enough, it is just at this important point that I find the copperplate to be somewhat unintelligible. The only names useful for our purpose which occur in the plate are generic and vague; they do not apply to any individual Châlukya prince, but to the whole Châlukya dynasty. Satyâśraya might be regarded as an individual's name, but the date, on that supposition, is irreconcilable with both Dr. Bhâu's view, and the view of Elliot and Eggeling. Indravarma, Rājendravarma, or Dhruvarājendravarma, or whatever else the true name may be, is clearly not the name of the Châlukya king. I once thought that the letter which I read as द्रु in the original copperplate might be यु, and that the grantor might be श्री सत्याश्रय युवराजेन्द्रवर्मा, as in the first of the two plates of Professor Bâl Shâstri, where we have श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनयुवराजविष्णुसिद्धि. But, besides that, the letter as engraved is certainly not यु, there seems to be a difficulty in the way of this theory raised by the epithet आदिमहाबप्पूर्वंशकुलतिलकेन. If Indravarma was Yuvarāja, he could have been only of the Châlukya *vanśa*. Here, too, the letter which has been transcribed as च्च might *perhaps* be read as छ, though it must be owned that if छ is meant, it is not drawn with very much accuracy. But even this change would not give us any clue out of our difficulty.† Upon the whole, I must say, that I cannot spell out of the present plate any precise information with regard to this matter. Nor can I see my way to a thoroughly clear conclusion as to whether the reigning king was Mangalîśa himself or one of his successors. In favour of the latter supposition is the circumstance, which must be admitted to be an inadequate support for it, that there is a deficiency of names between the two Pulakeśis, if we adhere to the dates which we find in the authorities. On the other hand, no such successor of Mangalîśa is any-

\* See *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. V. 345.

† It may be mentioned, but I am afraid only as a matter of interest rather than as of use on this point, that the word बल्हर is given in the *Medint kōśa* to mean 'boars' flesh.'



where alluded to, except, indeed, as in the contemplation of Mangalîśa,—and this too only according to the statement of Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, which is itself scarcely consistent with General Jacob's plate No. III. Besides, even according to Dr. Bhâu, the son of Mangalîśa did not in fact succeed to the throne,—Mangalîśa having died all of a sudden, and having been succeeded by Satyâśraya. Although, therefore, we cannot lay down anything positive on this point, I think the balance of probability at present is in favour of Mangalîśa having been the Châlukya king reigning at the date of the grant before us. The king, whoever he was, must have died very soon after the making of the grant, as at that period there was unexpired but a small portion of the Śaka year 352, in which Satyâśraya must have succeeded to the throne.\*

Satyâśraya appears to have been living till 639 A.C., and may have lived some years after that date. After him, in Sir Walter Elliot's list, come two kings, whom Mr. Fergusson characterizes as *fainéant* kings, namely, Amara and Adityavarma. Nothing is known about them; no copperplate or inscription of theirs appears to be forthcoming. Neither of them is mentioned in General Jacob's plates; nor yet are they mentioned in one of the plates in the possession of Professor Eggeling. All these plates do nevertheless refer to the kings going before them and the kings coming after them in Elliot's list. In Mr. Wathen's inscriptions they seem to be mentioned, the former under the somewhat disguised appellation of Neramari. If they reigned at all, a circumstance not quite free from doubt, they probably did not reign either long or gloriously. After them, according to all the available authorities, comes Vikrama Âditya. There is, however, some difficulty about his date. In Sir Walter Elliot's first paper, he is stated to have been on the throne, in the Śaka year 530, for fifteen years. After what has been stated above, it is quite impossible to understand this. I can suggest no explanation. Sir Walter certainly suggests none, although his second and revised list is clearly incompatible with this date. After Vikrama Âditya comes Vinaya Âditya according to Elliot's list, supported by that of General Jacob. But his name is not to be found in Mr. Wathen's list, which, though it coincides with Elliot's on every other point, differs here. The next king, according to all the available authorities, was Vijaya Âditya, who reigned from the Śaka year 617 to the Śaka year 655.

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\* See further on this point the remarks appended at the close of this paper.

At this point I propose to stop on the present occasion. Sir Walter Elliot's "more authentic" period, indeed, does not commence here. But beyond this point our sole authorities are Sir Walter Elliot and Mr. Wathen, who thoroughly agree with each other ; so that the task of examining the period subsequent to this may, with advantage, be allowed to stand over until other materials are obtained. Of the present inquiry the net outcome is exhibited in the following list of Châlukya kings :—

- |   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Jayasimha.                                 | 8. Pulakeśi II., 532 Śaka?          |
| 2. Buddhavarma or Raṇarāga.                   | 9. Amara?                           |
| 3. Vijaya Rāja or Vijaya Âditya,<br>394 Śaka. | 10. Âdityavarma?                    |
| 4. Pulakeśi I., 411 Śaka.                     | 11. Vikrama Âditya.                 |
| 5. Kirtivarma.                                | 12. Vinaya Âditya, 602—617<br>Śaka. |
| 6. Mangaliśa. }                               | 13. Vijaya Âditya, 617—655          |
| 7. ? } 512—532 Śaka.                          | Śaka.                               |

If we exclude the first two kings, about whose dates we have no direct information whatever, we have here a series of eleven kings, and, taking them all to have reigned, we get an average of about 24 years apiece. This average is slightly in excess of the average which we obtain for the later Châlukyas about whom we have more trustworthy accounts. For the last six princes in the list, indeed, if we take Amara and Âdityavarma to have actually reigned, we have an average much less exceptionable, namely, twenty years and a half to each reign. And then the difficulty, such as it is, is confined to the interval between the two Pulakeśis. With regard to this, it should be remembered, that Pulakeśi I., no less than Pulakeśi II., was a prince of great power. To him is ascribed the merit of having celebrated an Aśvamedha sacrifice. He is also eulogized in some of the inscriptions for his extensive conquests, and some part at least of the eulogy may fairly be supposed to have been merited. If so, the improbability undoubtedly attaching to this part of the list may be held to be in some measure reduced.

Upon the whole, I think it must be owned that the list we have given above is not to be regarded as other than provisional. In fact it bears that character on the face of it. The process, too, by which it has been arrived at cannot be looked on as quite satisfactory. On sundry points there is still an unexplained con-

flict of authorities. Even where there is no direct conflict, there is at some points not a little difficulty in arranging the various plates available in a regular series. Impressed by these facts, Mr. Fergusson has already given expression more than once to the view, that some at least of the documents on which we place so much reliance are probably intentionally incorrect. The results to which this view, if accepted, would lead are of a most momentous character. Copperplates and inscriptions are at present our best—if indeed they are not our sole—sources of information about the history of India for several centuries after the commencement of the Christian era, and some centuries before it. If Mr. Fergusson is right, what guarantee have we that any individual inscription or copperplate on which we may rely is entitled to that reliance? As Mr. Fergusson himself very correctly puts it, his view, if true, “renders inscriptions *per se* nearly useless for the purpose of fixing the dates of buildings or events.” It is, therefore, extremely desirable that this point should be finally settled, if possible, before we proceed any further. The state of the materials before us does seem to me calculated to rouse suspicions. And the above observations will, I hope, have shown that such suspicions are not quite unreasonable. Nevertheless, I do not think that we are as yet warranted in accepting Mr. Fergusson’s theory of forgeries. It appears to me that a fresh examination of the inscriptions and copperplates, collected with such admirable industry and perseverance by Sir Walter Elliot and others, should be undertaken by those competent for the task—persons who are conversant with the Sanskrit language no less than with the ancient alphabets in which these inscriptions and copperplates are written. Coöperation, too, should be invited from all quarters. But before this can be done, the inscriptions themselves must be made available to the world at large. This they certainly are not at present. The two, or rather I should now say three, volumes of inscriptions collected by Sir Walter Elliot are deposited with the Royal Asiatic Society, and are, of course, not accessible to all. There are others scattered here and there of which we have only translations, no facsimiles ever having been published. If such a thorough-going re-examination of these materials as has been here suggested, and suggested not for the first time,\* is to be undertaken seriously, all of them should be collected together, and a complete *corpus inscriptionum* should be placed within the reach of all who take interest in antiquarian studies.

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\* Compare *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. p. 141; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. p. 183.

Now that there is a regular department under the Government of India for looking after the archæological remains of the country, and a systematic classification of these remains has been ordered by Government with a view to their preservation, it may not be quite unreasonable to expect that the acquisitions which have been already made should also be rendered more generally accessible. Until that is done, or until some other way is adopted for securing this great end, namely, the re-examination of all the materials collected at various times by various persons, we can never have complete confidence in the verity of the results that may be arrived at. At any time we may perhaps discover that the basis on which we have been rearing our fabric of Indian history is but a basis of sand.

स्वस्ति श्रीविजयेवतीद्वीपावस्थितेन श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभमहा ॥ राजानुज्ञातेन  
विषयमण्डलचतुष्टयाधिपतिना ॥ आदिमहाबप्पूरवंशकुलतिलकेन देवब्राह्मणगुरु-  
माता ॥ पितृपादारविन्दानुध्यातेन परमब्रह्मण्येन श्रीसत्याश्रयध्रु ॥ वराजेन्द्रवर्मणा  
देशे खेटाहारे कारेल्लिकाग्रामः सर्वपङ्कपरिहृतः ॥ अभट्टमावेश्यः माघपौर्णमा-  
स्यामात्मनः पुण्योपचयार्थं ॥ मस्मै गार्ग्यसगोत्राय वेदविद्यावदाताय शिवार्यायोदक-  
पूर्वं ॥ दत्तः तत्र च भविष्यद्विषयाधिपभोजकस्थाय्यायुक्तका ॥ दयोभिधातव्या यो-  
स्मत्कुलाभ्यन्तरोन्योवा रागद्वेषलोभमद ॥ मात्सर्याभिभूतो हिंस्यात्स पञ्चमहापा-  
तकोपपातकसंयु ॥ को भवति पालयिता च महता पुण्येन संयुज्यते उक्तं च वेद-  
व्या ॥ सेन व्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः अच्छेत्ता ॥ चानुमन्ता च  
तान्येव नरके वसेत् । बहुभिर्वमुधा भुक्ता राजभिः ॥ सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा  
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् । अ ॥ त्राज्ञाप्तिर्दुर्गपतिविजयराजः शासनकर्तोत्कीर्णच  
शंकरपु ॥ त्रेण देवद्विजगुरुमातापितृस्वामिभक्तेन लिखितं पुस्तक ॥ वचकेन दुर्गनागेन ।  
प्रवर्द्धमानविजय ॥ राज्यसंवत्सरं विशतिमं शककालः पञ्च ॥ वर्षशतानि द्वात्रिंशानि\*

*Translation of the above.*

Welfare! on the Full-Moon day of the month of Mâgha, Śrī Satyâśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarma, who is stationed at Vijayarevatī Dvīpa, who is directed by the great king the lord of the earth, who is the lord of four circles of provinces, who is an ornament of the family descended from the first great Bappūra, who meditates on the lotus-like feet

\* In the above || shows the end of the line as engraved in the plate; and | the beginning and end of each of the stanzas cited.

of gods, Brâhmaṇs, preceptors, and parents, and who is extremely devoted to Brâhmaṇs,\* has, for the increase of his own religious merit, given, after pouring water, to this Śivârya, of the family of Gârgya, purified by the Vedas and the sciences, the village of Kârellikâ, in the district of Khetâhâra, free from all lame people,† and not to be entered by soldiers. And as to that, future lords of provinces, governors,‡ permanent officers, and others, should be told, that he who, whether belonging to our family or otherwise, being overcome by affection, hatred, avarice, intoxication, or envy, shall destroy this gift, will incur the five great sins and the minor sins; and he who shall maintain this will acquire great religious merit. And it has been said by Vyâsa, the compiler of the Vedas, “He who grants land lives in heaven for sixty thousand years, while he who takes it away, or approves of its being taken away, lives for as many in hell. § Many kings, such as Sagara and others, have enjoyed the earth : the fruit accrues to each so long as he has the land.” In this matter, Vijayarâja, the governor of the Fort, is the maker of the śâsana||; and it has been engraved by the son of Śankara, who is devoted to gods, Brâhmaṇs, preceptors, parents, and masters. It has been written by Durga Nâga, reader of books. The twentieth current ¶ year of the reign of victory, the year 532 Śaka Kâla.

Since this paper was written, a facsimile of an inscription of Mangaliśa has been published in the *Indian Antiquary*, together with a transcript and translation by Professor Eggeling. It sets at rest the question hinted at in the above paper as to whether Mangaliśa reigned at all. And as it gives the Śaka year, and also the year of Mangaliśa's reign, in

\* This epithet occurs again in General Jacob's third plate, and is there applied to Mangala. I do not remember seeing it in connexion with any other of the Chalukya princes. There is also another expression in this grant which occurs in that third plate, that is, the expression हिंस्यात्

† What is the meaning of this expression? The original is पक्षुपरिहितः of which I can make no sense. ‘Lame people’ may mean the beggars who go about asking for alms on pretence of being lame. But this is all, of course, mere guess-work. The next phrase is discussed by Professor Dowson, *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N.S.)*, vol. I. 285.

‡ भोक्तृ occurs in one of Colebrooke's grants (see *Misc. Essays*, II. 311); he renders it by ‘princes,’ I think correctly, from the root भुज्, to protect. In Dowson's grants भोगपति occurs, which he renders by ‘proprietors.’

§ From the *Jñāna Gitā*, according to the plate in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc. ut sup.*

|| The text here is somewhat obscure; I have not fully understood it.

¶ I have thus translated प्रवर्द्धमान, that being the usual rendering.

which the grant recorded in it was made, it also settles the question as to whether Mangalîsa was the reigning Châlukya prince at the date of our plate. It is now clear, that Mangalîsa was not reigning at that time. And if our argument based on the expression प्रवर्द्धमानविजय राज्यसंवत्सरम् is correct, it becomes likely that Mangalîsa ceased to reign in the Śaka year 512, and was succeeded by the king in whose reign our plate is dated. Who was that king? Was it that son of Mangalîsa for whom, according to Dr. Bhâu, Mangalîsa was anxious to secure the throne after himself? This is likely, but without further materials than we can at present command, it is impossible to answer the question satisfactorily.

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ART. XX .—*A Note on the Age of Madhusûdana Sarasvatî.* By  
KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG, Esq., M.A., LL.B.

[Read December 12th, 1874.]

One of the most famous commentaries on the Bhagavadgîtâ is the Gîtâgûḍhârthadîpikâ of Madhusûdana Sarasvatî. It is a most learned and elaborate work, and is in extent very nearly double the well-known Gîtâ Bhâshya of Śankarâchârya. The author is a celebrated member of the Adualistic-Vedânta school, and is said to have been one of the successors of the first Śankarâchârya at the maṭha of Śringerî. Some information about him and his works may be found in the well-known catalogues of Dr. FitzEdward Hall and Dr. Aufrecht. But neither of those works gives us any assistance upon the point to which this paper is principally devoted, namely the age of Madhusûdana Sarasvatî.

In a copy of his commentary on the Bhagavadgîtâ, which was procured for me by my friend Mr. Abâjî Vishṇu Kâthavate from a learned shâstrî of Puṇa, and which I partly collated with a copy of the work in my own possession, the following stanza occurs at the close of the comment on the sixteenth chapter—

॥ अवरङ्गमहीपाले कृत्स्नां शासति मंदिनीम् ॥

॥ आनीता भगवद्गीताटीका पण्डितसिद्धकैः ॥

It may be thus rendered into English—“While king Avaranga was ruling the whole world, this commentary on the Bhagavadgîtâ was brought over by Paṇḍit Siddhaka.” I do not feel quite sure about the meaning of the last word. But for our present purpose that is not very material. The first word is the word of greatest importance. Who is king Avaranga? Coupled with the evidence furnished by the work itself, the answer to this question enables us, I think, to fix the age of our author with a tolerable approach to accuracy. I believe that the name Avaranga is merely a Sanskritised form of the name Aurangzeb, minus its very un-Sanskritic final syllable. There has been no Indian prince, that I am aware of, rejoicing in the name Avaranga, and the identification I suggest may, I think, be safely accepted. Now Aurangzeb was not securely established on his throne till 1661. To that date, therefore, the event recorded in the above stanza must probably have been

posterior. On the other hand, Śivâjî proclaimed himself sovereign in 1664, and the "bringing over" of the commentary was probably prior to that occurrence, as in a matter of this sort, a Hindu would more likely refer to the reign of a Hindu sovereign like Śivâjî than to that of a Musalmân sovereign like Aurangzeb. It must be admitted, however, that other explanations of the fact quite as probable as this may be suggested. And therefore we cannot at present push back the date of the "bringing over" of the commentary beyond the close of the seventeenth century. But taking that date as the basis, and having regard to the circumstances of the time, we may, I think, fix the beginning of the seventeenth century as a *terminus*, before which the commentary was most probably composed.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that the stanza above cited was not composed by the author of the commentary. It was probably written by the author of certain notes\* on the commentary, which are interspersed in different parts of the only copy in which it is contained. That copy purports to have been completed on the 9th of Phâlgun Śukla in the Śaka year 1775, and the copyist adds at the end of it ब्रह्मात्मजविदुलेन लिखितं श्रोत्रियस्येत्युपनामकम् (*sic*).

Having thus obtained what may be regarded as a sufficiently approximate *terminus ad quem* for the composition of this commentary on the Gîtâ, let us now proceed to inquire whether we can obtain a *terminus a quo* likewise. Now it is perfectly clear, that our author must have flourished a considerable period after Śankarâchârya. For Śankara is highly praised in sundry passages of this commentary on the Gîtâ, and our author would almost seem to be content to waive his right to be called an independent commentator, accepting the somewhat inferior position of interpreter, as it were, between Śankara and the less instructed class of readers.† Madhusûdana must also be set down as later than the author of the published gloss. on Śankara's Gîtâ Bhâshya, viz. Ânanda Giri. For in commenting on Gîtâ IV. 7, our author cites a passage from the Gîtâ Bhâshya and adds: व्याख्यातृभिश्चोक्तं स्वेच्छानिर्मितेन

\* At the close of the comments on chap. XIII. of the Gîtâ occurs a stanza running as follows— पराकृतनमद्वन्धं परं ब्रह्म नराकृति ॥ सौन्दर्यसारसर्वस्वं वन्दे नन्दात्मजं महः ॥ on which this copy has in the margin पराकृतो निवारितः नमतां भक्तानां बन्धः संसारबन्धो येन. which is clearly no part of the commentary.

† Some of these passages are cited by Prof. Lassen in the preface to his edition of Schlegel's Bhagavadgîtâ (p. xix.) Under Gîtâ XVIII. 6 occurs the following not cited by Lassen : भगवत्पूज्यपादानामभिप्रायं यमीरितः ॥ अनिष्ठाततया भाष्यं दुरापां मन्दबुद्धिभिः.



मायामयेन दिव्येन रूपेण संबभूवेति, which in English means—“And the commentator has said ‘he was born with a glorious body, created at his own will, and produced out of the Mâyâ.’” The original passage referred to here may be seen in the published gloss of Ānanda Giri with some very slight differences,\* due, perhaps, to the quotation having been made from memory, or to the existence of various readings in the MSS., or to the existence of errors in the printed copy. Madhusūdana must also have flourished later than the author of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,† which is assigned by Professor Wilson to the ninth century A.C. ‡ Furthermore, Vijnāneśvara, the author of the Mitāksharā, being expressly mentioned in this commentary,§ our author must be posterior to “the latter half of the eleventh century after Christ,” which Dr. Bühler fixes as the date of that writer.|| The quotations from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa,¶ again, bring us down perhaps to a still later period, as Professor Wilson and others\*\* fix the twelfth century A.C. as the probable date of that Purāṇa. We thus obtain the interval between the twelfth and the seventeenth centuries of the Christian era as the period at some part of which our author must have flourished.

Can these limits be contracted any further? In the Preface to his edition of Schlegel’s Bhagavadgītā †† Professor Lassen refers to an opinion of Burnouf, identifying Madhusūdana, the author of the Gītā-gūḍhārthadīpikā, with a certain Madhusūdana, who is mentioned by Mādhavāchārya in his Dhātuvṛtti.‡‡ If this identification be correct, we shall obtain instead of the limits stated above, the comparatively narrow ones of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries of the Christian era. Burnouf himself, however, does not look on the identification as satisfactorily made out. And the language used by Professor Lassen, in

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\* See p. 5 (Calcutta edition, 1870).

† Cited under Gītā VI. 17.

‡ See Preface to Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. lviii.

§ Under Gītā II. 33.

|| See *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. p. 137.

¶ Under Gītā III. 19; XVIII. 65.

\*\* See Preface to Vishṇu Purāṇa p. li.; also 1 Colebrooke’s *Essays* 104. On the other side may be consulted a recent work entitled *Bhāgavata Bhūṣana*, by Mr. Gopālāchārya Karhāḍkar, printed at Ganpat Krishnāji’s press. My opinion on the dates of the Purāṇas generally has been expressed in the Preface to my edition of Bhartrihari. (Bomb. Series of Sanskrit Classics.)

†† See p. xviii.

‡‡ Burnouf’s words, as translated to me by a friend, are very cautious. He says, “Colebrooke speaks of a Madhusūdana whom he gives as one of the commentators of the *Mugdhabodha* of Vopadeva, and whom Śāyana cites in his *Dhātuvṛtti*. I do not know if he is the Madhusūdana to whom Colebrooke attributes several works on the Vedānta philosophy.”

stating Burnouf's opinion, seems to indicate that he too is not quite prepared to accept it. Nevertheless Professor Lassen does provisionally act upon the suggestion of Burnouf; and he assigns our author to the middle of the fourteenth century, placing Mâdhavâchârya at the close of that century.

In this conclusion I cannot concur; and in dissenting from it, I think I have the support of something of much greater strength than a mere conjectural identification based on a similarity of names. I think it can be shown from the internal evidence furnished by the Gîtâgûdhârthadîpikâ, that Madhusûdana must have flourished, not before, but some time after, Mâdhavâchârya. For, in commenting on Gîta VI. 36, after citing and explaining a passage from the Yogavâsishtâ, and adding some further observations of his own, our author winds up with these words अवशिष्टं जीवन्मुक्तिविवेके सविस्तरमनुसंधेयम्, *anglicè* "The rest may be seen at length in the Jîvanmuktiviveka." Now turning to Dr. F. E. Hall's Contributions to a Bibliography of Indian Philosophical Systems, we find the Jîvanmuktiviveka enumerated among Vedantic books, and described as "a work ascribed to Vidyâranya or Mâdhavâchârya.\*" At a subsequent page of the same work, Dr. Hall refers to Professor Weber's Berlin Catalogue as containing an account of the Jîvanmuktiviveka.† But I have been unable hitherto to get access to any copy of the Berlin Catalogue. Again, in a work entitled Bhâgavata Bhûshana, recently published in Bombay by a shâstrî of some reputation on this side of India, viz. Mr. Gopâlâchârya Karhâḍkar, the author speaks of विद्यारण्यस्वामिकृतजीवन्मुक्तिप्रकरणम्,‡ which, as we are told by Dr. Hall, is an alternative title of the same work. True it is, indeed, that our late learned Vice-President, Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, has not mentioned this work in his paper on Mâdhava and Sâyana. But the list of works contained in that paper was not, I think, meant to be regarded as exhaustive, and does not purport to be exhaustive. That being so, if we may believe these concurrent statements regarding Mâdhavâchârya's authorship of the Jîvanmuktiviveka, and I can see no reasonable ground for distrusting them, it results that our author must be later in age than Mâdhavâchârya.

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\* p. 133.

† Ibid. p. 205.

‡ See l. 7 p. 2. It may, perhaps, be added that the Jîvanmuktiviveka is referred to as Mâdhava's in a note to Dr. Hall's translation of Nehemiah Nilkanth Gore's Rational Refutation of Hindu Philosophical Systems. The work is also mentioned as Vidyâranya's in the Catalogue of MSS. compiled by Dr. Bühler (see Part IV. 52) and also in the Catalogue of MSS in the Central Provinces which has been recently published (see p. 118).

If now we turn to the closing lines of the *Gîtâgûdhârthadîpikâ*, we find there a stanza which runs as follows :—

श्रीरामविश्वेश्वरमाधवानां ॥ प्रसादमासाद्य मया गुरुणाम् ॥  
व्याख्यानमेतद्विहितं सुबोधं ॥ समर्पितं तत्त्वरणाम्बुजेषु ॥

I would translate these lines thus—“This easily intelligible commentary, which has been composed by me after obtaining the favour of the preceptors, Śrî Râma, Viśveśvara, and Mâdhava, is offered up to their lotus-like feet.” Professor Lassen’s copy reads साधनानाम् instead of माधवानाम्. But that reading can scarcely yield any sense, and the three copies of the work which I have seen concur in reading माधवानाम्. This reading may, therefore, be safely accepted. Again, Professor Lassen seems to understand श्रीरामविश्वेश्वर as one form of the name of our author’s preceptor, alternative with विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती and विश्वेश्वरानन्दसरस्वती.\* But this interpretation, which, I own, appears to me to be in itself improbable, is rendered still more improbable by the reading which we have given above. The first line must, then, be interpreted, as we have interpreted it, to be a compound containing three names, Śrî Râma, Viśveśvara, and Mâdhava.† Now it must be admitted that we have no information about this Mâdhava. But is it not, at least, possible, that the Mâdhava here mentioned may be identical with the Mâdhava whose work our author has referred to before ? However, this is but a conjecture, and it need not be pursued any further. We may, for the present, fix the two *termini* for the date of our author at the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries after Christ.

There is yet another source of information, and to it we now turn. It has been already stated, that tradition represents Madhusûdana Sarasvatî to have been once in occupation of the place of the Śringerî Pontiff. Now my friend Mr. Janârdan Sakhârâm Gâdgil has procured from the records of Śringerî a complete list of the several occupants of the “gâdî” together with their respective dates. I reproduce the list in its entirety, as it has not, to my knowledge, been ever before published.

\* p. xvi. note.—But see contra, Dr. Hall’s Contributions to a Bibliography, &c., p. 119, where Dr. Hall also states that the copy catalogued by him is dated 1673 A.C.

† I know nothing of Śrî Râma. The name occurs in some places in Dr. Hall’s work, but there is nothing to identify this Śrî Râma with any of the persons there intended. Viśveśvara is the author of several works mentioned by Dr. Hall. This name always occurs in the descriptions of Madhusûdana Sarasvatî, which are contained in the colophons to the works of the latter; for instance, in the *Gîtâgûdhârthadîpikâ* itself.

No.	Names.	Year down to which office held.	Duration of office.
1.	Śankarâchârya ..... Vikrama Samvat	107	32 years.
2.	Prithvîdharâchârya ..... Śâlivâhana Śaka	37	65 „
3.	Viśvarûpa Bhâratî Svâmî Do.	112	75 „
4.	Chidrûpa Bhâratî Svâmî Do.	164	52 „
5.	Gangâdhara Bhâratî Svâmî .....	234	70 „
6.	Chidghana Bhâratî Svâmî .....	289	55 „
7.	Bodhaghana Bhâratî Svâmî .....	335	46 „
8.	Jnânottama Bhâratî Svâmî .....	380	45 „
9.	Śivânanda Bhâratî Svâmî .....	420	40 „
10.	Jânnotama Bhâratî Svâmî .....	457	37 „
11.	Nṛisinha Bhâratî Svâmî .....	498	41 „
12.	Ísvara Bhâratî Svâmî .....	527	30 „
13.	Nṛisinha Bhâratî Svâmî .....	550	22 „
14.	Vidyâśankar Bhâratî Svâmî.....	578	28 „
15.	Kṛishṇa Bhâratî Svâmî.....	598	20 „
16.	Śankara Bhâratî Svâmî.....	620	22 „
17.	Chandrasekhara Bhâratî Svâmî .....	644	24 „
18.	Chidânanda Bhâratî Svâmî .....	667	23 „
19.	Brahmânanda Bhâratî Svâmî .....	695	28 „
20.	Chidrûpa Bhâratî Svâmî .....	720	25 „
21.	Purushottama Bhâratî Svâmî .....	755	35 „
22.	Madhusûdana Bhâratî Svâmî .....	793	38 „
23.	Jagannâth Bhâratî Svâmî.....	821	28 „
24.	Viśvananda Bhâratî Svâmî .....	853	32 „
25.	Vimalânanda Bhâratî Svâmî.....	888	35 „
26.	Vidyâranya Bhâratî Svâmî .....	928	40 „
27.	Viśvarûpa Bhâratî Svâmî.....	948	20 „
28.	Bodhaghana Bhâratî Svâmî .....	974	26 „
29.	Jnânottama Bhâratî Svâmî .....	1004	30 „
30.	Ísvara Bhâratî Svâmî .....	1054	50 „
31.	Bhâratî Târtha Svâmî*.....	1089	35 „
32.	Vidyâ Tirtha Svâmî .....	1127	38 „
33.	Vidyâranya Bhâratî Svâmî† .....	1169	42 „
34.	Nṛisinha Bhâratî Svâmî .....	1197	28 „

\* Received recognition in the Śaka year 1075, and thereafter ruled the Samsthâna for fourteen years.

† Received second recognition in the year 1157, and thereafter ruled the Samsthâna for twelve years. That year was the cyclical year Manmatha.

No.	Names.	Year down to which office held.	Duration of office.
35.	Chandraśekhara Bhāratī Svāmī ...	1225	28 years.
36.	Madhusūdana Bhāratī Svāmī .....	1225	30 „
37.	Vishṇu Bhāratī Svāmī .....	1290	35 „
38.	Gangādhara Bhāratī Svāmī .....	1324	34 „
39.	Nṛsinha Bhāratī Svāmī .....	1355	31 „
40.	Śankara Bhāratī Svāmī.....	1388	33 „
41.	Purushottama Bhāratī Svāmī .....	1432	44 „
42.	Rāmachandra Bhāratī Svāmī.....	1466	34 „
43.	Nṛsinha Bhāratī Svāmī* .....	1509	43 „
44.	Vidyāranya Bhāratī .....	1542	33 „
45.	Nṛsinha Bhāratī .....	1561	19 „
46.	Śankara Bhāratī.....	1585	24 „
47.	Nṛsinha Bhāratī .....	1601	36 „
48.	Śankar Bhāratī.....	1629	28 „
49.	Nṛsinha Bhāratī .....	1653	34 „
50.	Sankar Bhāratī .....	1685	32 „
51.	Nṛsinha Bhāratī .....	1691	6 „
52.	Śankara Bhāratī .....	1729	38 „
53.	Nṛsinha Bhāratī .....	1742	12 „
54.	Śankara Bhāratī.....	1776	34 „
55.	Nṛsinha Bhāratī .....	1782	6 „
56.	Śrī Śankara Bhāratī Svāmī .....		

This list does not appear to me to be very satisfactory. But I need not discuss it on the present occasion. There are but two Madhusūdanas in the list, the one at No. 22, the other at No. 36. The latter seems to me to be the person we want. It will be observed, that immediately above him there are two Svāmīs who may be said to be unknown to fame; but these are preceded by a tolerably well-known triad, viz. Bhāratī Tīrtha, Vidyā Tīrtha, and Vidyāranya; of these Vidyāranya is well known as only another name of Mādhavāchārya. Vidyā Tīrtha is most probably identical with the person of the same name whom Mādhava mentions in the first stanza of his Śankara Vijaya. Bhāratī Tīrtha is mentioned in company with Vidyāranya in the first stanza of the com-

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\* It was in the time of this Svāmī that a separate mahta of the Saṁsthāna was established at Kudalgi. And the subsequent names, says Mr. Gāḍgil, are the names of those who ruled the Kudalgi Saṁsthāna.

Dr. Bhāu seems to regard Vidyā Tīrtha and Bhāratī Tīrtha as names of one and the same person: *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. 227.

mentary on the Panchadaśi of Vidyâranya. The circumstance of these three names occurring together, coupled with the traditional information we possess, renders it, I think, reasonably probable, that the Vidyâranya here mentioned is identical with Mâdhavâchârya. And if so, then it also becomes likely, that the Madhusûdana, who stands third after him in the above list, is to be identified with the Madhusûdana Sarasvati with whom we are at present concerned.

Arguing thus far on the basis of the above list, we are, I think, on comparatively safe ground. But when we proceed to the question of dates, the credibility of the list is very much reduced. According to it, Mâdhava flourished in the thirteenth century of the Christian era, and died in 1247 A.C. The inscriptions, however, which have been found and deciphered show that this date cannot be correct, and that it is more than a hundred years too early; with that correction, Madhusûdana will stand at some period after the Śaka year 1355 or 1433 A.C. There is, however, this fact to be noted here. Between the death of Vidyâranya and the death of Madhusûdana, there elapses an interval, according to this list, of eighty-six years. If now we identify the Mâdhava mentioned in the closing stanza of the Gîtâgudhârthadîpikâ with Vidyâranya, this circumstance evidently presents a difficulty, for it is scarcely probable that Madhusûdana could have lived long enough to have been the pupil of one who died eighty-six years before the period of his own death. It is just possible that the three names of "gurus" mentioned in the stanza cited above are not the names of persons who were all the direct "gurus" of Madhusûdana. But for this supposition again there is no authority, and Viśveśvara appears clearly to have been his immediate preceptor. However, upon the whole, looking to the several lines of argument above suggested, I think we may safely lay down the proposition that Madhusûdana Sarasvatî probably flourished about the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century of the Christian era.

One word as to the relative positions of Madhusûdana Sarasvatî, and another famous commentator on the Bhagavadgita, namely, Śrīdhara Svâmi. Professor Lassen places the latter at the beginning of the fourteenth century after Christ or half a century before Madhusûdana.\* His argument is based simply upon the several coincidences observed by him between the two commentaries on the Bhâgavadgîtâ of those two writers. And, therefore, Professor Lassen, in expressing the opinion

stated above, cautiously says, that it is only *satis verisimile*. There is, however, a sentence in Madhusûdana's commentary on Gita VI. 27, which places the matter beyond doubt, for there it is said एवमुक्तेन प्रकारेणेति श्रीधरः. *anglicé*, Śrīdhara says, thus means in the manner described. This agrees with what we find in Śrīdhara Svāmī's comment on the passage in question. It may, therefore, be taken as beyond doubt, that Śrīdhara preceded Madhusûdana, but by what period of time it is not at present possible to say. He lived, however, sufficiently long after Sankara to have known of a commentary on Sankara's Gîtâ Bhâshya;\* and it may perhaps be added, that he lived after the thirteenth century, as he has written a commentary on the Bhâgavata Purâna. But the positions of Madhusûdana and Mâdhava being reversed, as we have seen above, Professor Lassen's date cannot now stand unless further evidence in support of it is forthcoming.

There are one or two other facts to be found in the Gîtâgûdhârtha-dîpikâ which are worthy of note. Although Madhusûdana is a staunch follower of the Advaita Vedânta, he is at the same time a thorough-going devotee of Krishna. Thus at the close of the commentary on the fifteenth chapter of the Gîtâ, he says:—

चिदानन्दाकारं जलदरुचि सारं श्रुतिगिरां व्रजस्त्रीणां हारं भवजलधिपारं कृतधियाम् ॥  
विहन्तुं भूभारं विदधदवतारं मुहुरहो महो वारंवारं भजत कुशलारम्भकृतिनः ॥ †

And again, with greater force, he says:—

प्रमाणतोपि निर्णीतं कृष्णमाहात्म्यमद्भुतम् ॥ न शक्नुवन्ति ये सोढुं ते मूढा निरयं गताः। ‡

But the comments on the very next chapter are ushered in with the following latitudinarian remark:—

शैवाः सौराश्च गाणेशा वैष्णवाः शक्तिपूजकाः ॥ भवन्ति यमविज्ञाय सोहमास्मि परः शिवः §

It would appear from this, that the belief—and a very strong belief too—in the Krishna of the Gopis is, in practice, not incompatible with a refined catholicity of creed.

\* See Śrīdhara's Gloss on Gîtâ, introductory stanza.

† Oh ye who wisely work for your welfare, devote yourselves constantly to that glory which consists of Intelligence and Joy, which has the colour of a cloud, which is the essence of Vedic texts, which is the ornament of the Gopis, which carries the wise across the ocean of this world, and which has frequently become incarnate to destroy the burdens of the earth.

‡ Those deluded men who cannot bear the wonderful greatness of Krishna, though substantiated by proofs, go to perdition.

§ I am that supreme Holy Being through ignorance of whom men become worshippers of Śiva, and the Sun, and Ganeśa and Vishṇu, and Śakti.

There is but one other observation, which it may be useful to add here. In the gloss. on Gîtâ VI. 33, Madhusûdana quotes as follows from the Gîtâ Bhâshya तन्तुनागवदच्छेद्यमिति भाष्ये and adds तन्तुनागो नागपाशः तातनीति गुर्जरादौ प्रसिद्धः This is noticeable, but it would be hazardous to draw from it alone any inference as to Madhusûdana's connexion with the Gurjara District.

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# APPENDIX.

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*Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society for 1871-73.*

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## MEMBERS ELECTED

FROM 1ST JANUARY 1871 TO 9TH JANUARY 1873.

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John Young Lang, Esq.

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NORDISK OLDKYNDIGHED OG HISTORIE ; Aarbager for Udgivne af Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab. for 1871 and 1872. 8vo. Kjobenhavn. (3 copies)	Royal Society of Northern Anti-quaries, Copen.
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## DONORS.

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<b>WEBER</b> (A. von)—Uber ein zum Weissen Yajus Gehoriges Phonestisches Compendium, das Pratinasûtra. 4to. Berlin, 1872. (2 copies.)	
	The Author.

## PRESENTS TO THE MUSEUM.

FROM 1ST JAN. 1871 TO 9TH JANUARY 1873.

## DONORS.

<b>COINS</b> (1) Old Copper, of the time of the late Emperor of Beejapore .....	
	The Collector of Sattara.
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## DONORS.

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——— (8) Ancient Silver .....	A. Rogers, Esq., Rev- enue Com- missioner, N. D.
——— (Some) Old Silver .....	Col. Anderson, Pol. Agent, Kolapoor and S. M. Country.
COPPERPLATE GRANT (1)—Discovered in Gujerat ....	Maneckjee Adurji, Esq., G. G. M. C.
COPPERPLATES (2)—From the Bhownuggur Durbar...	Dewan Gowree Shankar, through J. Burgess, Esq., F. R. G. S., M. R. A. S.
DEWARA (Metal)—Discovered in excavating for the Revadunda and Mulla Creek Road in Ta- looka Alibag .....	The Collector of Colaba.
Dhooparty (Metal)—Ditto                      ditto .....	—————
Ring ( Gold ) .....	Col. Anderson, Pol. Agent, Kolapoor and S. M. Country.

## DONORS.

TABLET (Brass)—Bearing in relief a figure supposed to be that of Khundoba .....	The Collector of Colaba.
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## ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

## COMMUNICATED BY

BHAU DAJI.—Antiquities of Warangal and of Anumkonda, the ancient capital of Telingana, illustrated with Photographs .....	The Author.
—— — Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation of King Rudra Devá's Inscription at Anumkonda, with Remarks.....	—— —
—— — Discovery of complete Manuscript Copies of Bána's Harsha Charita, with an Analysis of the more important portions .....	—— —
BÜHLER (Dr. George).—A Note on the History of Sanskrit Literature .....	—— —
JAVERILAL UMIASHUNKER.—Hindu Tribes and Castes in Gujerat .....	—— —
MANECKJEE ADARJEE.—Transcript and Translation of a Copperplate Grant of the Fifth Century of the Christian Era, found in Gujerat, with remarks by Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar .....	—— —
RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR.—A Devanâgarî Transcript and Date of a new Valabhi Copper-plate, and a new interpretation of the figured dates on the published grants of the Valabhi Dynasty. ....	—— —
—— — Consideration of the Date of the Mahabharata in connection with the correspondence from Colonel Ellis. ....	—— —
VISHWANATH NARAYAN MANDLIK.—Notes on the Shrine of Mahabalesvara .....	—— —

# PROCEEDINGS, OFFICIAL, LITERARY, AND SCIENTIFIC,

FROM 1ST JANUARY 1871 TO 9TH JANUARY 1873.

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At a Meeting held on the 12th January 1871—

Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik read a paper entitled Notes on the Shrine of “Mahābalesvara.” He presented to the meeting a copy of the *Mahabalesvara-mahatmya*, in Sanskrit, said to be a portion of the Skanda Purana. It consists of two chapters, containing 163 verses. It describes the shrine and its neighbourhood as they now exist; and from its language and style of composition it appears to be a modern work. It recounts the origin of the five rivers, and describes the various places of worship, &c. on the hill. This shrine appears to be a modern establishment after the model of the very old shrine of Gokarna-Mahabalesvara, in Canara. The importance of collecting the local *Mahatmyas* was pressed on the Society’s attention, as a means of preventing the concoction of modern stories, of which an example was produced (being a copy of the *Nirmala-mahatmya* in Marathi). The Jyotirlinga was next described; and it was stated that Mahabalesvara was not one of them, and that although it was described as *linga*, it was not so in reality.

In reference to the question of the destruction and removal of architectural remains in various parts of the country, which had been considered at the meeting held on 10th November, Mr. Burgess read an extract from a letter, by Mr. Fleet, on the same subject, and it was resolved that the substance of the same should be embodied in the proposed representation by the Society to Government on the whole question.

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At a Meeting held on the 13th April 1871—

The Honorable President laid before the meeting copy of a report made to the Madras Government by Mr. F. A. C. Boswell, Madras Civil Service, on the Archæological Remains in the Kistna District.

Ordered that the Secretary be requested to convey the thanks of the Society to Mr. Boswell for his interesting report.

Dr. Bhau Daji read a report on 13 gold coins received from the Collector of Sattara, which were submitted to the Society at the last monthly meeting.

The coins were reported as old (about 11th or 12th century), rare and valuable. The best thanks of the Society were given to Dr. Bhau Daji for his report, and it was resolved that the coins should be retained for the Society's Museum.

Professor R. G. Bhandarkar read a paper entitled Transcript and Translation of a Copper-plate Grant of the Fifth Century of the Christian Era.

It was moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Tucker, *President*, and seconded by the *Honorary Secretary*, that the best thanks of the Society be voted to Mr. Manockjee Adurjee for the valuable and interesting present of a copper-plate grant for its Museum, discovered by him in Guzerat.

Dr. Bhau Daji then read papers on (1) Revised Inscription on the Delhi "Iron" Pillar at Kootub Minar; and (2) Revised Translation of the Inscription on the Bhitari Lat, with remarks.

At a Meeting held on the 13th July 1871—

The *Honorary Secretary* read the following descriptive memo. on 96 small Silver Coins, by the Collector, J. F. Fleet, Esq., C.S. :—

These coins, which are very small and of trifling weight, are stamped with a variety of impressions, but the only impression that can be clearly made out is that of a peacock shown on the eight coins in the packet marked A. I cannot make out the other impressions, and can find none very closely resembling them in the plates accompanying Thomas' edition of Prinsep's Indian Antiquities. Two of the coins bear on one side letters in the Kâyastha or Grantha character; one of them has the syllable *de* followed by *ra*, part of which only appears on the surface of the coin, and the second has the syllable *rá*, so that these coins may possibly be Vijayanagara coins of Devarao or Devarâya, A.D. 1391-1414; but this is a mere conjecture, especially as the two parts of this name are on separate coins. Two other coins have marks on them that may possibly be lettered, but I cannot decipher them; the mark on one of them closely resembles the / ( ꣳ ) of the cave-alphabets. These

four coins are enclosed in the packet marked B. The packet C contains the best specimens of the remaining coins, and the packet D the residue, the impressions on which are not so clear. An inspection of coins A and B shows that the stamp with which the impressions were formed was very much larger than the coins themselves. The four coins in packet A and one of those in D, marked on one side with a small half-moon, appear to be the only ones originally stamped on both sides.

Dr. Bhau Daji read the following reports on 20 gold coins forwarded by Government :—

The gold coins submitted to me for report are ten in number. They are equal in weight, viz. fifty-three and a half grains each.

These coins are denominated Húna Varaha, and vulgarly Pagodas.

They are described in William Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata* (p. 735).

Five of these húnas have two figures on one side representing Siva and Parvati, the former having in one hand the *trisula* or trident, and in the other a deer. The reverse has, on a granulated ground, the Arabic character representing *h*, being the initial letter of the name of Hyder.

According to Marsden, Fig. MLXXXII., it is called the Baháduri hun, and was coined by Hyder Ali subsequently to the conquest of Mysore and Ikeri Rájas. The weight of the huna under examination, however, is a little less than half of the Baháduri hun described by Marsden. Two of the hun correspond to Fig. MLXXIV. of Marsden's plates. The inscription on one side is Srí Sádásiva, and not Srí Sádáshiva, as in Marsden's figure. Sadashiva was a Rája of Ikeri, whose kingdom and person fell into the hands of Hyder.

The remaining three correspond to Fig. MLXXII. of Marsden's plate XLVIII., there being two figures, Siva and Parvati, on one side, and an inscription on the reverse which may be read Srí Krishna Raja—Srí Krishna Raja was the name of the late Mysore prince.

#### *Report on 10 Gold Coins.*

The ten gold coins submitted for report are Hunas, with the inscription Srí Krishna Raja on one side, and two images on the obverse representing Siva and Parvati. They correspond to MLXXII. Plate XLVIII. of Marsden's *Oriental Coins*.



Each of five weighs fifty-five grains, and of the other five fifty-four grains.

The coins belong, I think, to the age of the late Raja of Mysore.

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At a Meeting held on the 10th August 1871, Mr. Bhau Daji read original communications on the following subjects :—

*First* : Antiquities of Warangal and of Anumkonda, the ancient capital of Telingana, illustrated with photographs.

*Second* : Facsimile, transcript and a translation of King Rudradeva's inscription at Anumkonda.

*Third* : Discovery of complete manuscript copies of Bāna's Harsha-Charita, with an analysis of the important portions.

Dr. George Bühler then read a paper entitled "A Note on the History of the Sanskrit Literature," of which the following is a brief abstract :—

A Jaina writer, Rajasekhara, gives in his Prabhandakosha, composed A.D. 1348, a life of Sriharsha. He states that Sriharsha, the son of Hira, was born in Benares, and composed the Naishadha-charita at the request of a king at that town, named Jayantachandra, the son of Govinda Chandra. Various details, which Rajasekhara gives regarding Jayantachandra, especially the statement that he had the surname Panjula, that he was a contemporary of Kumarapala, of Anakollapattan; and that he and his dynasty were destroyed by the Mussalmans, show that Rajasekhara's Jayantachandra is nobody else than the Kashtrakuta who reigned over Kanya Kubja and Benares in the latter half of the 12th century, probably from 1168-1194.

Rajasekhara's account of the age of Sriharsha is confirmed by the fact that the latter states at the end of his Naishadhiyakavya that he was honoured by a king of Kanya Kubja.

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### ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

Monday, 27th November 1871—the Hon'ble H. P. St. G. Tucker, President, in the chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the Annual Report for 1870-71.

*Members.*—During the past year 16 resident and 3 non-resident members were elected, against 23 resident and 9 non-resident elected in 1869-70. 30 members have withdrawn, and 5 died in the past year,

leaving 175 resident and paying members on the Society's roll. The number of the non-resident members in India is 82.

*Library.*—During the year under review 526 works in 689 volumes were bought by the Society, against 740 in 1,003 volumes bought in 1869-70, and 557 works in 1868-69.

*Periodicals.*—The papers and periodicals taken by the Society are as follows :—

Literary, 10 ; Illustrated, 8 ; Scientific, 34 ; Reviews, 8 ; European Newspapers, 22 ; Medical Newspaper, 1 ; Registers, Army Lists, and Directories, 18 ; French Literary and Scientific Periodicals, 8 ; American Literary and Scientific Periodicals, 8 ; American Newspaper, 1 ; German Literary and Scientific Periodicals, 6 ; Indian Newspapers, 16 ; Indian Journals, Reviews, &c., 33 ; Batavian Society's Publications, 2 : being a total of 131 Literary and Scientific Periodicals, and 45 Newspapers, or in all 176. Of these, 53 periodicals and transactions of the learned Societies are given in return for the Society's Journal.

*Presents to the Library.*—Fifty Miscellaneous works in 70 volumes, and 150 Pamphlets, were presented to the Society during the year, chiefly by the Governments of India, Bengal, and Bombay ; the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; the Royal Astronomical Society ; the Trustees to the British Museum ; the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries ; the Smithsonian Institution, Washington ; the Boston Society of Natural History ; the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, and others.

*Presents to the Museum.*—7 old Bactrian Coins which were dug up from the soil in the vicinity of Peshawur, presented by the Rev. T. R. Wade, C.M.S., through the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson ; 8 ancient Silver Coins, presented by A. Rogers, Esq., C.S., Revenue Commissioner, N. D. ; one Copper-plate Grant, discovered in Guzerat, presented by Manockjee Aderjee, Esq., G.G.M.C. ; and one Brass Tablet bearing in relief a figure supposed to be that of "Khundoba," a metal "Dewara," and a metal "Dhooparti," which were discovered in excavating for the Rewadunda and Mulla Creek Road in Talooka Alibag, presented by the Collector of Colaba.

#### ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers and reports on Coins and Copper-plate Grants were read during the year :—

1. "Notes on the Shrine of Mahabalesvara." By Rao Saheb Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik.

2. Report on 13 Gold Coins received from the Collector of Sattara. By Dr. Bhau Daji.

3. Report on 10 Gold Coins, called Ekairee Hoons, received from Government. By ditto.

4. Observations on a Copper-plate Grant discovered in Guzerat by Manockjee Aderjee, Esq. By Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Esq., M.A.

5. Revised Inscription on the Delhi "Iron" Pillar at Kootub Minar. By Dr. Bhau Daji.

6. Revised Translation of the Inscription on the Bhitari Lat, with remarks. By ditto.

7. Descriptive Memo. by J. F. Fleet, Esq., C.S., on 96 small Silver Coins which were dug up in the village of Hulli, Talooka Purusgad, forwarded by the Collector of Belgaum.

8. Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation of King Rudradeva's Inscription of Anumkonda, with remarks. By ditto.

9. Observations on a complete copy of the Harsha Charita, with a commentary, discovered in Kashmir. By ditto.

*The Society's Journal.*—No. 27 of the Society's Journal has unfortunately been delayed, much to the regret of the Committee, in consequence of some of the contributions not being returned from the writers with the punctuality so desirable in such matters, but the number is now in the press in a complete form, and will be published early next year. No. 28, containing the papers read in 1870-71, and the proceedings for the same period, is now ready for the press.

*Coin Purchases.*—Many coins have been submitted for the inspection of the Society during the past year, principally under the resolution of Government requiring that coins found in any part of the Presidency should be submitted to the Society for opinion, with option of retaining such as the Society might wish to possess on paying the price placed on them according to their value as metal. From the coins submitted, a selection to the extent of 33 Rupees was purchased of those possessing interest and value, and of which no specimens were in the Society's collection.

*Manuscript and Photograph Purchases.*—An opportunity offered of a selection from a collection of rare and valuable Maghadi and Sanskrit

manuscripts through the medium of Mr. Burgess, one of the members. A very good selection was secured of Photographs of Girnar and Elephanta, with letterpress description, and of the Caves at Nassick were also purchased by the Society during the year at a cost of Rs. 360.

*Finance.*—The financial state of the Society is on the whole satisfactory, there being a balance in hand at the present date of Rs. 5,128-12-2.

*New Catalogues.*—In conformity with the resolution passed at the meeting of the Committee held in January last, the preparation of a new general alphabetical catalogue of all the works in the Library up to the end of 1870 has been undertaken, and is now all but ready for the press; in consequence of the delay and labour in preparing it, the catalogue will be brought up to the end of 1871.

W. Loudon, Esq., moved, and the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson seconded, that the Report now read by the Secretary be adopted. Carried unanimously.

The meeting then proceeded to the election of the Committee of Management for the year 1871-72.

John Connon, Esq., M.A., moved, and Bhau Daji, Esq., seconded, that the Vice-Presidents, members of the Committee, and Auditors for the past year be re-elected, and the vacancies caused by the absence of General Tremenheere, Dr. Thom, F. F. Arbuthnot, Esq., and Col. J. A. Ballard be filled up as follows:—

The Lord Bishop of Bombay in place of General Tremenheere as a Vice-President.

Dr. W. Dymock, G. Norman, Esq., and R. West, Esq., in place of Dr. W. Thom, F. F. Arbuthnot, Esq., and Col. J. A. Ballard, and Prof. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar to supply the other vacancy. Carried unanimously.

The following is the list of the Committee of Management for the year 1871-72:—

*President.*—The Hon'ble H. P. St. George Tucker.

*Vice-Presidents.*—The Hon'ble Sir M. R. Westropp, Kt.; the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Gibbs; Bhau Daji, Esq., Hon. Mem. R.A.S.; and the Right Rev. Henry Alexander Douglas, D.D., Bishop of Bombay.

**Committee Members.**—Dhunjeebhoy Framjee, Esq.; Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik; W. Loudon, Esq.; E. Tyrrell Leith, Esq., LL.M.; James Burgess, Esq., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.; W. Dymock, Esq., B.A.; G. Norman, Esq., C.S.; Raymond West, Esq., C.S.; Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A.; and James Taylor, Esq., *Honorary Secretary*.

**Auditors.**—Professor F. J. Candy, M.A., and Venayekrao Jagonath Sunkersett, Esq.

The following Newspapers and Periodicals were added to the list of those at present taken :—

1. *Mechanic's Magazine*.
2. *Sydenham Society's Publications*. (All the back numbers, and to be continued.)
3. *The Scientific American*.
4. *Leipzigen Illustrate Zeitung* (instead of the *Kladderadatsch*).

The meeting then adjourned.

At a Meeting held on the 14th December 1871 :—

Mr. Maclean submitted to the meeting the following proposition :—

“ That the subscription of a Resident Member to the Society be lowered to Rs. 50 a year, or 5 a month,” which was seconded by Mr. Narayan Vasudewjee.

The Hon'ble President stated that the proposal now submitted had been considered by the Committee of Management, and at their meeting they passed the following resolution :—

“ That the Committee are of opinion that the proposal announced to be made at the next monthly meeting to reduce the annual subscription should be opposed on the ground that they consider that the advantages which it offers are not commensurate with the injury which such a change would be likely to occasion to the Society.”

It was then moved by Dr. Wilson, and seconded by Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik, “ That the resolution of the Committee be adopted by the meeting as an amendment on the proposal made by Mr. Maclean.” After some discussion the vote was taken, when the amendment moved by Dr. Wilson was carried by a majority of 4, the numbers being 28 to 24.

At a meeting held on the 11th January 1872,

Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A., read a paper entitled "A Devanagari transcript and date of a new Valabhi Copper-plate, and a new interpretation of the figured dates on the published grants of the Valabhi Dynasty."

At a meeting held on the 11th April 1872 :—

A report was read by Dr. Bhau Daji on 30 Hindu punch coins and a gold ring found in a village near Kolapur.

In reference to the finding of these coins, the following account has been given by the State Karbharee, Kolapur, to the Political Agent there :—

I have the honour to forward herewith 192 silver pieces, valued at Rupees 23-1-6, and one gold ring, value Rupees 17-8, received with the Kurveer Mamlutdar's memorandum dated 17th August last. They were found buried in a ravine within the limits of the village of Shinhi, in the Kurveer Petta. The discovery was made under the following circumstances :—In August last certain cowherd boys, belonging to the aforesaid village, were one day grazing cattle in the vicinity of the ravine called the "Waghdura," when some of them happened to cast their eyes on an earthen pot lying partly buried in the ground. Out of curiosity they gradually dug up the pot, which on being opened disclosed its contents. Astonished at this, and inspired with superstitious fear, they fled back to their homes, leaving the pot with its contents where it lay, and reported the circumstance to one Appa Patel, who repaired to the place in question with others, and picked up some pieces. The news soon reached the police authorities of the village, and on inquiry the coins and ring above mentioned were procured and produced before the Mamlutdar (Subordinate Magistrate of Kurveer).

2. An attempt was made to decipher the inscription on these pieces but without success. From their size and shape, and the figures thereon, however, it is presumed that they must be very ancient coins, and quite out of circulation for some time past.

Dr. Bhau Daji reported on the coins and the ring referred to as follows :—

The coins consist of impure silver, and are flat pieces of an irregular form, with a few punch marks or symbols on one side and frequently one punch mark on the opposite side—neither bearing any inscription. Generally a corner is cut off, evidently for the adjustment of their weight.

Prinsep describes coins of this description under the head of "Stacey's earliest Hindu coins."\* (Plate XX., Nos. 25, 26, 27, and 28.)

Coins of this type were procured in South India, "others," says Prinsep, "were dug up in the Sunderbuns, and many were found in Behar."

Mr. Thomas calls them Hindu punch coins, and the plate which he gives in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society for 1865, at p. 14:—

Their average weight, says Prinsep, is fifty grains, or the same as the Tanka of the ancient Hindu mythology. Indeed, the word tank-sála (mint) goes far to prove that these are the very pieces fabricated for circulation under that name.

The thirty coins submitted to me for report vary from 45 to 53 grains in weight.

The symbols punched clearly relate to Buddhism, and require a paper by themselves.

Hitherto Indian numismatologists have not ventured beyond a shrewd guess that the coins of this type belong to a high grade of antiquity, from the absence of inscriptions or of evidence of skill in the art of engraving.

The gold ring which was found in the same pot with these coins fortunately has the name of its owner engraved on it, and the character of the alphabet enables me to pronounce it to be two thousand and one hundred years old, i.e. nearly of the age of Asoka.

We have thus a limit to the modernicity of the family of Hindu punch coins now under consideration.

A large number of copper coins of this type have been brought to me by Pundit Bhagwanlal Indrajī from Ujjein; out of 500 coins of different types, 150 belong to the above type. He found about 30 at Vedisa, near Bhilsa; he found one at Sarnath, near Benares, two or three in Junagad, in Katiawar.

As Prinsep remarked, they are all stamped on at random with punches, and may naturally be interpreted as the insignia of successive dynasties authenticating their currency.

The ring is solid and of somewhat inferior gold. It is octagonal on the outside surface, each side of the octagon forming an oval seal. Its diameter is  $\frac{7}{8}$  of an inch. The inside diameter is rather less than  $\frac{7}{8}$ . The weight is  $274\frac{1}{2}$  grains. On the surface of the oval seals or faces the following figures and inscription are engraved:—

On face No. 1 is the name of the original owner of the ring in Devanagari character—a few years later than the age of Asoka. I read it Nadibhagasa or Nandibhagasya in Sanskrit, i.e. “of Nandibhaga.” The inscription is as follows :—

The letters are exactly similar to those of the Asoka inscriptions ; but the letter “bha” has in the inscriptions the form represented on it.

The letter, however, in the railing of the great Sanchi Stupa is exactly as in the ring.

No. II. A lion or tiger.

No. III. Two human standing figures ; the male encircling the neck of the female with his left arm, and the female his with her right arm. An impression on sealing-wax, of course, shows the figures reversed.

No. IV. An elephant.

No. V. A ficus tree with a railing round the base of trunk.

No. VI. A horse.

No. VII. Two fishes head to head.

No. VIII. A deer.

These seals or faces are raised, as will be seen by the measurement. From the edge of the faces to the round heading which forms the inside circle are straight lines, all radiating from the centre of the faces.

It is needless to add that to the eye of the classical scholar a considerable resemblance to Grecian art is evident.

The figure of the ficus tree is exactly opposite the inscription, the lion and deer being on each side of it.

At a meeting of the Society held on the 11th July 1872 :—

The Vice-President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Gibbs, announced to the Meeting that His Excellency the Hon'ble Sir P. E. Wodehouse, K.C.B., had done the Society the honour of accepting the office of Patron.

Proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Gibbs, and seconded by the *Honorary Secretary*, that Col. J. A. Ballard, C.B., R.E., and Rev. D. C. Boyd, M.A., be elected Members of Committee in place of Messrs. West and Norman, who have left Bombay.—*Carried unanimously.*



At a meeting of the Society held on the 8th of August 1872, Dr. Bhau Daji read the following report on 19 gold coins received from the Collector of Belgaum :—

Of the 19 gold coins, 3 are larger and 16 smaller.

The larger three are circular, flat pieces weighing 66 grains. On one side each has a circular line very near the rim which is beaded. Within the circle is the figure of a lion rampant, face to the left. In front of the neck is a short inscription in Devanagari characters comparatively modern, mentioning the name of one of the years of Brihaspati Chakra, or sixty years' cycle of Jupiter. In that year the coin was probably struck.

In one the name of the year is Subhakrata, the 36th in the cycle ; the second has Pramoda, the 4th in the cycle ; the third has Pingala, the 51st in the cycle.

A little above the ear of the lion and close to the circular line is a small circle and the crescent, evidently to represent the sun and the moon.

The coin having the name of the year Pingala has the Svastika symbol just behind the raised tail, whilst that with the name of the year Pramoda has the same symbol under the raised forefoot.

The form of the lion has a general resemblance to the lions found in the cave of Elephanta and in the ruins of Mathura.

On the obverse of the coin with the Subhakrota year is an inscription of five lines within a circle ; the first line is in modern Devanagari characters, and may be read Siva Chitta. The line under has the same name but in a different character, probably the old Dravidian alphabet. The third line has the name of Sri Siva Chitta in Devanagari.

The fourth line reads exactly as the third, but the character is the old Canarese.

The fifth line has again Siva Chitta in Devanagari.

The coins having the name of Pramoda and Pingala have, on the obverse, inscriptions in five lines :—

- 1st—Sri Sapta ko.
- 2nd—tisa lavvai ara vi.
- 3rd—ra Jaya kesi.
- 4th—Deva Malava.
- 5th—Ra Mari.

In the coin with the name of the year Pingala the letter *vi* is at the commencement of the third line, and instead of *lavvavara* there is *labhavara*, which is equivalent to *labdhavara* in Sanskrit.

The legend may be translated—

“The brave Jayakesi, who obtained the favour of Sri Saptakotisa and was the enemy of Mallavarma.”

The temple of Saptakotisa (Siva) is Narven, in Goa. In my paper on Mudhavacharya I have stated that Madhava Mantri established the shrine in the time of Hari-Hara.

The sixteen coins are all alike, being 59 grains in weight. On one side is the representation of an elephant with trappings, badly carved and never entire in any one of the coins. On the obverse is a conventionalized leaf. These coins appear to be cast, and not die-struck.

The age of the coins, judging by the alphabets, is later than the thirteenth century of the Christian era. We have the name of a king Jayakesi and his enemy Mallavarma, but I am unable to find at present their exact position in the dynasties of Southern and Western India.

One or two of the smaller and two of the larger may be bought for the Museum.

The *Honorary Secretary* submitted copy of a letter written by Mr. Grant Duff, author of the History of the Marathas, addressed to the late H. E. Goldsmid, of the Bombay Civil Service, in which Mr. Grant Duff gave an account of that work, and under what circumstances he was led to undertake it. The letter with the remarks of the *Secretary* will appear in the journal.

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At a meeting of the Society held on the 12th September 1872, Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A., read a paper entitled “Consideration of the Date of the Mahábhárata, in connection with the Correspondence from Col. Ellis.”

Dr. Wilson moved a vote of thanks to Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar for collecting so many proofs of certain portions at least of the Mahábhárata.

Dr. Bhau Daji, in seconding the same, said there can be no doubt that the Mahábhárata is a very ancient work. The difficulty in ascertaining the exact age of such poems is that they have been added to and modified from time to time. The first antiquarians assigned an absurd antiquity to everything Indian, and now the tendency was in the other way. He believed it could be shown that the Mahábhárata existed as long ago as Alexander the Great, and that he believed this could be proved.

After some further discussion, in which Mr. Robertson and Mr. Burgess took part, Prof. Bhandarkar replied.

The best thanks of the Society were voted to Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar for his interesting paper, and to the contributors to the Library, and the meeting then adjourned.

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At a meeting of the Society held on the 12th December 1872—Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar read a paper entitled “Hindu Tribes and Castes in Guzerat.”

On the motion of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, seconded by Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, the best thanks of the meeting were given to Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar for his valuable paper. The meeting then adjourned.

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### ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

Thursday, 9th January 1873: the Honourable H. P. St. George Tucker in the chair.

The *Honorary Secretary* read the

#### ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1871-72.

*Members.*—During the past year 10 resident and 4 non-resident members were elected, against 16 resident and 3 non-resident elected in 1870-71. 14 members have withdrawn and 3 died in the past year, leaving 153 resident members on the Society's roll. The number of the non-resident members in India is 109.

*Library.*—During the year under review 464 works in 618 volumes were bought by the Society, against 526 works in 689 volumes bought in 1870-71.

*Periodicals.*—The papers and periodicals taken by the Society are as follows:—Literary 12; Illustrated 10; Scientific 32; Reviews 8; European newspapers 19; Medical newspaper 1; Registers, Army Lists, and Directories 18; French literary and scientific periodicals 5; American newspaper 1; German literary and scientific periodicals 6; Indian newspapers 18; Indian journals; reviews, &c. 32; Batavian Society's publications 2; being a total of 133 literary and scientific periodicals and 39 newspapers, or in all 172. Of these, 50 periodicals and transactions of the learned societies are given in return for the Society's journal.

*Presents to the Library.*—Miscellaneous works in 140 volumes and 118 pamphlets were presented to the Society during the year chiefly by the Governments of India, Bengal, and Bombay; the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Royal Astronomical Society, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, the Smithsonian

Institute, Washington, the Boston Society of Natural History, the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, and others.

*Presents to the Museum.*—Six copper coins of Portuguese Government in India, presented by Mr. Edward F. Victor de Costa; and two copper plates from the Bhownuggur Durbar, presented by Dewan Gowrishankar through Mr. J. Burgess.

*Original Communications.*—The following papers and reports on coins and copper-plate grants were read during the year :

1. A Devanagari transcript and date of a new Valabhi copper-plate, and a new interpretation of the figured dates on the published grants, of the Valabhi dynasty, by Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.

2. A report on thirty Hindu Punch coins and a gold ring found in a village near Kolapore, by Dr. Bhau Daji.

3. Ditto ditto on nineteen gold coins received from the Collector on Belgaum by ditto.

4. Remarks on a letter written by Mr. Grant Duff, addressed to the late H. E. Goldsmid, Esq., Bombay Civil Service, on the subject of Mr. Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, by J. Taylor, Esq., *Honorary Secretary*.

5. Consideration of the date of the Mahábhárat, in connection with the correspondence of Colonel Ellis, by Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.

*The Society's Journal.*—No. 27 of the Society's journal was published and distributed to members in April last. No. 28, containing the papers read in 1871-72, and the proceedings for the same period, is now in the press, and will be published as early as possible.

*Finance.*—The accounts of the Society for the official year, terminating on 1st November last, show a balance at the credit of the Society with the New Bank of Bombay of Rs. 4,833-9-6, which amount was reduced by payments in November and December to Rs. 2,862-14-6 on 2nd January 1873. There was also an amount at the credit of the Society with its London agents in November of £300. The balance-sheet at the close of the official year is now on the table for the inspection of the members.

*Destruction of books by the rains in September.*—The Society has sustained a serious loss by the destruction of a large number of valuable works, owing to the heavy fall of rain which came through the roof of

the Library on the night of Thursday the 12th September last. After a careful collation of the detached pages of the damaged books, about 1400 complete volumes have been secured, but all will require to be re-bound before they can be made available for use. About 120 volumes, most of which consisted of valuable editions of the Greek and Latin classic authors, have been rendered totally useless. It is difficult for the Committee to estimate the exact pecuniary loss, but it cannot be short of Rs. 4,000.

*Reduction of Subscription.*—The subject of the reduction of the amount of the present annual subscription of the Members has been under the careful consideration of the Committee, but in view of the heavy expenditure about to be incurred in bringing out the new catalogue (which is now undergoing revision for the press) and in repairing the losses to the Library caused by the rain in September, the Committee do not feel justified in recommending any reduction for the present. Before another annual meeting takes place they hope to be in a position to recommend a modification of the existing rules on this point.

*Amalgamation of the Bombay Geographical Society with the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.*—Negotiations on the subject of the amalgamation of the Bombay Geographical Society with this Society were entered into by the Committees of both societies a few months ago, which have proceeded thus far favourably, and the result will be communicated to the members shortly at a special meeting to be convened for the purpose.

The Committee propose to have the large Library room, the adjoining smaller room, and the Museum room lighted with gas, which they consider will be a great advantage in case of the Society having evening meetings or *conversazioni* at a much later hour than has hitherto been the custom.

Proposed by Manekjee Karsetjee, Esq., and seconded by Nacoda Mahamed Ali Rogay, Esq.—“That the report now read be adopted.”—Carried unanimously.

The meeting then proceeded for the election of the Committee of Management for the year 1872-73.

Proposed by Dr. F. G. Joynt, seconded by Javerilal Umiashankar, Esq.—“That the Vice-presidents, Members of the Committee, and Auditors for the past year be re-elected.”—Carried unanimously.

The following is the list of the Committee of Management for the year 1872-73 :—

*President.*—The Hon'ble H. P. St. George Tucker.

*Vice-Presidents.*—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Gibbs; Bhau Daji, Esq., Hon. Mem. R. A.S ; The Hon'ble Sir M. R. Westropp, Chief Justice ; and the Right Rev. Henry Alexander Douglas, Bishop of Bombay.

*Committee Members.*—Dhanjibhoy Framjee, Esq.; Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik ; W. Loudon, Esq. ; the Hon'ble J. A. Forbes; E. T. Leith, Esq. ; James Burgess, Esq., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S. ; Dr. W. Dymock, B.A. ; Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar ; Col. J. A. Ballard, C.B., R.E. ; the Rev. D. C. Boyd, M.A. ; and James Taylor, Esq., *Honorary Secretary.*

*Auditors.*—Professor F. J. Candy, M.A., and Vinayekrao Juggonath Sunkerset, Esq.

The following newspapers and periodicals were added to the list of those at present taken :—

1. The *Guardian* newspaper (London).
2. *Ocean Highways* (monthly).
3. *The Bombay Catholic Examiner*.
4. *Good Words* (monthly parts).

After the conclusion of the anniversary meeting, the monthly meeting of the Society was held.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed, and the following members were elected :—Surgeon Major T. E. P. Martin, Secretary to the Inspector General, Indian Medical Department.

The Hon'ble A. Rogers, Member of Council.

The Meeting then adjourned after a vote of thanks to the President for his conduct in the chair.



# APPENDIX.

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*Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society for 1873-74.*

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## MEMBERS ELECTED

FROM JANUARY 23RD, 1873, TO JULY 18TH, 1874.

13TH FEBRUARY 1873.

Assistant-Surgeon Oliver Codrington, F.R.M.S.      Nánábhái Haridás, Esq., LL.B.,  
Pleader, High Court.  
Dr. J. G. Da Cunha, M.R.C.S.

19TH APRIL 1873.

J. W. Orr, Esq., M.A., Prothonotary H. M.'s High Court.

19TH JUNE 1873.

G. H. Traill, Esq., Agent, Oriental Bank.

14TH AUGUST 1873.

A. Allardyce, Esq., Editor *Indian Statesman*.      P. Ryan, Esq., Assistant Secretary to Government, Political Department.  
The Honourable J. K. Bythell, Merchant.

21ST MARCH 1874.

H. Conder, Esq.	Kásináth Trimbak Telang, Esq.,
A. F. Pereira, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Goa.	M.A., LL.B.
Major J. H. White, R.E.	Byramji Nusserwanji Servai, Esq.
T. W. Wood, Esq.	N. Spencer (junior), Esq.
A. Buchanan, Esq.	H. Gamble, Esq.
	Captain W. P. Walshe.
	W. Forrest, Esq.



18TH JUNE 1874.

**Shripad Babaji Thakur, Esq., C.S.**      **Cursetji Jehangirji Tarachand,**  
**G. F. Sheppard, Esq., C.S.**                  **Esq.**  
**D. Finlayson, Esq.**

### *Honorary Members.*

**Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I.**  
**Dr. Haug.**

**E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.**  
**M. C. Commendatore Nigri.**

18TH JULY 1874.

**Professor P. Peterson, M.A.**  
**B. Clark, Esq.**

## PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

FROM JANUARY 23RD, 1873, TO JULY 18TH, 1874.

## DONORS.

AARBOGER.—For Nordisk Old Kyndighed og Historic.

Vols. 5 for 1872 and Vol. I. for 1873.....Royal Society  
of Antiquaries  
of the North.

A MANUAL of the Nellore District, in the Presidency of

Madras. By J. A. C. Boswell .....Govt. of B'bay.

ANNUAL Report of the Municipal Commissioner of

Bombay for 1873 .....Town Council,  
Bombay.

-----Statement of the Trade and Navigation of the

Presidency of Bombay for the year 1871-72. Fol.

Bomb. 1872 .....Commissioner  
of Customs.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL Survey of India Reports, 1871-72,

Vol. III. ....Govt. of India.

-----Reports of, 1862-

63-64-65. 2 vols. Simla, 1871 ..... Do.

ASIATIC Society of Bengal, Journal of the. Part 1,

No. II.; Part 2, No. III.; Part 1, No. IV. 3

vols. Cal. 1873 .....The Society.

-----Proceedings of the, Nos. VI.,

VII., X. 1873 and No. I. January 1874. 3 vols.

Cal. 1873 ..... Do.

ASTRONOMICAL Society (Royal), Monthly Notices of

the. Vol. 32. Lond. 1872 ..... Do.

BELLARY District, Manual of the. By John Kelsall.

Madras, 1871.....Govt. of  
Madras.

BIBLIOTHECA Indica, Nos. 265, 267, and 269. 3 vols.

Cal. 1873 .....Asiatic Society  
of Bengal.

-----Persian Series, Nos. 264 and 266.

2 vols. Cal. 1872 ..... Do.

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- BLUMHARDT** (Rev. C. H.)—Outlines of Amharic, containing an English, Oordoo, and Amharic Vocabulary. Serampore, 1867 ..... **The Author.**
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- Presidency, Administration Report of the, for 1871-72. Bomb. 1873..... **Govt. of B'bay.**
- —————for 1872-73. **Do.**
- BUHLER** (G.)—A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts from Gujrat, Kachchh, Sindh, and Khandeś. Bomb. 1873 ..... **Do.**
- CATALOGUE** of Books printed in the Bombay Presidency during the Quarter ending 31st December 1873 ... **Director of Public Instruction.**
- CHAMBER** of Commerce, Bombay ; Report of the, for 1871-72. Bomb. 1873 ..... **Govt. of B'bay.**
- COLEBROOKE** (H. T.)—Miscellaneous Essays. 2nd Ed. 2 vols. Madras, 1872..... **Do.**
- COMPARATIVE** Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, Part I. By John Beames ..... **Do.**
- COORG**, Administration Report of, for the year 1871-72. Bangalore, 1872 ..... **Commissioner of Coorg.**
- DA CUNHA** (Dr. J. Gerson).—Dengue ; its History, Symptoms, and Treatment. Pht. Bomb. 1872. **The Author.**
- Introdução ao Estudo da Sciencia da Vida. Bomb. 1868 ..... **Do.**
- CUNNINGHAM** (A.) —Archæological Survey of India, Vol. IV. .... **Govt. of India.**
- The Ancient G-ography of India. Lond. 1871 ..... **Do.**
- DAY** (Surgeon-Major F.)—Report on the Freshwater Fish and Fisheries of India and Burma. Cal. 1873 ..... **Do.**

## DONORS.

- DUFF** (James Grant).—History of the Mahrattas (complete in one volume). Published at the *Times of India* Office, Bomb. 1873 ..... The Proprietor  
*Times of India*.
- FINANCE** and Revenue Accounts of British India ..... Govt. of India.
- FRAMJI** Mancherji.—Zend Instructor, Book I. (Gujrati). The Author.
- GEOLOGICAL** Survey of India, Records of the. Vol. IV., Part 1; Vol. V., Part 4. Pht. Cal. 1873... Surveyor General.
- GEOGRAPHICAL** Society (Royal), Classified Catalogue of the. 8vo. Lond. 1871 ..... The Society.
- GREAT** Trigonometrical Survey of India, Account of the Operations of the. Vol. I. Dehra Doon, 1870. The Supt.  
——— Do. do. during  
1871-72. Dehra Dun, 1872 ..... Do.
- HIGH** Court (Bombay), Reports of. Vol. IX., Part 1. Bomb. 1872.  
——— Vol. IX., Parts 2 and 3, with Index, and Vol. X., Part 1. 2 vols. Bomb. 1873 ..... Govt. of B'bay.
- HISTORY** of Goa, Ancient and Modern ..... Dr. Da Cunha.
- HUNTER** (W. W.)—Orissa. 2 vols. Lond. 1872 ... Govt. of B'bay.
- HYMNS** of the Rig-veda in the Pada and Sanskrit Text.  
By F. Max Müller. 2 vols. .... Do.
- INDIA**, Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of, during the year 1870-71. No. 152. Lond. 1872 ..... Govt. of India.
- INDIAN** Museum Minutes (April 1871 to March 1872). Cal. 1872 ..... Do.
- JAMSHED** Naoroz, the New Year's Day of the Ancient Persian Empire. Translated by K. R. Kama..... The Author.
- LEITNER** (Chevalier Dr. G. W.)—Eight Pamphlets on Mahomedan Literature, Philology, Education in India, &c. 8 vols. Lahore..... Do.
- MADRAS** Presidency, Administration Report of the, for 1871-72. Madras, 1872.  
——— for 1873. Madras, 1873... Madras Govt.
- MALCOLM**'s History of Persia. (Persian.)..... Govt. of India.

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Lond 1872 .....Govt. of B'bay.
- MEGHADUTA** der Volkenbote Gedicht von Kálidás .....The Editor.
- MEMOIRS** of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. X.,  
Part 2..... Govt. of B'bay.
- MEMOIRS** of the Boston Society of Natural History.  
Vol. II., Part 1, Nos. II. and III.; Vol. II., Part  
2, Nos. I.—III. .... Boston Society  
of Natural  
History.
- MURDOCH** (John).—Education as a Missionary Agency  
in India. Madras, 1872 .....Govt. of  
Madras.
- MYSORE**, Administration Report of, for the year 1871-  
72. Bangalore, 1872 .....Commissioner  
of Mysore.
- NORTH-WEST PROVINCES**, Administration Report of,  
for the year 1871-72. Allahabad, 1873 .....  
————— for 1872-73 .....Govt. North-  
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vinces.
- PELLY'S** Report on the Tribes around the Shores of the  
Persian Gulf .....Govt. of B'bay.
- POWELL** (B. H. B.)—Hand-book of the Manufactures  
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- PUBLIC** Instruction in Mysore, Report of, for 1871-72.  
Bangalore, 1872.....Commissioner  
of Mysore.
- in the Hydrabad Assigned Districts,  
Report of, for 1871-72. By W. Lee-Warner.  
Hyderabad, 1872 .....Govt. of B'bay.
- RAJENDRALAL** Mitra.—Notices of Sanskrit Manu-  
scripts. Vol. II., Part 2 ..... Asiatic Society  
of Bengal.

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**RAJENDRALAL Mitra.**—Notice of Sanskrit Manuscripts.

No. 5, Vol. II., Part 2. Pht. Cal. 1872 .... Asiatic Society  
of Bengal.

—————Vol. II., Part 3. Cal. 1873..... Do.

**REPORT** of the Commissioner of Agriculture for 1870.

Rl. 8vo. Washington, 1871 .....The Commis-  
sioner.

————Monthly, of the Department of Agriculture for  
1871. Washington, 1872 ..... Do.

————of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presi-  
dency, 1871-72. 8vo. Bomb. 1872.....Director of  
Pub. Inst.

————for 1872-73. 2 copies Appendix H to ditto .. ..

————of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for  
1872-73 .....Govt. of B'bay.

————of the Administration of Mysore for the years  
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of Mysore.

————of the Meteorological Reporter to the Government  
of Bengal for the year 1873. Fol. By H. F.  
Blanford.....Govt. of B'bay.

————on Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1872-73. ....Director of  
Pub. Inst.

————of the United States Commissioner to the Paris  
Universal Exposition, 1867. 5 vols. ....United States  
Commr.

**RIGI Mountain Railway**, with Remarks by Major T.

F. Dowden.....The Author.

**SMITHSONIAN Report**, 1870. Washington, 1871 .....The Institute.

**SUPPLEMENTARY Catalogue of Sanskrit Works** in the  
Saraswati Bhándáram Library of H. H. the Máhá-  
rája of Mysore .....Director of  
Pub. Inst.

**SYED Ahmed Khan.**—Review on Dr. Hunter's 'Indian  
Musalmans.' Benares, 1872.....

**SYAVAX Náneh**.....The Editor.

## DONORS.

TRADE and Navigation of the Provinces of Sindh, Annual Statement of the, for the year 1871-72. Kurrachee, 1872 .....	Govt. of B'bay.
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TOWER of Silence Case (Zoroastrian), Report of the (Gujarati), by Kaikhoshru Kobraj .....	The Publisher.
VACCINATION throughout the Bombay Presidency and Sindh, Report on, for 1871-72. Bomb. 1872.	Govt. of B'bay.
WILLIAMS (Monier).—Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Lond. 1872 .....	Do.

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BÜHLER (J. G., Ph. D.)—Further Notes on the Age of Śrīharsha, the author of the <i>Naishadhīya</i> .....	The Author.
MANDLIK (Ráo Sáheb V. N.)—A Short Account of Śáli- váhana and his work entitled <i>Śáliváhana Saptasati</i> .	Do.
MITCHELL (The Rev. Murray, LL.D.)—The Maráthi Poets <i>Dnyánesvara</i> and <i>Tukárdma</i> , with Translations.	Do.
REHATSEK (Edward, M.C.E.)— I. Expositions of Twelve Hemyaritic Inscriptions, with Facsimiles.	Do.
II. Explanations of eight Arabic Talismanic Medi- cine-Cups, with Facsimiles.	Do.

# PROCEEDINGS, OFFICIAL, LITERARY, AND SCIENTIFIC,

FROM JANUARY 23RD, 1873, TO JULY 18TH, 1874.

A Meeting of the Society was held on the 23rd January 1873 to consider and confirm the terms proposed for the amalgamation of the Bombay Geographical Society with this Society.

The following is a memorandum of the terms agreed on by the Committees of both Societies :—

“ The Society’s property consists of the following :—

2260 Books and Atlases .....	Rs. 8,070
2500 Maps and Charts on rollers and in cases, &c. ....	„ 2,500
4 Pictures .....	„ 2,000
2 Globes.....	„ 700
Book-cases, Furniture, Instruments, and Transactions.....	„ 9,170
	<hr/>
	Rs. 22,440

which we are prepared to combine with those of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the following terms, viz. :—

The two Societies to be amalgamated, the Geographical forming the Geographical Section of the Asiatic, analogous to the Physical Section of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The Geographical Section to have its Secretary (who shall be Joint Secretary of the united Societies), with also a Sub-Committee of the General Managing Committee for the Geographical Section.

## *Funds.*

The Government Grant.....	Rs. 50 0 0
The Premchand Roychund Fund, amounting to.....	„ 2,659 11 3
The Bhugwandas Parshotumdas Fund, amount- ing to .....	„ 498 15 4

to be kept for the Geographical Section, and applied to the purposes for which they were originally given.



The subscriptions of those who remain only members of the Geographical Section to be given over to the Asiatic Society.

Present Members of this Society to continue members of the new Section at the present rate of subscription, and to be eligible as members of the Asiatic on payment of half the Asiatic subscription in addition to their Geographical subscription. All present members of the Asiatic Society to be members of the joint Societies gratis.

Life-members of the Geographical Society to continue life-members of that Section of the Asiatic, but in the event of the Asiatic Society at any future time admitting life-members, the donation already paid by life-members of this Society should be considered.

In the event of a gentleman being a life-member of the Geographical Society and a subscribing member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, his subscription to the joint Society to be Rs. 90 per annum."

It was proposed by Dr. Wilson, seconded by Mr. Manockji Cursetji and carried, that "The terms proposed for the amalgamation of the Bombay Geographical Society, which have been agreed on by the Committees of both Societies, and have been already confirmed by the Geographical Society, be now approved and confirmed."

When the business for which the meeting had been called was concluded, the *Honourable President*, referring to the sudden and alarming illness with which one of the *Vice-Presidents* of the Society, Dr. Bháu Dájí, had been attacked, said he felt sure that every one of the members shared in his feeling. After alluding to the valuable services which had been rendered to the Society and to the cause of Indian Archæology by the learned researches of Dr. Bháu Dájí, he concluded by proposing that the *Secretary* be requested to write, on behalf of the Society, a letter of condolence and sympathy to Dr. Náráyan Dájí, as the representative of the family.

This was seconded by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, and carried unanimously.

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At a meeting held on Wednesday the 19th March 1873 :—

Read a letter from Mr. T. Bosanquet, Collector of Solápúr, forwarding 15 Gold Coins for selection and purchase.

Dr. Murray Mitchell then read a paper on the Maráthi Poets *Dnyánesvara* and *Tukáráma*, with translations.

After some observations made by Dr. Wilson and Professor Rámkrishṇa Gopál Bhāṇḍárkar on some points brought specially to the notice of members in the writings of Tukárám, it was unanimously resolved that the best thanks of the Society be given to Dr. Murray Mitchell for his interesting and valuable paper.

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At a meeting held on Thursday the 17th April 1873—

The Honourable Mr. Justice Gibbs observed that the amalgamation of the Geographical Society with this Society might now be declared complete, and that the Geographical Society should henceforward form the Geographical Section of the Asiatic Society. He therefore proposed that, in accordance with the terms of the amalgamation agreed on by both Societies, it be now placed on the records of this Society that the amalgamation be now declared complete from this date.

The proposition was seconded by W. Loudon, Esq., and carried unanimously.

The Honourable Mr. Justice Gibbs then remarked that as the *President*, the Honourable Mr. Tucker, was about to proceed to England on account of ill health, it was but proper that the meeting should express their acknowledgment of his valuable services in the furtherance of the object of the Society, and their best wishes for the restoration of his health.—Carried with acclamation.

The Honourable Mr. Tucker, in returning thanks, stated for the information of the meeting that Government had almost decided to give the room in the Town Hall at present in the occupation of the Inspector General, British Medical Service, for the use of the amalgamated Societies, but that nothing could be done till the new Secretariat Building was ready, and hoped that his successor in office, the Honourable Mr. Justice Gibbs, would take the same interest in the affairs of the Society that he himself had taken.

Mr. Javerilál Umiashankar then read a paper entitled “A Short Account of Śáliváhana king of Pratishthána [Paithána], and the originator of the Hindu Śaka era), and his work entitled *Śáliváhana Saptaśati*, by Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇḍlik, of which the following is an abstract:—Śáliváhana, or Śátaváhana, was the Hindu king after whom the present Śaka era current in Maharáshtra is named. He is popularly

believed to have been descended from a Kumbhára (bricklayer). A popular legend named *Śáliváhana Charitra* gives an account of his birth, exploits, and the establishment of his era, which prevails in territories to the south of the Narmadá. In the enumeration of the founders of the *śakas* or eras Śáliváhana stands the third. The year of Śáliváhana begins on the first of the bright half of the native month Chaitra. The years are grouped into cycles of sixty each, and each is named from some supposed quality inherent in it. The capital of Śáliváhana was Pratishtháṇa, the modern Paithāṇa, on the Godávarí. Hemachandra, a great Jain writer, includes Śáliváhana among the four learned kings named in his dictionary. Another Jain writer, Jina Prabhusúri, in his work named *Kalpa Pradipa*, describes among others the city of Pratishtháṇa, and mentions in connection with it the king Śáliváhana, of whom he gives a very interesting account. An abstract of this narrative is given in the paper. The same author has written another chapter on the city of Pratishtháṇa.

From the *Prabodha Chintámaṇi* and *Chaturavinsati Prabandha* it appears that Śáliváhana composed four hundred thousand *gáthás*, and denominated them the *Kośa* or Treasury of *gáthás*. There is a portion of this work containing 700 verses. It is entitled *Śáliváhana Saptaśati*, and is written in the Máhárásht̥ri-Prákṛit language, from which the Maráṭhi is evidently derived. The list of words gathered from this work, with their present Maráṭhí form and their meaning in English, is given in the paper.

This work is very old, in fact older than the works of the oldest Maráṭhí poets, viz. Mukundarája and Dnyáneśvara, now extant. This is evident from a comparison between the Maráṭhí of Dnyáneśvara and the present Maráṭhí and Máhárásht̥ri-Prákṛita. This work is evidently by Śáliváhana, living on the banks of the Godávarí, as that river is often named in the work. But it does not seem to have been composed by him alone, because the names of six other poets are mentioned as having contributed to it. It is a collection of Prákṛit songs, of ironical expressions, and love sentiments.

Although the Jains claim him as one of themselves, he does not appear to be so, as *Śiva* is distinctly referred to in the introductory verse, and a prayer offered in his honour, which would not have been the case if he were a Jain.

Two other kings by name Śataváhana are mentioned in the *Kátha Śarit Ságar* and *Bṛihat Kathá*, but these two Śataváhanas are different from the Śataváhana or Śáliváhana, the founder of the era and the author of the *Saptaśati*.

Some writers appear to confound this Śataváhana with the Vikramáditya Śakári. But the universal and continued practice of Maháráshṭra, and uniform traditions, are opposed to such a supposition, and go to prove that Śáliváhana was quite distinct from Vikramáditya Śakári, who reigned long before the advent of Śáliváhana.

After the paper was read, Professor R. G. Bhándárkar said that Ráo Sáheb V. N. Maṇḍlik has taken it as an undisputed fact that the era now called Śáliváhana was really founded by a king of that name. But it is very doubtful. In all inscriptions on copper-plates and stones and other documents up to a very late period, wherever the date is given in that era it is called Śaka Nṛipa Kála, *i.e.* "the era of the Śaka king," or simply Śaka Kála, "the era of the Śaka." Śaka, we know, was the name of a foreign tribe, and the era very probably originated from a king of that tribe reigning in those parts of India where the era was or is current; and if Śáliváhana was a Hindu king, as he is regarded to be, the era could not have originated with him. At any rate the matter is not quite so settled as the Ráo Sáheb takes it to be. The name Śaka has at a very recent time been generalized, and it has in common or vernacular usage come to signify an era generally. But that it was never so used before is clear from all the available evidence. The Ráo Sáheb, however, does not question the correctness of the usage. The expression Śáliváhana Śaka is historically incorrect, unless it were shown that the proper name of the Śaka king, which is omitted in all inscriptions and other ancient monuments, was Śáliváhana. The Ráo Sáheb does not discuss the question whether Śáliváhana was the name of a dynasty or an individual. The Násik inscriptions give us a dynasty of the name of Śáliváhana. Again, Ráo Sáheb Maṇḍlik assumes that the Śáliváhana mentioned by Báṇa as the writer of a *Kośa* or dictionary was the same as the supposed founder of the era. For this also, I am sorry to find, no satisfactory evidence is given by him. Legendary accounts, such as those given by the Ráo Sáheb in the paper just read, are good in their own way, but they become useful only when an attempt is made to separate what is historical from what is purely imaginary.

It was then proposed by the *Honorary Secretary*, seconded by Prof. R. G. Bháṇḍárkar, that the best thanks of the meeting be given to Ráo Sáheb V. N. Maṇḍlik for the paper that had been read. —*Carried unanimously.*

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The Anniversary Meeting, Monday, the 17th January 1874, at 4 P.M. :—

The Honourable H. P. St. GEORGE TUCKER, *President*, in the Chair.

The Hon. Secretary read the following Annual Report for 1872-73:

*Members.*—During the past year 11 Resident Members were elected, against 10 elected in 1871-72; 8 Members have withdrawn, 3 have been struck off the list, and 3 have died, leaving 162 Resident Members on the Society's roll, of whom 18 are in Europe. The number of Non-Resident Members in India is 77, 10 Members of the late Geographical Society of Bombay have joined the Society, and the remaining Members of that Society, numbering 65, are now included in the Geographical Section of this Society.

*Library.*—During the year under review 419 works in 562 volumes were bought by the Society, against 464 works in 618 volumes purchased in 1871-72.

*Periodicals.*—The Papers and Periodicals taken by the Society are as follows :—

Literary 15; Illustrated 13; Scientific 27; Reviews 8; European Newspapers 19; Registers, Army Lists, and Directories 18; French Literary and Scientific Periodicals 5; American Literary and Scientific Periodicals 6; German Literary and Scientific Periodicals 5; American Newspapers 1; Indian Newspapers 23; Indian Journals, Reviews, &c., 26; Australian Newspapers 1; being a total of 123 Literary and Scientific Periodicals, and 45 Newspapers, or in all 168. Of these, 34 Periodicals and Transactions of the learned societies are given in return for the Society's Journal.

*Presents to the Library.*—Miscellaneous works in 51 volumes, and 37 pamphlets, were presented to the Society during the year, chiefly by the Governments of India, Bengal, and Bombay; the Asiatic Society of Bengal; the Royal Astronomical Society; the Trustees of the British Museum; the Smithsonian Institute, Washington; the Boston Society of Natural History; the Academy of Natural Science, Philadelphia and others.

*Original Communications.*

The following papers were read during the year :—

The Maráthí Poets *Dnyáneśvara* and *Tukárāma*, with Translations, by the Rev. J. Murray Mitchell.

A Short Account of *Śáliváhana* (King of Pratishthána [Paithana] and the originator of the Hindu Śaka era) and his work entitled, *Śáliváhana Saptaśati*, by Ráo Sáheb Viśvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇḍlik.

Papers on the Hemvaritic Inscriptions and on the Arabic Talismanic Medicine-Cups purchased by the Society in 1872 have been placed in the *Secretary's* hands, and will be laid before the Members on an early occasion.

*The Society's Journal*.—No. 28 of the Society's Journal is now ready, and will be distributed to Members in the course of the next few days.

*The Society's Catalogue*.—The Catalogue of the Society's Library has been revised and corrected up to the end of 1872, and is now in the printer's hands; the first two letters of the alphabet are in type undergoing careful correction, and it is hoped the first half of the Catalogue, the Alphabet of Authors, will be ready within the next three months. Your Committee find it will be necessary to close the Library for a few days, in order that all books in circulation may be got in, and an account taken of the books found missing. Due notice will be given to Members, and it is hoped that it will not be necessary to stop the issue of books longer than a week.

*Finance*.—The accounts of the Society for the official year terminating on 1st November last shows a balance at the credit of the Society with the New Bank of Bombay of Rs. 3,649-12-1, which amount was reduced by payments in November and December, so that the balance was reduced on 2nd January 1874 to Rs. 1,923-9-4. The amount at the credit of the Society with its London Agents in November was about £400.

Considerable expense was incurred in the official year just closed in binding and repairing a considerable portion of the works that were injured by the rain in September 1872; there is still much to be done in this way, but the work can only be completed when the Society has funds to spare for this purpose.

Purchases of books were made for the Society at the sale of the library of the late Mr. Anstey to the extent of nearly nine hundred rupees, and nearly the half of this amount was absorbed in the purchase of books previously in the Library but completely destroyed by the rain on the occasion referred to. At the sale in question, your Committee are glad to say they secured for the Library a copy of the *Mischna Surenhusius*, which is a complete collection of all that relates to the law (written and oral), manners and customs, &c., of the Jews, with the commentaries of the Rabbins, in 6 vols. folio, at a cost of Rs. 230.

Certain matters referred to in the Report for the last year as being under consideration have been carried out and disposed of:—

The incorporation of the Bombay Geographical Society with this Society was completed at a meeting held for the purpose on 23rd January 1873; and special provision for a Committee of the united Societies, to be called the Geographical and Natural Science Sections, will be made in the Revised Rules. In the meantime, as was stated at the meeting at which the amalgamation took place, the books, maps, &c. which belonged to the Geographical Society exclusively are now available for the use of the Members of this Society. But it will not be till we get the room at the other end of the Hall, which we have good reason to hope, from the liberal spirit shown to us by the Government of Bombay, may in a short time be made available for our use, that the full advantages of the amalgamation will be apparent.

Gas has now been introduced into the Library, and the Committee propose taking an early opportunity of having an evening *Conversazione*, when the experiment will be tested as to its value for similar evening meetings on other suitable occasions.

The Committee have given their careful consideration to the question of a reduction of the present annual Subscription of the Members, and the conclusion they have arrived at, and now submit to the Society, is that the Subscriptions of Members be reduced from Rs. 100 to Rs. 75, and that Subscribers to the Library be admitted at a subscription of Rs. 50 per annum, payable in advance half-yearly. The contributions of Resident Members may be compounded for life by a payment of Rs. 600 in one sum.

Provision has all along existed in the Rules for the admission of a class of Subscribers distinct from Members, but as no difference has hitherto been made in the rates of subscription, and the privileges of

Members and Subscribers have been identical as a matter of fact, no one in recent years has been admitted as a Subscriber exclusively.

It seems to the Committee that if the objects for which the Society was created are to be maintained, and the use of the Library extended to a larger number of persons on a reduced scale of payment, the change will best be accomplished by establishing two classes of contributors, with distinct rates of payment and distinct privileges. To convert the whole institution into a Circulating Library, as some appear to desire, would be to forfeit all claim to the support which the Society as a scientific body has up to the present time received from Government.

The alterations in the Rules necessitated by the proposal now laid before the Meeting have been prepared and laid upon the table, and the new Revised Rules will be printed and circulated to Members before the holding of the Meeting, which will be necessary at an early date, for the adoption of the alterations recommended in the event of the Society affirming the principles on which they are based.

Proposed by the Rev. John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., and seconded by the Honourable A. Rogers—"That the Report of the Committee of Management now read be approved, and that the consideration of the details of the alterations in the Rules recommended in it be referred to the decision of a General Meeting to be specially convened for the purpose this day three weeks."—*Carried unanimously.*

The Honourable the *President* having read the Revised Rules of the Society, some discussion took place, in the course of which the Rev. Mr. Robertson and Mr. J. M. Maclean expressed their dissent from the proposal of the Committee to have two classes of Members.

Proposed by Dr. F. G. Joynt, and seconded by J. Burgess, Esq., that the names of the gentlemen proposed as Office-bearers be adopted.—*Carried unanimously.*

The following is the list of the Committee of Management for the year 1873-74 :—

*President* : The Honourable H. P. St. George Tucker.

*Vice-Patrons* : The Honourable Sir M. R. Westropp, Kt., B.A., and the Right Rev. Henry Alexander Douglas, D.D., Bishop of Bombay.

*Vice-Presidents* : The Honourable Mr. Justice Gibbs, F.R.G.S., the Honourable Mr. Justice West, B.A.; Ráo Sáheb V. N. Mandlik ; and Surgeon-General W. Thom, F.R.C.S.



*Honorary Vice-President* : Bháu Dájí, Esq., Hon. M.B.A.S.

*Committee Members* : Dhanjibhái Frámji, Esq. ; W. Loudon, Esq. ; J. A. Forbes, Esq. ; E. T. Leith, Esq., LL.M. ; J. Burgess, Esq., F.R.G.S., M.B.A.S. ; W. Dymock, Esq., B.A. ; Prof. R. G. Bhándárkar, M.A. ; Col. J. A. Ballard, C.B., R.E. ; the Rev. D. C. Boyd, M.A. ; Capt. Henry Morland, F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S. ; and James Taylor, Esq., *Honorary Secretary*.

*Auditors* : Thomas Lidbetter, Esq., and Dr. Atmáram Pándurang.

The following Newspapers and Periodicals were added to the list of those at present taken :—

The Transactions of the Linnæan Society of London.

The Ethnological Magazine or Journal.

The Journal of the Philological Society.

The Portfolio.

The Architect.

The Oriental.

The Pall Mall Budget.

The following were discontinued :—

The Quarterly Journal of Mathematics.

The British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review.

The Law Times.

The Weekly Reporter.

The Times of India Overland Summary.

At a Special Meeting of the Society, held on Saturday the 7th February 1874, to consider the Rules and Regulations of the Society as revised by the Committee of Management—

It was proposed by the Honourable the *President*, seconded by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, and supported by the *Honorary Secretary*—“ That Dr. Bháu Dájí be elected *Honorary Vice-President* of the Society—*Carried unanimously*.

It was proposed by Dr. Wilson, and seconded by Ráo S. Mandlik—“ That the Rules as revised by the Committee of Management be adopted.”

It was proposed as an amendment by Dr. Wilson—“ That Rs. 75 in Art. XV, be substituted for Rs. 50.”

amendment was seconded by Mr. C. Currey, and after some discussion it was withdrawn by permission of the Meeting.

It was then proposed by Mr. Maclean and seconded by Mr. Currey—“That the Meeting be adjourned this day three weeks, in order to enable Members to give further consideration to the question of reducing the subscription.”

The proposition on being put to the vote was lost.

It was then proposed by Mr. T. Ormiston, and seconded by Dr. R. A. Dallas—“That the words ‘Seventy-five’ be taken out from Art. XV. of the Revised Rules, and the words ‘One Hundred’ be inserted instead.”

The proposition was put to the Meeting and was lost.

It was then proposed by Mr. Maclean, and seconded by Mr. Ormiston—“That Articles XXXI., XXXII., and XXXIII. be omitted, and that the Committee be authorized to make the further necessary and subsidiary alterations in the Rules.”

The proposition on being put to the vote was lost.

It was then proposed by the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson, and seconded by Mr. Maclean—“That the old Rules XXV., XXVI., and XXVII., relating to Subscribers to the Library, be retained.”

The proposition was put to the Meeting and was lost.

The original proposition as moved by the Rev. Dr. Wilson and seconded by Ráo Sáheb V. N. Mandlik—“That the Rules as revised by the Committee of Management be adopted,” on being put to the vote was carried by a large majority.

At a Meeting held on Saturday the 21st March 1874—

The *Secretary* laid the following Original Communications before the Meeting :—

- I. Exposition of Twelve Hemyaritic Inscriptions, with Facsimiles, by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.
- II. Explanations of eight Arabic Talismanic Medicine-Cups, with Facsimiles, by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.

Before reading the papers, the *Secretary* reminded the Members present that in 1872 the Society purchased a collection of antiquities from Arabia, consisting of three Metal Plates and nine Stone Tablets with Hemyaritic inscriptions, and eight Arabic Talismanic Medicine-Cups. As a good deal of interest was taken in Hemyaritic inscriptions generally, and it seemed desirable that all who took an interest in an obscure branch of knowledge, on which little light had hitherto been thrown, should be made acquainted with this new batch of inscriptions that had come into the possession of the Society, he (the *Secretary*) requested Mr. Rehatsek (a gentleman whose abilities as an Arabic and Persian scholar were well known to many of the Members of the Society) to make facsimiles of the inscriptions, and to give such explanation of them as he might be able to do, in order that the same might be submitted at a Meeting of the Society. Mr. Rehatsek very kindly complied with the request made to him, and soon afterwards produced very beautiful facsimiles, both of the Hemyaritic Inscriptions and the Arabic Inscriptions on the Talismanic Cups, which are now before the Meeting.

The papers were then read by the *Secretary*.

It was then proposed by the Honourable A. Rogers, and seconded by the *Honorary Secretary*—"That the best thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Rehatsek for the valuable papers that had just been read."

The motion, after a few words from Dr. Wilson, was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The Honourable Mr. Tucker then briefly addressed the Meeting, and tendered his resignation of the office of *President* of the Society.

It was proposed by Dr. Wilson, and seconded by the Honourable Mr. Justice West—"That the most cordial thanks of the Society be presented to the Honourable Mr. Tucker, who has intimated his resignation of the office of *President*, for his able and zealous efforts to promote the prosperity of the Society, and especially for his zealous efforts to add to its efficiency by the late revision and improvement of its regulations, particularly those bearing on its Membership and Library, and that it follows him with its best wishes for his health and welfare in Europe."

At a Meeting held on Thursday, 18th June 1874—

The following were elected Honorary Members of the Society :—

Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I. : proposed by Dr. Wilson, Mr. Gibbs, and Surgeon-Major O. Codrington.

Dr. Haug : proposed by Dr. Wilson, Mr. Gibbs, and Surgeon-Major O. Codrington.

E. Rehatsek, M.C.E. : proposed by Dr. Wilson, Mr. Gibbs, and Ráo Sáheb V. N. Mandlik.

M. C. Commendatore Nigri : proposed by Mr. Gibbs, Mr. E. T. Leith, and Mr. R. M. Maclean.

The following Members were appointed Trustees under Art. XVI. of the Rules :—

J. A. Forbes, Esq.

W. Loudon, Esq.

Surgeon-Major O. Codrington.

The *President* announced that he had been elected President, and Surgeon-Major O. Codrington, F.R.M.S., *Secretary*, by the Committee, under the provisions of Art. XII. of the Rules.

Proposed by Dr. Wilson, and seconded by Ráo Sáheb V. N. Mandlik, that a Committee consisting of the following Members :—

Dr. J. Wilson,

Rev. J. S. S. Robertson,

Ráo Sáheb V. N. Mandlik,

be appointed to draw up a suitable Resolution acknowledging the services rendered to the Society by the late Dr. Bháu Dáji.—Carried *nem. con.*

Proposed by the Rev. D. C. Boyd, seconded by Ráo Sáheb V. N. Mandlik, and carried *nem. con.* :—

“ This Society desire to put on record their deep regret at the loss of the late James Taylor, Esq., who for many years zealously and ably discharged the duties of its Honorary Secretary.”

The *President* read a Government Resolution asking for the help of the Society in promoting the completeness of the proposed Ethnological and Geographical Museum at South Kensington.

At a Meeting held on Saturday the 18th July 1874:—

Dr. J. G. Bühler read a paper entitled “Further Notes on the Age of Śrīharsha, the author of the *Naishadhīya*.”

In this paper Dr. Bühler replied to the criticisms which had been made, principally by Mr. Káśínáth Trimbak Telang, on his former paper on the date of Śrīharsha. As to the quotation from the *Naishadhīya* alleged by Dr. FitzEdward Hall to be contained in the *Sarasvati Kanṭhūbharana* of King Bhoja, Dr. Bühler's Paṇḍit had been unable to trace it in that work after an elaborate search. And this result was supported by the fact that Dr. Aufrecht does not mention Śrīharsha as one of the authors quoted in the *Sarasvati Kanṭhūbharana*. Dr. Bühler maintained that, notwithstanding some errors which might be explained, Rájasekhara was a trustworthy writer; that Mádhava, on the other hand, was quite untrustworthy, and that generally the Jains are better historians than the Hindus. As to the *Váchaspati Miśra*'s answering Śrīharsha in the *Khaṇḍanoddhāra*, Dr. Bühler said that the author of the *Khaṇḍanoddhāra* was probably different from the author of the *Bhāmati* and other philosophic works, as he was told so by the learned Śāstris of Benares, who were familiar with the *Khaṇḍanoddhāra*, and as that work is not mentioned by the author of the *Bhāmati* in the list of his own works given by him. As to Chand's mention of Śrīharsha, Dr. Bühler thought it not of much value, since Chand was clearly wrong as to the order in which he places Kálidása and Harsha, and since the style of Chand had been stated to afford internal evidence of having been written not, as alleged, in the 12th, but in the 14th century or thereabouts.

Mr. Káśínáth Trimbak Telang said that the circumstances brought forward by Dr. Bühler did to a certain extent lessen the force of his criticisms, but that there was yet considerable room for doubt. As to the quotation from the *Naishadhīya*, Dr. Bühler's statement seems to be almost conclusive, although there was a possibility that his Paṇḍits were mistaken. Mr. Telang did not agree with Dr. Bühler's opinion about the comparative credibility of Rájasekhara and Mádhava, nor of Jaina and Hindu writers generally. Furthermore, Dr. Bühler had not noticed the argument based on the identification of the author of the *Naishadhīya* with Śrīharsha, one of the five Kanoja Bráhmaṇas who went over to the court of Adistira and Adisvara on his invitation, as stated in Colebrooke's Essays.

Besides, the result of the argument was at best a negative one, and the omission of Śrīharsha's name might be accounted for on the supposition that his fame had not been then established. Even the *Kāvya Prakāśa* (probably more recent than the twelfth century) did not quote from Śrīharsha.

After some remarks by Professor R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar and Ráo Sáheb V. N. Maṇḍlik, a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Bühler for the paper he had read.

Dr. Bühler then showed to the Meeting some ancient Sanskrit Manuscripts from Gujarát.

---

BELGAUM DISTRICTS, 13th May 1874.

SIR,—I see that at page 24 of the Appendix to No. 28, Vol. X. of the Society's Journal, Dr. Bhau Dâjî reports on some gold coins received from the Collector of Belgaum, and concludes with the remark, "We have the name of a king Jayakesi and his enemy Mallavarma, but I am unable to find at present their exact position in the dynasties of Southern and Western India."

2. A reference to a series of Sanskrit and Old Canarese inscriptions copied and edited by me, and published at pp. 229 to 249 and pp. 262 to 313 of the immediately preceding number of the Society's Journal, would have settled the question at once; and it is not very encouraging to find that inscriptions which were collected and edited with considerable labour, and which introduced a new and important dynasty of Western India, have so soon been overlooked.

3. The Jayakêsi whose name occurs on some of the coins is evidently Jayakêsi III. of the Kâdamba dynasty of Goa, who is spoken of in the large Halsi copper-plate and in the Kittûr inscription as "he who obtained the excellent favour of (the god) Śrī-Saptakôṭīśvara,"—the very epithet applied to him on the coins. The Śivachitta whose name occurs on another of the coins is evidently Śivachitta-Pêrmâḍidêva, the elder brother of Vishnuchitta or Vijayâditya II., who was the father of Jayakêsi III. And the coins themselves are probably actual specimens of the Malavaramâri-nishka, in which some of the grants of Jayakêsi III. recorded in the large Halsi copper-plate were calculated.

4. From the inscriptions alluded to above we learn that the joint reign of Śivachitta and his brother Vishṇuchitta commenced in Kali-yuga 4249 (A.D. 1148), and that the reign of Jayakêsi III. commenced in Kali-yuga 4276 (A.D. 1175). Therefore it can hardly be that "the age of the coins, judging by the alphabets, is later than the thirteenth century of the Christian era."

5. Finally, I do not quite see how the name Mallavarma, as an enemy of Jayakêsi, is extracted from the title Malavaramâri. This title is half Canarese, and is enjoyed not by Jayakêsi alone, but also by kings and chieftains of other dynasties, and, though the meaning of the title is not absolutely certain, yet I shall shortly have an opportunity of submitting what is probably the correct explanation of it.

6. The coins in question were sent out of the Belgaum District without being shown to me; and in fact I was not even aware of their having been discovered till I happened to see Dr. Bhâu Dâjî's account of them in the Society's Journal.

I am

Yours faithfully,

J. F. FLEET,

Bombay Civil Service.

*To the Honorary Secretary of the*

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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# APPENDIX.

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*Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society for 1874.*

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## MEMBERS ELECTED.

FROM JULY 19TH TO DECEMBER 31ST, 1874.

8TH AUGUST 1874.

Deputy Surgeon-General J. M. S. Fogo.	Khanderao Chimanrao Bedarkar, Esq.
T. Bromley, Esq.	Surgeon-Major G. Y. Hunter.
A. Craigie, Esq.	F. Feddon, Esq., F.G.S.

12TH SEPTEMBER 1874.

Pheroshaw Merwanji Jijibhoy, Esq.	Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik, Esq.
-----------------------------------	------------------------------------

14TH NOVEMBER 1874.

Hormasji Naoroji Saklatwala, Esq., Merchant.	Ardaseer Framjee Moos, Esq., Merchant.
	Grattan Geary, Esq.

12TH DECEMBER 1874.

Jehangir Barjorji Wachha, Esq., Merchant.	Ganpatrao Bhaskar, Esq., Acting Judge, Small Cause Court, Bombay.
Shamrao Vithal, Esq., Pleader, High Court.	Leopoldo Cipriano da Gama, Esq., Deputy Postmaster-General of Portuguese India, Goa.



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FROM JULY 19TH TO DECEMBER 31ST, 1874.

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- BLANFORD'S (W. T.) Notes on the Synonymy of some Indian and Persian Birds, with description of two new species from Persia .....The Author.
- BOMBAY DOCKS .....S. A. Johnson.
- BOMBAY HIGH COURT REPORTS, Vol. X., Part 2 .....Govt. of B'bay.
- BOOK OF ARDA VIRAF ; the Pahlavi Text prepared by Destur Hoshangji Jámáspji Asa..... Do.
- BULLETIN DE LA SOCIE'TE' DE GEOGRAPHIE .....Société de Géographie, Paris.
- CATALOGUE of Books printed in the Bombay Presidency during the Quarter ending 30th June 1874.....Govt. of B'bay.
- CLASSIFIED ALPHABETICAL CATALOGUE of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces ..... Inspr.-Gen. of Educ., C. P.
- CLASSIFIED AND DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE of the Indian Department, Vienna Universal Exhibition, 1873 .....Secretary, Vienna Exhib.
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- HAYDEN'S (F. V.)** Reports of the United States Geological Survey of the Territories for the years 1867, 1868, and 1869 ..... Secy. of State for India.
- JOURNAL** of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part II., No. 2, 1874..... Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- JOURNAL** of the East India Association, Vol. I. for 1867. }  
 Ditto ditto Vol. II., Nos. 2, 3, and 4, for 1868... }  
 Ditto ditto Vol. III., Nos. 2, 3, and 4, for 1869... }  
 Ditto ditto Vol. IV., Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, for 1870. }  
 Ditto ditto Vol. V., Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, for 1871. } East India Association.  
 Ditto ditto Vol. VI., Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, for 1872. }  
 Ditto ditto Vol. VII., Nos. 1, 2, and 3, for 1873-74. }  
 Ditto ditto Vol. VIII., Nos. 1 and 2, for 1874. }

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<b>PROCEEDINGS</b> of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. VIII., for August 1874 .....	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
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<b>REPORT</b> (Fifty-Fourth Annual), of the Board of Public Education of the First School District of Pennsyl- vania, &c., for 1872.....	Secy. of State for India.
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London.
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Mechanics' Institute ..... Mechanics'  
Institute.
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Trigonometrical Survey of India, Vol. I. By Colonel  
J. T. Walker, R.E., F.R.S. .... Govt. of India.
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kunde. 17 vols. Batavia..... Société des  
Arts et des  
Sciences at  
Batavia.
- TRANSACTIONS** of Asiatic Society of Japan from 22nd  
October 1873 to 15th July 1874 ..... Asiatic Society  
of Japan.
- TRANSACTIONS** of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and  
Sciences, Vol. II., Part 2 ..... Academy of  
Arts and  
Sciences.
- TAWNEY'S** (C. H.) English People and their Language.  
Translated from the German Loth. Calcutta, 1873. C. E. Fox,  
Esq.
- TAWNEY'S** (C. H.) Uttara Rama Charita : a Sanskrit  
Drama by Bhavabhuti. Translated into English  
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## PRESENTS TO THE MUSEUM.

FROM JULY 19TH TO DECEMBER 31ST, 1874.

COIN, a flat silver, nearly rectangular.....	The Collector of Ratnagiri.
COINS, 50 silver .....	Assistant Poli- tical Agent in charge Gondal State, in Kathiáwád.

## ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

JULY 19th TO DECEMBER 31st, 1874.

COMMUNI-  
CATED BY

DA CUNHA, J. GERSON, Esq., M.R.C.S.—

Notes on the History and Antiquities of the Island of  
Bassein ..... The Author.

REHATSEK, E., Esq., M.C.E., Hon. Mem. B. B. R. As. Soc.—

I.—Exorcisms, Amulets, Recipes, Geomancy, &amp;c.&amp;c. Do.

II.—156 Facsimiles of Muhammadan, Hindu, Bac-  
trian, Roman, Byzantine, &c. Coins and other  
Gems ..... Do.

TELANG, KÁSHINÁTH TRIMBAK, M.A., LL.B.—

I.—A new Chálukya Copperplate, dated Śaka  
year 532, with remarks ..... Do.

II.—A Note on the Age of Madhusúdana Sarasvatí. Do.

# PROCEEDINGS, OFFICIAL, LITERARY, AND SCIENTIFIC.

FROM JULY 19TH TO DECEMBER 31ST, 1874.

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At a meeting held on Saturday the 8th August 1874 :—

Mr. E. Rehatsek read a paper on Exorcisms, Amulets, Recipes, Geomancy, &c.

Mr. Rehatsek, after mentioning that many people in Bombay were making a living by either privately or publicly offering to the public means whereby future events may be ascertained and evils averted, said that there were certain stations where men in a religious garb sat with a book, *Fá Tuá mah*, ready to tell people's fortunes, and he gave some general remarks upon the chief practices followed by the professors of the art, and described the peculiar properties attributed to certain mineral, vegetable, and animal substances ; he then gave an account of the different subjects as given in the title of the paper. Thus—

*The Evil Eye.*—Its effects were fully believed in by the Prophet, according to Abu Haryrah, one of his companions. Some of the effects attributed to it were described, as also the means given to destroy them and avert it.

*Amulets* and many *Recipes*, containing generally verses from the Korán, in use for remedying different diseases and ills, were given, and it was shown that certain verses of the Korán were believed to cure certain diseases.

The efficacy of writing certain *Surahs*, reciting them, or drinking them with water. The chanting or shouting of Allah, Allah Li-li-li-li, and certain words, sentences, and *Surahs*, to secure blessings, were spoken of, and examples read.

*Talismans.*—Many specimens used for troubling enemies, attracting certain men or women, and for protecting the person in battle, and the proper mode and times of their construction, were described.

The first of these was the fact that the American people were not yet fully organized as a nation. The various states were still largely independent of each other, and the federal government was weak and inefficient. The second was the fact that the American people were not yet fully united in sentiment. There were still many divisions of opinion as to the proper course of action to be pursued by the nation. The third was the fact that the American people were not yet fully united in action. There were still many divisions of opinion as to the proper course of action to be pursued by the nation.

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temporaneous writings of the Greeks and others relating to the neighbouring towns of Kalyán and Tháná.

The Mahomedan and Maratha periods were then referred to, and interesting details given regarding the government of the island by the Portuguese, their rise, decline, and fall. (See *Journal* above, pp. 316 to 347.)

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Da Cunha for his interesting paper.

---

At a meeting of the Society held on Saturday the 10th October 1874 :—

Mr. Káshináth Trimbak Telang presented a Devanágari transcript and translation of a Chálukya copperplate grant, with a paper containing remarks on the early Chálukya kings.

Mr. Telang observed that the history of the Western line of Chálukya princes is yet enveloped in great obscurity, and the statements contained in the several copperplates, &c. about them had yet to be reconciled. The earliest of the known grants is that deciphered and translated by Professor Dowson, of Samvatsara 394.

The next plate is that of Captain Jervis, dated 411 Śaka, which makes no mention of Vijayaditya, but gives one additional name, Pulakeśi. Doubts have been thrown upon its genuineness, but it fits well with the date of Professor Dowson's plates. Mr. Telang discussed the position of this Pulakeśi according to Sir W. Elliot, Professor Dowson, and Professor Bál Gangádhara Shástri.

He then remarked upon the date of Satyáśraya, and the conflict of authorities in regard to him.

After Satyáśraya came two kings who are mentioned in only some of the plates, and it is doubtful whether they reigned at all. After them comes Vikramáditya, about whose date the authorities again differ. The next king in Elliot's and Jacob's lists is Vinayaditya, but his name does not occur in Wathen's list. Mr. Telang concluded that the materials for a history of this dynasty were not yet before us in a satisfactory condition to work out a satisfactory account of the Chálukya dynasty, or to give in our adhesion to Mr. Fergusson's theory.

Professor Bhándárkar, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Telang, said that he was also of opinion that facsimiles of copperplates should be published. In several cases in which either the original plates or



facsimiles of them were written, he had observed errors committed by previous decipherers and translators. Such errors might be found to exist in other plates also, but it was impossible to say positively, without a look at the originals, as to the date of Satyášraya. He thought it still required consideration in fixing that date. The date of Hiouen Thsang had been much relied on. But Dr. Bháu D'jī had expressed doubts as to the correctness of that date, and he, Mr. Bhāṇḍārkar, had also begun to entertain similar doubts in consequence of what he had seen of the chronology of the Valabhī kings. The confusion about Satyášraya's date seemed to him also to point in the same direction. The arguments by which Hiouen Thsang's date had been arrived at by Chinese scholars required reconsideration.

The Rev. J. S. S. Robertson seconded this vote of thanks, and supported the proposition that copies of inscriptions should be prepared and compared by *savans* who have a reputation to lose.

The Rev. Dr. Wilson spoke of the difficulties of fixing dates and the names of eras, and urged the desirableness of having a *corpus inscriptionum*.

---

At a meeting of the Society held on the 14th November 1874 :—

Mr. E. Rehatsek read his Notes on 156 Facsimiles of Muhammadan, Hindu, Bactrian, Roman, Byzantine and other Coins and Gems in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, Honorary President of the Society, and showed the coins and explained their history.

The Rev. Dr. Wilson gave several interesting details about some of the coins and gems in the collection.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Rehatsek and the Rev. Dr. Wilson.

---

At a meeting of the Society held on the 12th December 1874 :—

Mr. Káshináth P. Telang read a Note on the Age of Madhusúdana Sarasvatí, one of the commentators on the Bhagavat Gítá belonging to the Adwaita school of the Vedánta philosophy. Mr. Telang placed him about the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century of the Christian era. (See the detailed argument at pp. 368—377 of the Journal above.)

After some remarks from the Rev. Dr. Wilson and the Hon'ble Rao Saheb Maṇḍlik, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Telang for his valuable paper.

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